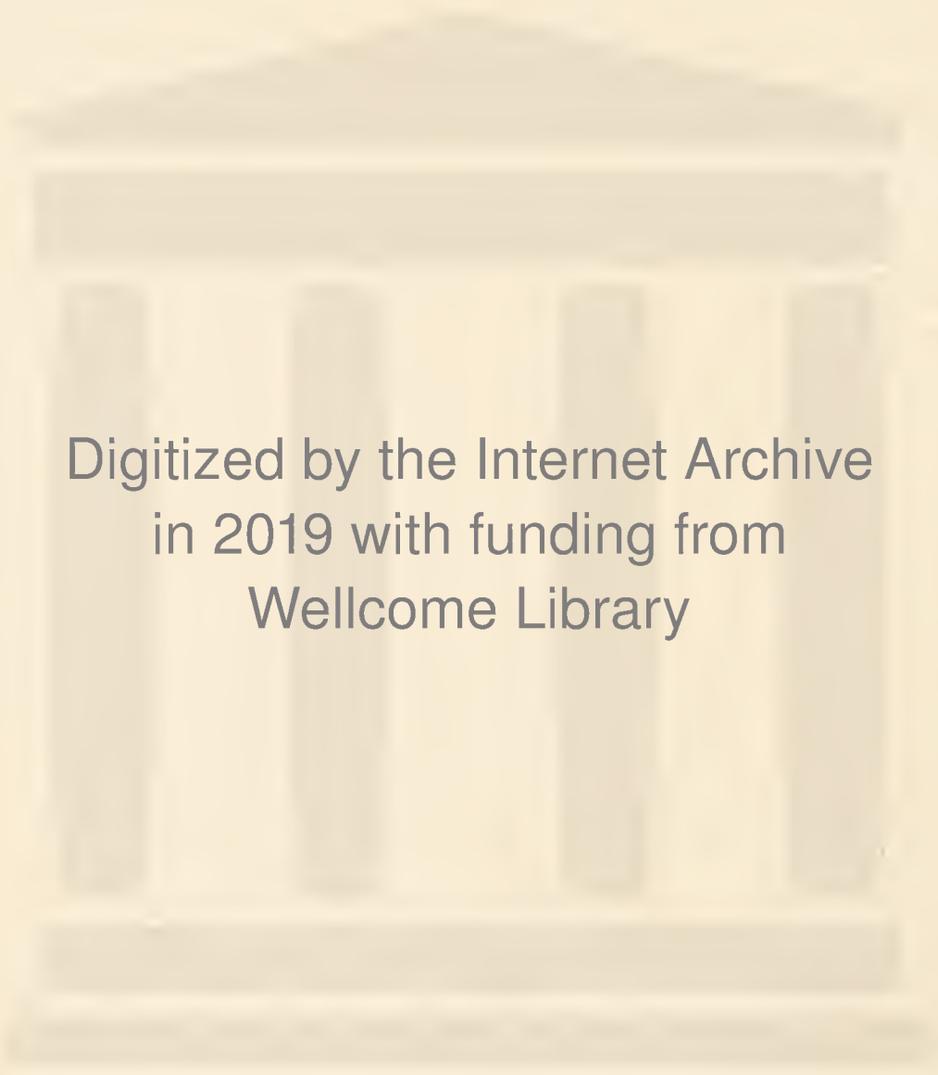
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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

OF THE YEAR

1837.

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CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks on the state of Parties at the commencement of the present Year—Effects of the Reform Bill—Real Origin of that Measure—Different Characters of the first and second Parliaments assembled under the new system—Grounds of that difference—Short Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and its consequences in the relative position of Parties—Dependence of the Whig Administration in its support of Mr. O'Connell—Division between the Houses of Lords and Commons—Practicability of a Coalition of Parties considered—General Prospects of the Country—State of Foreign Politics—Probable duration of Peace—Public Meetings throughout the Country—Meeting at Bath—Speeches of Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Leader, Sir W. Molesworth—Whig Banquet at Drury Lane; Speeches of Mr. Byng, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Grote—Lord Morpeth's Speech at Leeds—Protestant and Conservative agitation—Peel Festival at Glasgow. . . . . [1

CHAPTER II.

Meeting of Parliament—Speech of the Lords Commissioners—Address moved by Lord Fingall; seconded by Lord Suffield—Allusions to the State of Ireland—Duke of Wellington's Remarks on Affairs of Spain—Lord Melbourne's Reply—Debate on the Address in the Commons—Mr. Roebuck's Attack upon the Policy of Ministers, which is defended by Mr. Beaumont, Mr. James, and Mr. Curteis—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—Question on the State of our Relations with the Peninsular Kingdoms—Reply of Lord Palmerston . . . . . [18

CHAPTER III.

State of Ireland—Observations on the social and political condition of that Country—Difficulties in the way of its Administration—Conduct of Parties with respect to it—Proceedings of the National Association—Great Protestant Meeting at Dublin—Petition to Parliament—Motion for leave to bring in a Bill for the Amendment of Municipal Corporations in Ireland—Lord John Russell's Speech on the State of Ireland—Vindication of Lord Mulgrave's Government—Decrease of Crime—Improved tranquillity of the Country—Speech of Sergeant Jackson in reply—Speech of Mr. O'Connell—Mr. Roebuck—Adjournment of the Debate—Defence of the Irish Government by Lord Morpeth—Sir James Graham's reply—Speeches of Sir John Hobhouse and Sir Robert Peel . . . . . [26

CHAPTER IV.

Irish Municipal Corporations Bill—Motion for a Committee upon it in the House of Commons—Instruction moved by Lord Francis Egerton—His Speech on the occasion—Review of the differences between the present Bill and the last—Mr. Ward opposes the Motion—Mr. Young supposts it—Able Speech of Mr. Charles Buller—Situation of the Church in Ireland—Speeches of Lord Morpeth and Lord Stanley—Second Night of the Debate, opened by Sergeant Jackson—Speeches of Lord Howick and Mr. Roebuck, in support of the Measure—Third Night's Debate—Powerful Speech of Sir James Graham—Mr. Sheil's Attack on Lord Lyndhurst—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—The Motion is rejected on a Division—Debates on the Third Reading of the Bill—Speeches of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel—The Bill is carried on a Division—Introduction of the Measure into the House of Lords by Lord Melbourne—Debate on the Second Reading—Speeches of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham—Duke of Wellington moves the Postponement of the Committal of the Bill—Motion resisted by Ministers, but carried—Motion for its further Postponement—Speech of Lord Lyndhurst upon the occasion—Reply of Lord Melbourne—Motion carried on a Division . . . . . [40

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of Ireland continued—Source of the disorders which infest that country—Question of establishing a system of Poor-law in Ireland—Report of the Dublin Commission of Inquiry—Mission of Mr. Nicholls—Abstract of his Report—Habits of the Peasantry—Prevalence of Mendicancy—Habits of Intoxication—Objections to the Introduction of Poor-laws considered—Application of the Workhouse System—Estimate of the Expense of Erection—Formation of Unions and of Boards of Guardians—Proposed Exclusion of Clergymen from these last—Assessment of the Rate—No System of Parochial Settlement—Suppression of Mendicancy—Central Directing Authority—The subject is brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Lord John Russell—The Measure is supported by the O'Conor Don and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. O'Connell disapproves of, but does not oppose it—Second Reading of the Bill—Speech of Mr. O'Connell in opposition to it—Various objections urged by Irish Members—Committee on the Bill—Mr. Lucas's Motion for a Clause enacting a Right of Settlement—Debate on the Motion, which is lost on a Division—Irish Tithe Question—Lord Morpeth brings forward a Measure for the Commutation of it—Provision for establishing Schools for General Purposes—On the Second Reading of the Bill, it is opposed by Mr. S. Crawford, Mr. Browne, and Lord Stanley—New System of National Education for Ireland—Lord Melbourne's Motion for an Inquiry into it—Speech of the Bishop of Exeter on the Subject—Replies of Archbishop Whateley and Lord Plunkett . . . . . [60

CHAPTER VI.

Church Rates—Ministerial Plan for the Abolition of them, brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Speech on the Occasion—Nature of the Grievance—Statement of the various Schemes

proposed for its Removal—Calculations on which the Government Measure was founded—Meeting of the Bishops on the Subject—Archbishop of Canterbury's Protest against the Plan in the House of Lords—Lord Melbourne's angry Animadversion upon it, with the Bishop of London's Reply—Committee of the House of Commons on Mr. Rice's Resolutions—Sir Robert Peel's Speech against the Measure—Objections to the Financial Details of it, and to its general Principles—It is defended by Lord Howick—Dr. Lushington's Opinion of the Law on the Question—Second Night's Debate on the Subject—Speeches of Sir William Follett and the Attorney-General and Mr. Pemberton—Lord John Russell's Defence of the Plan—Third Night's Debate—Mr. Gisborne's Attack on the Conduct of the Bishops, who are defended by Lord Sandon—Speech of Mr. Baines—Lord Stanley's Vindication of Himself—the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Reply—Question carried on a Division. . . . . [82

CHAPTER VII.

Question of Church-Rates continued—Westminster Politics—Resignation of his Seat by Sir Francis Burdett—His Letter to his Constituents—Mr. Leader opposes his Re-election and is defeated—Exultation of the Conservatives—Debate on Second Reading of the Resolutions for the Abolition of Church Rates—Mr. Johnstone's Amendment—Speeches of Mr. Baines, Mr. Borthwick, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Horace Twiss—Sir Francis Burdett opposes the Measures—Mr. Sheil's Reply to him—Second Night of the Debate—Speech of Mr. Charles Buller—Details on the Question of Church Accommodation—Speeches of Sir James Graham, Mr. Spring Rice, and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. Johnstone withdraws his Amendment—Virtual Defeat of the Measure—Lord John Russell's Motion for a Committee to inquire into the disposal of Church Lands—His Speech on the Subject; it is strongly opposed by Mr. Goulburn—Mr. Whittle Harvey's Statement of the Expences incurred by Dissenters for the supporting of Religious Worship—The several Divisions that took place at the close of the Debate—Church of Scotland—Report of Commission of Inquiry as to her Want of Means of Accommodation—Sir William Rae's Motion on the Subject—Opposed by Lord John Russell—Speech of Mr. Horsman—Motion rejected [96

CHAPTER VIII.

Notices of Motions for Organic or Constitutional Changes—Mr. Grote renews his Motion for the Adoption of the Ballot, in the Election of Members of Parliament—His Speech on the Subject—Consideration of some of his Arguments—Choice of Moral or Political Dissimulation—Effect of the Ballot on the practice of Bribery—Question of the Responsibility of the Voter—Statement of the legitimate Exercise of the Influence of Property—Speeches of Mr. Poulter and Mr. Vernon Smith, in opposition to the Motion—Lord Howick's Argument against it, from the power it would place in the hands of Returning Officers—Mr. C. Buller's Defenee of the Ballot, as favourable to the expression of moderate Opinions—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Grote's Reply—Silence of the Conservatives in the Discussion—Mr. Horseman's Motion for a Committee on the Creation of Fictitious Votes in Scotland—Sir William Molesworth moves the Abolition of th

Property Qualification for Members—Mr. Lushington's Motion on the Spiritual Peers—Lord John Russell's Speech in opposition to it—Mr. Buller's Reply—Mr. Duncombe moves the Abolition of Voters by Proxy in the House of Peers—Motion for the Abolition of the Rate-paying Clauses of the Reform Bill—Motion by Mr. Tennyson for the Repeal of the Septennial Act—Opposed by Lord John Russell—Speech of Mr Roebuck—Mr. Ewart's Motion on the Subject of Primogeniture. . . . . [109

CHAPTER IX.

The new System of Poor-Law—Remarks on its Principle—Progressive Extension of its Operation over England—Popular Agitation in opposition to it—Report of the Commissioners—Operation of the New System under the severity of the preceding winter—Reduction of Rates—Motion for a Committe of Inquiry on the Subject in the House of Commons—Speeches of Mr. Walter and Mr. Fielden—Lord John Russell moves an Amendment on the Motion—Speech of Mr. Harvey, in favour of Original Motion—Contrasted with that of Mr. Hume against it — Various Objections urged by Mr. Brotherton, Colonel Sibthorp, and Mr. Robinson—Committee appointed—Mr. Harvey's Complaint of its Proceedings—Report of the Committee—Lord John Russell's Resolutions on the Publication of Unreported Evidence by Mr. Harvey—Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners—Operation of the New System in the Manufacturing districts—Instances of Stoke upon Trent, and Nottingham—Introduction of it into the Northernmost Counties, and into Wales—Medical Treatment—Relief to the Aged and Infirm—Attendance on Public Worship—Bishop of Exeter's Appeal to the House of Lords on this last point—Suppression of Mendicity—Question on the Right of Publication of Libellous Matter in Parliamentary Documents—Action at law against Messrs. Hansards—Lord Denman's Direction to the Jury—Resolutions of the House of Commons thereon . . . . . [128

CHAPTER X.

Affairs of Canada—Subject brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Lord John Russell—History of Canadian Discontents—Demands of the Assembly of Lower Canada—Lord John Russell's Resolutions thereupon—Opposition to them on the part of the Radical Section of the House of Commons—Speeches of Mr. Leader, Mr. O'Connell, Sir William Molesworth, and Colonel Thompson—Mr. Roebuck's Pleading in favour of the Lower Canadians—Sir George Grey's Reply—Second Day's Debate upon the Subject—Mr. Hume's Defence of his Letter to Mr. Mackenzie—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, and Lord Stanley in support of the Resolutions—Defence of the Government by Lord Howick—The Resolutions are carried on a Division—Mr. Roebuck's Propositions for the Settlement of the Dispute—They are declined by Lord John Russell—Speeches of Mr. Robinson, Mr. Charles Buller, and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. Leader's Proposition for a Postponement of the Question—The Resolutions brought before the House of Peers by Lord Glenelg—Opposed by Lord Brougham—Carried without a Division — Lord Brougham's Protest. . . . . [150

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Banking System—Spirit of Speculation in last Year—Multiplication of Joint-Stock Banks—Excess of Issues—Controversy as to the Conduct of the Bank of England at this Crisis—Increase of the Rate of Discount—Drain of Bullion—Assistance afforded to the Northern and Central Bank—Attention of Parliament directed to the System of Join-Stock Banks—Committee's Report—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion for Renewal of the Committe—Mr. Hume moves an Amendment for more enlarged Inquiry—His Explanation of the Causes of the recent Commercial Difficulties—Speech of Mr. Williams—Defence of Joint-Stock Banks by Mr. Gisborne—Speeches of Mr. Villiers, Mr. Warburton, and Mr. O'Connell—Sir Robert Peel supports the Motion; Mr. Hume's Amendment is rejected—Crisis in the American Trade—New System which had lately grown up in carrying on the Commercial Transactions of the two Countries—Dangers resulting from it—Assistance afforded by the Bank . . . . . [171

CHAPTER XII.

Foreign Policy of England under the Whig Administration—Lord Mahon's Motion on our Relations with Spain—His Speech on the occasion—Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's Reply—Defence of the Suspension of the Foreign Enlistment Act—Speeches of Mr. Gally Knight and Mr. Fector—Lord Francis Egerton impugns the Policy of Ministers.—Mr. Grove Price follows on the same side—Defends the Cause and Conduct of Don Carlos—Lord Palmerston's Speech in vindication of his Management of our Foreign Relations—His Statement of the Origin and Principles of the Quadruple Alliance—Defends the Order in Council of the 10th of June—Contrasts the existing State of our Foreign Connexions with that left by the Duke of Wellington's Administration—Sir Robert Peel's Reply—Speech of Mr. O'Connell—Sir Henry Hardinge's Motion on the same subject—Is seconded by Sir Stratford Canning—Opposed by Mr. Charles Wood and Mr. O'Connell—Adjournment of the Debate—Speeches of Sir Robert Inglis in favour of, and of Mr. Ward and Dr. Lushington against, the Motion—It is supported by Mr. Grove Price—Opposed by Mr. Sheil—Second Adjournment of the Debate—Defence of General Evans by Mr. Otway Cave—Speeches of Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, and Sir William Follett—Lord Palmerston's Defence of his Policy—Speeches of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell—Motion rejected on a Division—Lord Alvanley's Motion on the same subject in the House of Lords—General Evans's Resignation of the Command of the Legion—Its subsequent Dissolution—Seizure of the Vixen by the Russian Government—Question on the subject in the House of Commons—Cracow—Texas—Commercial Treaty with the Netherlands . . . . . [186

CHAPTER XIII.

Singular State of the Parliamentary Business towards the close of the Session—Situation of Parties—Rumours of a change of Ministers—Mr. Roebuck's Motion on the State of the Nation—His Exposition of the Politics of the Radical Section—Remarks on its tendency—The Motion is seconded by Colonel Thompson—Opposed by Mr. O'Connell, Dr.

Lushington, and Mr. Hume—Lord John Russell's Reply—Illness and Death of the King—Effect of this event on the expectations of Parties—The Queen's Message to both Houses—Addresses in reply—Eulogies of the late Sovereign, by Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, and Earl Grey, in the House of Lords—By Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons—Lord Lyndhurst's speech on the State of the Public Business—Lord John Russell's Statement of the Course intended to be pursued in respect of it—Bill for providing for the Succession to the Crown—The Budget—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Exposition of the Financial State of the Country—Alterations in the Criminal Law—Lord John Russell's Speech on the Subject—Mitigation of Capital Punishment—Wills Bill—Bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt—Postponed in the Lords—Prorogation of Parliament—Address of the Speaker—Speech of the Queen . . [210

CHAPTER XIV.

Death of the King—Remarks on his reign and character—Queen's Accession—State of Parties—Ministry—Elections—Use of Queen's name by Ministerial Candidates—New Poor-law—Colonies—Upper Canada—Mr. Duncombe's Petition—Proceedings of the Session—Banks—Extraordinary Session—Lower Canada—Meeting and Prorogation of the Legislature—Insurrectionary Demonstrations—Public Meetings—Riot at Montreal—Rescue of Prisoners—M. Papineau—New Brunswick—Sir A. Campbell recalled—Newfoundland—Pretensions of the House of Assembly—Jamaica—Demerara—Trinidad—East Indies—Revolution in the Burmese Empire—New South Wales—State of the Colony . . . . . [235

CHAPTER XV.

France.—King's Speech—Budget—Debates on the Address—Prosecutions of the Press—Strasburgh Trial—Disjunction Bill—Non-Revelation Bill—Appanage Bill—Polish Refugees—Marshal Clausel and M. Dupin—African Petition from Tlemecen—Debate on Disjunction Bill, and Defeat of Ministers—Discussion on the Dowry of the Queen of Belgium—Report of the Committee on African Affairs—Difficulties in forming a New Cabinet—New Ministry—Debate on Algiers, and Marshal Clausel's Defence—Trial of Meunier—Addition to the Allowance of the Duke of Orleans—Debate on Secret Service Money Bill—Review of National Guard—General Amnesty—Sugar Duties—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans and Dreadful Accident—Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies—Treaty of Tafna—Expedition to Constantine—Elections—Archbishop of Paris—Disturbances at Angoulême . . . . . [253

CHAPTER XVI.

Spain.—Reception of the news of the relief of Bilboa at Madrid—Relative situation of Christino and Carlist forces after that event—Plans of Christino Generals—Attack on the lines of Guipuscoa by General Evans—Anglo Christinos repulsed—Espartero—Sarsfield—Cabrera in Arragon—Second and successful attack on Carlist lines—Irun and Fuentarabia taken—Expedition of Don Carlos through Arragon—Catalonia and Valencia—Combats at Huesca and Barbastro—Carlists cross

the Cinca, and are defeated at Guisona—Passage of the Ebro and junction with Cabrera—Account of Cabrera—Battle of Chiva—Expedition of Zariategui—Capture of Segovia—Carlists within five leagues of Madrid—Retreat of Zariategui—Operations of Carlos—Buerens and Oraa—Christinos defeated at Herrera—Advance of Carlos to the gates of Madrid—Retreat of Carlists—Cabrera separates from Carlos, and returns to Arragon—Carlists in Valladolid—Junction of Carlos and Zariategui—Combat of Retuerta—Carlists fall back on Navarre—Carlos at Durango—Cabrera and Oraa—General Evans leaves Spain—Legion dissolved and remodelled—Military Insurrections at Hernani, Miranda, and Pampeluna—Murder of Sarsfield—Carlists take Penecerrada—Rout of Andoain—British Legion broken up—Espartero punishes Mutineers of Miranda and Pampeluna—Cuba—Cortes—General Narvaez—Mendizabal—Insurrection at Barcelona—Discussions in Cortes on new Constitution—Constitution adopted—Queen takes the Oath—Amnesty—Suppression of Convents—Suspension of Diplomatic Relations with Sardinia—Calatrava Administration resigns—Mutinous conduct of Officers—General Seaone and the Guards—Bill for Clergy Reform—New Ministry—M. Pita Pizarro—Further Cabinet changes—M. Bardaji's Administration—Quicksilver contract—Elections—Senators—Cortes dissolved—Meeting of New Cortes—Queen's Speech and unpopularity—Resignation of Ministers—Ofalia Cabinet—Ceuta invested by the Moors . . . . . [290

CHAPTER XVII.

PORTUGAL.—Expectations of an Insurrection—New Tariff—Meeting of the Cortes—Discussion on the Eligibility of the Ministers—Queen's Speech—Unpopularity of the English in Portugal—Claims of British Auxiliary Troops—Budget—Debates in the Cortes—Resignation of Ministers—Difficulties in forming an Administration—New Cabinet—National Guards—Queen Enceinte—Financial Difficulties—Prince Ferdinand's Unpopularity—Remechido—Guerillas—Military Insurrection in favour of the Charter—Measures of Government—Resignation of Ministers—Progress of Insurrection—Saldanha—Bom Fin—New Cabinet—Duke of Terceira joins Insurgents—New Ministers resign—Provisional Regency—Advance of Chartists—Baron das Antas—Suspension and Renewal of Hostilities—Accouchement of the Queen—Defeat of Chartists by Das Antas—Convention—New Cabinet—Alterations in the Constitution—Senate—HANOVER.—Accession of King Ernest—Letters Patent announcing the King's Intention to abrogate the Existing Constitution—Early History of Hanover—Constitutions of 1819 and 1833—Letters Patent abolishing the latter—Protest of the Seven Professors—The Chambers of BADEN, BAVARIA, and SAXONY Protest against the Abolition of the Hanoverian Constitution—PRUSSIA—Cholera—Death of Ancillon the Foreign Minister—Commercial Treaty with Holland—Policy in POSEN—Religious Differences—Archbishop of Cologne . . . . . [321

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUSTRIA—Spirit of Reform in Hungary—Resolution of the Germanic Diet respecting the Surrender of Political Offenders—Cracow—HOLLAND—Opening of the Session—King's Speech—Death of the Queen—Budget—Treaty with Great Britain—BELGIUM—SWITZERLAND—Insurrection

in the Canton of Berne—Meeting of the Diet—President's Speech—Revision of the Federal Constitution—Census—Expenditure—Close of Session—Re-organization of the Military System—Currency—Religious Dissensions—Louis Bonaparte—ITALY—SICILY—Ravages of the Cholera—NORWAY—Differences between the King and the Norwegian People—Reply of the King to the Address of the Storthing—Death of the deposed King of Sweden—GREECE—Establishment of Departmental Councils—Law Reform—Return of the King—Dismissal of Count Armansperg—Appointment of M. Rudhart to the Head of Affairs—Diplomatic Differences—Emiglio Usigli—Sir Edward Lyons and M. Rudhart—Restoration of the City of Athens—RUSSIA—Circassian War—General Williamineff's Correspondence with the Circassians—Capture of the Vixen—Emperor's Tour in his Southern Dominions—Russian National Debt—TURKEY—School of Anatomy opened—Improvement in the Administration of Mercantile Law—Curdish War—Sultan visits Silistria and other parts of his Dominions—Cabinet changes—Vassaff Effendi disgraced—Perteff Pacha removed from Office—Redschid Pacha—Moldavia—Wallachia, and Servia . . . [347

CHAPTER XIX.

UNITED STATES—Mercantile Embarrassments—Differences with Mexico—Texas—Reports of Committee on Foreign Relations—Protest of Mexican Government—General Jackson and the United States Bank—Memorial of the Bank—Mr. Adams and the Anti-Abolition Petition—General Jackson's valedictory Address—Mr. Van Buren's inaugural Address—Parties in the United States—Commercial Crisis—Suspension of Specie Payments—Extraordinary meeting of Congress—President's message—Proceedings of extraordinary Session—Convention of Delegates from the Banks—Indian War—Meeting of Congress—President's Annual Message—MEXICO—Affair of Texas—Entrance of Texian Territory by the United States Troops—Santa Anna at Washington—his return to Mexico—Bustamente—Preparations to invade Texas—Finance PERU-BOLIVIA and CHILI—Formation of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation—War with Chili and Buenos Ayres—Murder of Portalis in Chili—Peru-Bolivian Constitution—NEW GRANADA—Affair of Mr. Russell—Santander retires from the Presidency—New President—Venezuela—Finance—General Paez—BUENOS AYRES—Finance—BANDA-ORIENTAL Rivera—BRAZIL—Resignation of the Regent—New Administration—Revolt at Bahia—Independence of Rio Grande . [362

CHAPTER XX.

State of Parties—Municipal Elections—Subscription for the Support of Irish Election Contest—City Banquet to the Queen—Opening of the New Parliament—Her Majesty's Speech—Address, moved in the Lords by the Duke of Sussex—Debate on the Address in the Commons—Mr. Wakley moves an Amendment—It is seconded by Sir William Molesworth—Lord John Russell's Reply—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—The Amendment is rejected—Mr. Harvey's Amendment relating to the Civil List—It is withdrawn—The Report on the Address—Discontent expressed by the Radical Party at the Language—Speeches of Mr. Leader and Mr. Charles Buller—Lord John Russell's Vindication of the Ministerial Policy—Civil List—Mr. Spring Rice moves for a Committee on the subject—Statement of the Government Plan—Mr. Harvey's Amend-

ment with respect to the Pension List—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a Committee on the Subject—Opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who moves an Amendment—Speeches of Mr. Harvey, Lord Stanley, and Lord John Russell—The Amendment is rejected—Omission of Mr. Harvey's Name on the Committee—Discussion on the Subject—Sir George Sinclair's Motion for the Insertion of Mr. Harvey's Name is rejected—Royal Message respecting the Annuity for the Duchess of Kent—Third Reading of the Civil List Bill—Mr. Grote's Amendment on the Subject of Pensions—It is rejected—The Amendment of Sir Robert Peel on the same Subject is carried—Introduction of the Bill into the House of Lords—Speech of Lord Brougham—The Bill is passed—Intelligence from Canada—Discussion on the subject in the House of Commons—Speeches of the Radical Members on behalf of the Canadians—Adjournment of the House . . [385

CHRONICLE.

EVENTS - - - - - - - - - - 1

APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

Queen's Ministers - - 129
General Election--List of Members—Statement of the Polls 130
Sheriffs - - - 138
Births - - - - 139
Marriages - - 143
Promotions and Appointments 150
Deaths - - - 157
Financial Statements - - 218
Trade - - - 234
Navigation - - 235
Savings Banks - - - 237
Bank of England — Private Banks—and Joint Stock Banks - - - 238
List of the General Acts - 239
Local and Personal Acts - 243
Prices of Stock - - 250
Prices of Corn, Hay, Clover, Straw, and Butchers Meat - 251
Bills of Mortality—Bankrupts—Meteorological Table 252
University Intelligence - 253
Patents - - - 257

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

DOMESTIC—Civil List - 277
Slavery Abolition Act - - 284
Apprenticeship System and Sale of Crown Lands in the West Indies - - 285
Marriages under the New Act, 288
Penalties for unduly Registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages - - - - 288
Criminal Statistics - - 290
Executions - - - 291
Report of the Commissioners of Municipal Inquiries—The City Companies - - 292
FOREIGN.—Commerce of France 296

STATE PAPERS.

Speech of the Governor-general of Lower Canada on opening the Provincial Parliament, August 18, 1837 - - 299
Kingdom of Hanover, Letters Patent concerning the death of King William IV., and accession of King Ernest Augustus - - - 303
Royal Letters Patent of King Ernest Augustus - - 304
Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and the Netherlands - 307
Dutch States General—Royal Speech - - - - 310
Allocution of Pope Gregory XVI. to the Secret Consistory 312
The Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy proclaimed in Madrid, 16 June, 1837 - 313
Speech of the Queen Regent of Spain on swearing to the Constitution - - 319
Speech of the Queen Regent of Spain on opening the Cortes 321
Message of the President of the United States at the Commencement of the first Session of Congress - 324
Message of the President of the United States, on opening the second Session of Congress - 347
Circular of the President of the Confederated States of Bolivia and Peru - - 368

MISCELLANY.

Some recollections of the last days of King William IV. - 370
Report on Animal Magnetism made to the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris - 380
Return of Captain Back - 392
Russian Scientific Mission to the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea 394.
Scenes of Sir Walter Scott's domestic Life - - 398
POETRY - - - 402
INDEX - - - 409

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1837.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

General Remarks on the state of Parties at the commencement of the present Year—Effects of the Reform Bill—Real Origin of that Measure—Different Characters of the first and second Parliaments assembled under the new system—Grounds of that difference—Short Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and its consequences in the relative position of Parties—Dependence of the Whig Administration in its support of Mr. O'Connell—Division between the Houses of Lords and Commons—Practicability of a Coalition of Parties considered—General Prospects of the Country—State of Foreign Politics—Probable duration of Peace—Public meetings throughout the Country—Meeting at Bath—Speeches of Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Leader, Sir W. Molesworth—Whig Banquet at Drury Lane; Speeches of Mr. Byng, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Grote—Lord Morpeth's Speech at Leeds—Protestant and Conservative agitation—Peel Festival at Glasgow.

THE situation of parties in England at the commencement of the present year presented precisely the same aspect that it had done during the two preceding ones, and the mere continuance of this state of things may be thought to justify a few preliminary remarks on the circumstances that have brought it about.

The interval, short as it is, since the passing of the Reform bill in 1832, has thrown a stronger light upon the tendencies of the measure than mere abstract speculation, however acute and compre-

hensive, was able to attain to at the time of its discussion. The history of the revolution itself was very singular; it was the result, for the most part, of a combination of circumstances which may strictly be called accidental. The machinations or labours of party movement had very little to do in its accomplishment; as little can we consider the catastrophe as the natural result of the progressive force of public opinion prevailing finally over the obstacles that had hitherto resisted its exigencies. The question of reform had long been forgotten by the party which was suddenly called upon to carry it into effect. This very fact may bear witness to the little hold it had on the interest of the people at large, when it had been disused as a topic of agitation even by the politics of a disappointed and hopeless faction. In fact, it would not be difficult to shew, that up to the year 1830 the question had gradually lost, rather than gained, importance in general esteem.* Hardly three years had elapsed since the death of Mr. Canning, a minister who was by far the most popular the country had seen since the earlier years of the government of Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding that he had peculiarly distinguished himself by a systematical resistance to every shade of parliamentary reform.

Nor is the explanation of this state of the public mind, a matter of much difficulty. It was the result of a clearer understanding of the subject. Men saw, that whatever anomalies might exist in the construction of the representative body, they were less important than might have been imagined to the performance of its proper business in the expression of the public mind. There were other channels, beside the parliamentary franchise, through which the people could act, whether in the way of control or impulse, on the conduct of their representatives. The electoral privilege remained the same as under the Plantagenets, and yet the force of popular opinion was surely and steadily increasing in a full proportion to the growing intelligence and wealth of the great body of the community. Thinking men of all parties were brought to perceive this; and people in general, in the conviction that the government did substantially follow the public voice on every question in which it was important to express it, began naturally to take less interest in the question of the particular mechanism by which this result was produced.

The direct cause of the revolution of 1832 was the sudden excitement which had been given to the popular feeling all over Europe by the successful insurrection of the last days of July; concurring, as it did, with the total disorganization of the great party which in this country had opposed such long and effective resistance to democratic encroachment or change. Both these circumstances may be said to have been accidental in their occurrence; it was their coincidence that made them irresistible. Another fact of singular favour to the

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* "In the year 1821, nineteen petitions were presented in favour of reform; in the year 1822, the number was reduced to twelve; in the year 1823, the number was twenty-nine; in the year 1824, there was no petition at all in favour of reform. The same was the case in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829. In the session of 1830 there were fourteen. Then came the dissolution of parliament." — *Speech of Mr. Croker in the House of Commons, March* 1, 1831.

event, but which concerned, not so much its origination as the accomplishment of it, was the active part which the king, upon grounds the most honest, even if mistaken, was led to take in support of a measure which the mere instinct of his position might have led him to see, that *he*, at least, had no interest in promoting. With a crew thus weak and distracted, the vessel of the constitution could hardly have weathered a less violent gust of popular feeling than then arose to assail it.

These remarks upon the story of the reform bill are the less foreign to our present business, because, if the situation of things which gave rise to that catastrophe was of an accidental rather than of a permanent or progressive nature, it might naturally be expected, in some degree, to cease with the circumstances which gave it birth. And such, we think, has been the fact. The first reformed parliament, chosen as it was under the intoxication of popular triumph, and in the fresh glow of gratitude to the government which brought it about, could hardly fail to reflect, to their full extent, the class of opinions which for the time had obtained the ascendancy. But it was impossible to judge fairly of the general tendency of the change by such an instance. The next parliament summoned under the new system, was likely to afford a much fairer criterion of the use which the people were disposed to make of the power it had placed in their hands; and the result of this second experiment was considerably to quiet the apprehensions of those who had been led to calculate the *future* progress of the revolutionary movement by the way it had made during the short course of the three years preceding. As we have said, it was hardly possible that in the just exercise of their electoral privileges the new constituencies should not return a large majority favourable to the government which had called them into being. The excitement, moreover, which had carried the reform measure was still maintained by the expectation of the fruits which the people had been told would instantly, and almost magically, be felt to flow from it. The lapse of two sessions was sufficient to cool both the glow of gratitude and the ardour of hope. This result was considerably accelerated by the conduct of what is called the radical party, whose support had been mainly instrumental in enabling the ministers to carry through their measure of reform. Their success on this occasion had led them much to overrate their hold on the permanent opinion of the country. Looking upon the tory party as virtually extinct—as far, at least, as concerned their pretensions to power—conceiving that in all revolutions the tendency of the public mind, when once in motion, is surely to advance to extreme opinions—they boldly took up an independent position as the advocates of such, and bent all their endeavours to disgust the public with those principles of moderation and compromise with which the ministers endeavoured to mediate between the conflicting claims, whether of conservation or change, of the various bodies that composed their party. The effect of this conduct on the part of their recent allies was only to deprive the whigs of the popularity which they had so hardly earned with the multitude. At the same time the open avowal of their hopes and pro-

jects, which, in the conviction of their growing strength the radicals did not fear to indulge, had its natural effect in alarming many who had supported the late change in the representation only on the understanding that it was a final one; and who were strongly indisposed as well to the progressive exaggeration of the doctrines then put forward, as to the regular and periodical recurrence of the popular agitation which was necessary to give them effect. If to this we add the natural lassitude which follows all periods of popular excitement, unless artificially maintained from above—and the disappointment felt by a large class of the supporters of reform when they found, that the passing of the bill, even in its entireness, neither improved the weather nor affected the markets; nor, as they had fondly hoped, enabled everyone at once to sell at high prices and purchase at low—we have a sufficient explanation of the very different results of the general election which produced the first reformed parliament, and that which returned the one which was called together by Sir Robert Peel in less than two years afterwards.

One important effect of that election was, to shew that little material change had taken place in the political feelings of the English people; a fact that so far confirms the view we have taken of the *accidental* and *temporary* nature of the circumstances which brought about the reform bill of 1832. Short as was the interval since the agitation of that period, the influence of property, of old connexions and early prejudices had already resumed almost their former sway. The new distribution which had been made of the franchise necessarily gave increased force to the popular party, but such would always have been the effect of the multiplication or enlargement of constituencies purely popular in their materials. The new metropolitan or manufacturing boroughs only acted as the old ones had always done, and nothing could thence be inferred as to the increased prevalence of extreme or revolutionary opinions among the people in general.

The experiment which the king was then led to make of establishing a conservative ministry has been commonly said to have been premature. The whig cabinet, it has been argued, if left alone, would have fallen to pieces of itself. This does not appear certain, judging from the evidence of adherence to office which the men composing it have since afforded under circumstances considerably more trying; but, at any rate, as long as the same parliament continued, it may be doubted if the disruption, had it taken place, would have turned to the profit of the conservative party. A change of the House of Commons was an object much more important than one of the ministry; and the opportunity which then offered itself of effecting its dissolution was too valuable to be hazarded upon any speculation of that kind. Still less can we understand the doctrine of some who argue that Sir Robert Peel should have reserved his appeal to a new parliament until he had first tried the temper of the old. It seems much more probable, that had he ventured to meet the old House of Commons, he would not have been allowed the opportunity of making any such trial at all.

Nor can the experiment be said

to have failed; on the contrary, it might not be difficult to shew it produced all the good that could reasonably have been expected from it. That within two years after the passing of the reform bill the new constituencies of the three kingdoms should return a conservative majority, was an expectation of the grounds of which we have never heard a distinct explanation. Sir Robert Peel, indeed, affected to calculate on the support of the radical party which had so virulently oppugned the ministers whom he displaced; but surely his penetration could not have mistaken their discontent with the moderation of the whigs, for a disposition to support the tories. In fact, he could have proposed to himself but two objects in taking office; to get rid, in the first place, of the existing parliament; and, secondly, to afford himself an opportunity of holding a language and broaching measures which would effectually vindicate him in the public mind from that hostility to all improvement in the institutions of the country which was popularly believed to animate his party. This he was enabled most effectually to do; and having accomplished so much, we are far from sure, that his subsequent removal from the government was, under the circumstances, any matter of regret. As a minister, his course would have been one of incessant and ungraceful struggle. Fallen from office, he rose again the leader of the most powerful opposition that was ever banded together under one head. In the administration he could have done little good—with the means of control which he wields from the opposite benches, he effectually prevents all serious harm.

It may seem paradoxical to say it; but, although the gain of the conservative party was chiefly at the expence of the whigs, yet, we doubt, whether the position of these last was materially injured by the loss. In one sense it might be said to be better. The weakness of the whigs, as a party, is their strength as a government. It has restored to them the votes, and, what is better, relieved them from the abuse of their former allies, the radicals. The pressure from without, of which Lord Grey so pathetically complained, as constantly urging the adoption of extreme and violent measures, has been transformed to a friendly and effective support. Ministers have exchanged a radical for a conservative opposition, and, so far, we may believe, much to their own comfort. If their opponents are more formidable, their friends have become much less troublesome. The radicals have been compelled to moderate their tone in proportion as the conservatives have been enabled to elevate theirs; and it is not impossible that ministers may find reason to congratulate themselves on the alteration. At any rate, we cannot but consider the change as one of the happiest augury for the peace and welfare of the country in general. In that point of view, it may be made a matter of question whether, in the present state of parties, it is, upon the whole, desirable that the direct administration of the government should be replaced in the hands of the conservatives. It is, at least, a considerable compensation to them, in their exclusion from power, that it keeps in abeyance all the grosser and more noxious elements of political agitation. The radical supporters

of the ministers feel, that they have but to drive a small section of the more moderate of their friends across the house, and the tories will be enabled to resume the government. Some ultra-liberals have professed themselves anxious for this consummation, as thinking it preferable to the mere semblance of reform, which is all that the whigs are able to offer to the people. We are far from sure, that with a view to the ultimate triumph of the revolutionary movement, they are not right in their calculation. Resuming their places on the left side of the house, the whigs would regain something of that comparative popularity which always attaches to opposition. The radicals would be at liberty to resume the task of excitement and agitation, which is their proper calling as a party,—and both might thus co-operate with much more effect than at present they are allowed to do, in the regeneration, on their own principles, of our civil and ecclesiastical institutions.

This reasoning, indeed, supposes that the whigs are really anxious for such changes; a fact which we may be allowed to doubt. The whigs form a party more purely aristocratical in its materials than any other in the state. It is difficult, therefore, to suppose them indifferent to the stability of those establishments, upon which, in fact, their own importance and well-being immediately depend.

It was made a topic of incessant imputation upon the ministers, that they owed their maintenance in power directly to the aid of Mr. O'Connell and his followers; men, it was said, who had but lately overwhelmed the whigs as a body, with the most contemptuous vituperation, and of whose good-will to the interests or union of the empire, such doubt might be reasonably entertained. The sense of their dependence upon the support of such a body was, no doubt, a mortification in the position of the ministers; but we cannot see, that they were, therefore, called upon to decline the assistance of its votes. The case would have been otherwise had the support of Mr. O'Connell been conciliated by any material concession of principle on the part of the whigs. But this does not clearly appear to have been the case. The sacrifices hitherto seem to have come altogether from the more violent of the two parties to this compromise; nor do we see, that any measure has been brought forward, or language employed, by ministers on Irish questions which might not have been expected from them in perfect consistency with the principles they have always professed in reference to the government of that part of the kingdom. Even the appropriation clause, we suspect, was insisted upon less as an oblation to Mr. O'Connell, than as a stumbling-block to the conservatives. In displacing Sir Robert Peel it had performed its office, and its authors were afterwards content to let it rest in oblivion. If O'Connell, therefore, could influence the whigs, they were fully as much enabled to control O'Connell; nor, under these circumstances, can we see anything degrading to either party in their co-operation for a common and paramount object.

The most embarrassing part of the position of the whigs in office was the relation in which they stood to the other branches of the legislature. The crown was avowedly unfriendly to them, and

might be supposed to be on the watch for the first occasion that should present itself for their removal. The large and hopeless minority of their supporters in the House of Lords proved a still more substantial difficulty in the way of their government. Whatever measures they might originate as ministers, they could command the success of none. Not a bill could pass the legislature but by the sufferance of their opponents, who had it thus in their power to reject, or mutilate, or remodel every measure of the government as it came before them. This was, perhaps, the most material result of the dissolution of the first reformed parliament. The House of Lords was thus restored to the full exercise of its functions; and as long as it was supported by a similar proportion of the popular branch of the legislature, its efficiency might be surely depended upon for the adequate protection of all the great interests and establishments of the country.

The opposition of the House of Lords was, indeed, the great difficulty in the march of the government, and the most humiliating circumstance in their situation. It is the first time in the constitutional history of the country that any men have consented to administer the government without the means of generally commanding the success of those measures which they thought it their duty to bring forward in either branch of the legislature. Nor did there appear any outlet for their escape from the difficulty. The majority against them in the upper House was so large as to make impossible the resource of overcoming it by new creations, could they even depend upon the consent of the crown to its adoption. Under other circumstances, a cabinet in finding it could no longer carry on the government on their own principles, would have resigned; and, in the case of the reform bill, it will be remembered, the whigs did resort to this extremity in an emergency apparently much less urgent. In that instance, however, they felt that they were supported by so large a majority of the House of Commons; and still more, by so decided an expression of public feeling without doors, that they had no apprehension that any other set of men would venture to take up the reins which they affected to abandon. The state of things was very different at present; so nice was the division both of numbers within the House, and of opinions without; and so evident was the growing indifference of the country in general to their cause, that the ministers felt a voluntary resignation on their own part was all that their opponents were waiting for to hurry forward as candidates to succeed them. It was calculated that many would stand by the crown, if deserted by the whigs, who might not be equally disposed to lend it assistance in directly dismissing them from office; and the effect of this distinction, nice as it was, might be sufficient to decide the success of either experiment.

Among the people generally, the change would have been regarded with little excitement of feeling on any side. The property, and, we may say, the professions of the country, were, upon the whole, decidedly inclined to conservative principles. The strength of the ministers lay with the numerous masses inhabiting towns, and more particularly with the dissenting

interests—a body still more formidable by their union and discipline, than by their numbers and wealth. As far as any particular measures were concerned, there was, perhaps, no very great difference of opinion between the more moderate men of either party. Where Sir Robert Peel differed from Lord John Russell, it was not so much in respect of the particular reforms to be effected, as of the principles on which they were brought forward. We may add that, if, on the whole, the conservatives were less popular, they had a decided advantage in the eyes of the country in the superiority of political and parliamentary talent, which distinguished them over the actual occupants of the treasury bench. In respect of Sir Robert Peel, in particular, no one could question his superior fitness, both as a speaker and man of business, to conduct the government, beyond any one of his contemporaries. Those who approached him nearest in this respect were certainly not to be sought among the ministers. Indeed, their best friends could not pretend that Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, or Mr. Spring Rice evinced any portion of that ascendancy of talent or character which should mark them out as the leaders of a great party; still less as the ministers of the first country in the world.

The balance of party strength, therefore, at this moment, was singularly nice and even. If the whigs had a small superiority in the House of Commons, the Crown and the Lords were decidedly favourable to their adversaries. The strength of one party lay in the counties; that of the other in the towns. Numbers were the support of one side; property and education of the other. The English representation leant to the tories, but was more than balanced by the superiority of the whigs in Scottish and Irish members. If the ministers were more popular by their principles, the opposition leaders had a decided personal advantage in the reputation of talent. Under these circumstances of equipoise, the movement of the government, as far as concerned all general measures, had come to what in mechanics is called a *dead lock*. The ordinary detail of administration was suffered to take its course; but beyond that, the ministers could do nothing, either for public or party purposes. They were just strong enough to keep their hold of power, but impotent for any effective use of it. Considering what are the specific office and tendencies of the two parties, the advantage of relative situation seems to lie with the conservatives. They were thus enabled most effectually to exercise their proper function in arresting the progress of the spirit of change: still there was something discreditable as well as inconvenient to the government in such a complication of position; and the manner of its probable unravelling became a matter of anxious speculation. Unless a political crisis should arise, to give a more determinate excitement of one kind or other to the public mind, the only visible solution of the problem was, a coalition. Upon the ground of principle there appeared no great difficulty in the way of such a consummation. As we have said, upon all practical measures there was little difference of opinion or principles between the ostensible leaders of either party. In respect of organic or constitutional change,

the one side professed to be satisfied with what had been effected in the reform bill, and the other to be reconciled to the necessity of it. Lord John Russell disclaimed all intention to go further, as Sir Robert Peel did any desire to go back. Every measure of practical or administrative reform called for by the country, had been advocated by the conservative leader as decidedly as it could be by the whigs themselves. Indeed, such had been his activity in the short course of his late administration, that he had really left very little in that respect for his opponents to originate on their return. In regard to the foreign policy of the country, much as the conservatives had disapproved of some of the engagements which had been entered into, they had never questioned the duty of strictly fulfilling them. In fact, so slight was the practical divergence between the two parties, that at the commencement of the last session it had tasked all the ingenuity of the whigs to concoct in the clause for the secular appropriation of a possible surplus of church property in Ireland, a pledge of opinion which they had reason to believe it would be impossible for their adversaries to assent to.

The difficulty in the way of a combination of parties, therefore, did not lie in the principles or the measures to which their leaders had severally committed themselves; it consisted much rather in the persons to whom they had virtually and severally pledged their faith. They could not have consented to retain office on the condition of abandoning their Irish friends, who had, in fact, but lately helped them into it; and it would perhaps have been still more difficult to have included Mr. O'Connell and his tail in any new ministerial combination, however liberal or comprehensive. Some difficulty, too, would have arisen in arranging the personal pretensions of the members of a coalition cabinet. The mere fact of the very decided superiority of the tory leaders in this respect was a serious obstacle to their combination with the others on anything like equal terms. It was impossible but that men like Wellington and Lyndhurst, Peel and Stanley, in any cabinet of which they formed a part, must take an ascendency which it might be supposed their new allies would be very little disposed to admit.

Although, as we have observed, a coalition of parties seemed the only probable outlet to the embarrassment resulting from their present equality, the resource would hardly have been popular with the people, or perhaps desirable in itself. Coalitions of men who have been long opposed to each other are seldom effected without some compromise of principle, and even of personal consideration; a sacrifice which perhaps more than balances in its ill effect upon the public mind the temporary political conveniency afforded by the arrangement. The ingenious distinctions by which statesmen endeavour to reconcile their new language and conduct with that they had hitherto maintained, is commonly too refined to hit the popular sense; and an impression remains unfavourable to the integrity of public men, in general, and the tendency of which is really to lower the standard of political morality among them.

Upon the whole, there was nothing in the state of public affairs,

or the tendency of popular opinion, at this period to excite either alarm or dejection. The elemental agitation of the time of the reform bill had passed over, and certainly with less damage than might have been apprehended. No doubt the change then effected had considerably loosened the ancient holdings of the constitution; on the other hand, much of comfort was to be derived from the fact, that the people had shewn themselves less disposed than might have been feared, to abuse the power which was thus placed in their hands. As far as concerned the great mass of the English people, it was evident, that their former principles and prejudices remained unimpaired. The monarchy was still popular — the church an object of attachment; a strong disposition indeed existed to get rid of what seemed to be abuses in the administrative parts of our public institutions; and so far as it had awakened more general attention to these defects, and shaken the obstinacy that so uniformly opposed itself to their removal, we do not know that the reform bill had done much harm. The effects of that revolution, however, are not to be appreciated in times like the present, of comparative prosperity and peace. The constitution is no doubt still strong enough for the ordinary march of events. It is the season of excitement and embarrassment, such as from time to time occurs in every country, which will put the adequacy of its diminished resources to the proof. If another storm like that which carried the reform bill should beset the vessel of the constitution, would it outlive the shock? We do not, however, suggest this as despairing of the event of such a crisis. The public mind may improve in the understanding of its interests, in proportion to its increased influence in the management of them; though we confess we should not choose to have made ourselves responsible for the success of such an experiment.

There is one circumstance which will probably distinguish the future history of the country from the past. We doubt whether another long war will ever be carried on by our government, subject as it will now more immediately become to the fluctuating impulse of public opinion. This consequence of the change would hardly be a matter of regret, were there not reason to fear, that the people may still be as ready to involve themselves in quarrels, as they will afterwards be unduly impatient to get out of them. Fortunately, however, there seems little ground of apprehension that we shall early be put to the trial. The foreign relations of the country, at this period, appeared as pacific in their tendency as at any former one of our history. It was evident, that peace had become the policy of all the leading powers of Europe. The very events which had so recently occurred to threaten a general combustion, bore witness in their result to this conclusion. If the revolutions of France and Belgium, and the civil wars of Poland and the Peninsula, could pass over without compelling a recourse to arms on the part of the neighbouring powers, it was evident the catastrophe could only have been avoided by a general determination on their part by every possible means to avoid that extremity. And the longer peace has lasted, the longer is it likely to

last ; the increasing connexion of interests and multiplication of relations, both commercial and intellectual, which grow out of a period of general tranquillity, are now the best guarantees of its continuance.

The politics of the continental governments, within the last twenty years, has indeed undergone an important change. Their jealousy is now less directed to their neighbours than to their subjects. They are not so ambitious to extend their territories abroad as they are anxious to maintain their power at home. The alarm of revolutionary movement has given them in a manner a common interest ; to the comparative extinction of those feelings of mutual distrust or enmity which formerly prevailed among them. Every one feels, that the occurrence of a general war would let loose elements of internal agitation, the force or effect of which it would be as difficult to calculate as control. This sense of danger has produced a spirit of combination among the great northern powers, which if it suggest no happy augury to the prevalence of more liberal principles of government, at least affords the best security against the disturbance of the general peace. And by so doing it perhaps assures, less directly but not less certainly, the eventual ascendency of those very principles of which they would fain extinguish the force. It is by peace that all the fruits of human intelligence, as well as the resources of general wealth, are best developed and diffused. Every year of unbroken peace adds largely to the means, both mental and material, of the great mass of the people ; and thus assures to them the progressive increase both of their fitness for the functions of self-government, and of their power eventually to indicate their right to the exercise of it.

The assembly of parliament had been assigned to the last day of January ; but the business of political discussion did not await that time to commence its operations. Meetings took place in all parts of the country, under the auspices of the several parties which divided public opinion, for the purpose of arraying their strength, and declaring their views, preparatory to the more important struggle that was about to take place in Parliament. These meetings have their importance as indications of opinion ; and public men, moreover, have often on the occasions of them, the opportunities of a more clear and decided expression of their sentiments and views than the objects and limits of a parliamentary debate will allow them. We think it desirable, therefore, to open our political annals for the year by a short account of the proceedings of some of them.

To begin from the bottom. In the first week of the year the reformers of Bath gave a dinner to the representatives for that city, which was remarkable not so much for the number of those present, as because it included most of the leading radicals of the country, who took the opportunity of renewing a public profession of their political faith. The principal speaker on this occasion was, of course, Mr. Roebuck. In defending the line of conduct which he had adopted towards the government, he declared, that all that he and his friends had asked was, that the members who compose the cabinet, and those who are in any way

connected with it, should be at liberty to express their own conscientious opinions upon the various measures affecting the great body of the people. "We have not," said he, "asked the whig government to bring forward the question of the ballot, or the extension of the suffrage, or the repeal of the rate-paying clauses, or the reform of the House of Lords. We only request, that when any of these important measures are brought before the House of Commons, every member of the government shall be free to give a conscientious vote.

Sir William Molesworth, too, said he should be sorry to see the tories in power. His political hatred of that party was unquenchable. It resulted from a conflict of principles which are irreconcilable. "But if," he added, "in order to keep a whig party in power it is necessary that the members of the popular party should co-operate with them in doing nothing—should suppress their opinions—should suspend their principles, and thus produce in the minds of the people a doubt of their zeal, a suspicion of their honesty; inducing the masses to believe, that their leaders are playing the old game of the factious, in the compromise of their principles for the sake of power or patronage—then, I contend, the sacrifice is too great an one, for it is a sacrifice of principle. It is said, we ought to overlook minor differences of opinion — to avoid topics that produce disunion—to obtain as much as we can, and rejoice. And no, doubt, so we ought to do, provided that by so acting we do not sacrifice the means of obtaining more. But is the ballot merely a minor difference of opinion? Is the repeal of the rate-paying clauses—is an extension of the suffrage—is an abolition of church-rates—of the Irish church—of the corn-laws—is a reform of the army—is a reform of the universities—above all a reform of the House of Lords—are all these, I ask, questions of minor importance? Are these questions upon which men are loudly to declaim on the hustings, till they have secured their return, and then, in the House of Commons, to be suppressed, forgotten, rejected, upon the plea that the discussion of them might be injurious to ministers?" Sir William Molesworth said, he firmly believed, that the course the radicals had taken, so far from being disagreeable was secretly approved of by the best men in the ministry. At any rate there was but one course for the popular party—they ought on every possible occasion to make known their principles—to labour by reiterated argument and incessant discussion to diffuse their opinions among the masses. They ought to seize every opportunity to prove themselves in earnest by seeking to carry out their principles, and treating as enemies all who stand in their way. So would they excite again the enthusiasm of the people, which once roused must prove irresistible.

Mr. Leader also endeavoured to restore the hopes of the more timid reformers, already desponding at the aspect of the conservative ranks, by reminding them of what they had been able to achieve under circumstances infinitely more unfavourable, when the aristocracy dictated to the entire legislature. As for the hopes which the tories were evidently indulging of getting back to power through the

disunion of the reformers, "Do these men," said he, "foolishly imagine, that the radicals will oppose good measures, because they are not as comprehensive as they should be? Cannot they form an idea of any other than a mere partisan support? The anticipations of the tories are chimerical. The people of England will not be governed on tory principles. Scotland; has declared against them—Ireland is at open war with them. The popular party in the three countries remains stedfast in purpose; faithful to that cause of progressive reform whose ultimate triumph is inevitable.

A meeting much more imposing in its numbers and accompanying circumstances was that which attended the banquet which later in the month was given by the Middlesex reformers in honour of their representatives Mr. Byng and Mr. Hume. No less a building than Drury-lane theatre was chosen as the scene of this political festivity. Tables for 1,100 persons were laid out on the pit and stage, and the boxes were filled with well - dressed spectators. The speeches on this occasion, however, presented few new topics of interest. Mr. Byng, the father of the whig party in the House of Commons, congratulated the assembly on the progress he had lived to see in the diffusion of liberal principles. "I have had the honour," he said, "of representing you and your fathers for nearly fifty years. I have lived in eventful times, and my sentiments fifty years ago were more consonant to the feelings of the present day than they were to the feelings of them whose suffrages I first solicited." In illustration of this change, Mr. Byng mentioned his opposition to the war with France. "I was against it on principle and on policy; but I found that nine tenths of the country were in favour of it—an important admission on the part of one of the whigs, who nevertheless would make the tories exclusively responsible for all the consequences of our twenty years' conflict with France.

Although, for the most part, a radical meeting, no hostility was, on this occasion, expressed against ministers; but much disapprobation of a good deal of their proceedings. Mr. Hume dwelt upon the impolicy of leaving the army in the hands of their enemies. Mr. Grote required, that every member or supporter of government should be allowed to give his free suffrage on the ballot. Mr. Ward called for full "justice to Ireland" at their hands. But all these gentlemen, as well as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Duncombe, deprecated the return of the tories to power, as the consummation of calamity to the popular cause. "Gentlemen," said Mr. Grote, "we have all heard of late the shouts of the tory press, in the hopes of victory which they found on the disunion of the radicals from the whigs. If Sir Robert Peel is to defer his return to power till he is helped into it by the radicals, he will find the interval sufficiently long and tedious. The radicals know well what they would have to expect from the restoration of the tories to power. They know that their dominion rests upon everything that is antiquated and corrupt and anti-popular in the nation—upon oligarchical predominance in the state, and sectarian pride and privileges in the church. Lord Melbourne has to contend with the implacable enmity of these

darker powers, with little else to rely upon but the people. He has, therefore, the strongest motive to conciliate their confidence by governing in a generous and public spirit. I will not ask whether his cabinet have always acted up to the exigences of his position; but their interest is as clearly in favour of progressive reform as that of the tories is against it: and this is enough to command my hearty efforts, in every case, in favour of whigs against tories; to make me support the ministry with alacrity and oppose them with reluctance."

"But, gentlemen," added Mr. Grote, "I cannot forget that my paramount duty as a representative in parliament, is not to identify myself with one ministry or with another; but to labour with my best energies in the vineyard of the people. If the ministry look for allies and fellow labourers in carrying out the work of reform, they will find none more zealous or more constant than the men who hold radical opinions. If they seek for other service than this—if they claim passive and servile acquiescence in all their propositions—if they rely on the magic of the Treasury summons for procuring support in parliament, instead of commanding it by the intrinsic goodness and sufficiency of their measures—if they cast their plans of amendment on a diminutive and contemptible scale for the purpose of conciliating those ambiguous waverers, who hover on the confines of toryism—if such be their policy, then, I say, they will find no persons more inflexible and more uncomplying than the men who hold radical opinions—what, indeed, remains for radical members of parliament when the ministers refuse to take the initiative in matters of reform, except as private individuals to lay their own propositions before the house and the public? What alternative have they, if ministers propose ill-judged or defective measures, except to protest against the deficiency and to exert their best efforts for supplying it?"

Similar meetings were got up throughout the country. At few of these, however, was any direct response made to the appeal which had been sent forth by the radical leaders at Bath. Some discontent was, indeed, almost universally expressed at the slow and compromising conduct of the government in the work of reform; but the radicals themselves could not but see the difficulty of the position in which the ministers were placed, nor dissemble their apprehension of the consequences, in the present relative strength of parties, should their own violence drive even a few of the more moderate reformers to join the ranks of an enemy whose force in the House of Commons was already almost preponderant. We do not discover that any of the ministers personally came forward on these occasions, either with a declaration or a defence of their own policy. The only exception was that of the Irish secretary, Lord Morpeth. At a dinner, given in honour of himself and his colleague, at Leeds, he took occasion to enter at some length into the present state of political questions, and of the conduct which his party had hitherto held in their discussion or settlement. To that same line of conduct, he said, he was prepared to adhere. "I value, and will do my utmost to maintain, the constitution; but under its broad and

expansive shade I would remove every obstacle, and clear every avenue of access to every class, to every creed, to every race, that owns its sway and courts its shelter. I would proceed in reducing and removing all the remainder of exclusive privileges and monopolies by which one class of our countrymen may be benefitted to the detriment of the rest. I would give to religious as well as to civil freedom, the most unobstructed range; and, above all, I would desire to banish from our temples and our altars the clash of sordid disputes and civil bickerings. And while I would thus advance with the age in which we live, adapting the framework of our polity to surrounding circumstances, clinging to no abuse because it is ancient, and shrinking from no improvement because it is a change; I own, at the same time, that I should feel little disposed to desert that party of which it pleases some to predicate that it is verging upon extinction and can never again emerge to power and popularity in England. Well, then! be it so. The destinies of individuals and of parties, and of empires are beyond the ken of common calculation; but to whatever depth of obscurity myself or my friends may be consigned, it will be sufficient for me, as an individual, to remember that in four successive elections I have borne your colours to victory; it will be sufficient for me, as a member of a party, to recollect that in four short years, we have reformed the representation of the people in parliament—reformed and opened the municipal corporations of England and Scotland—swept from our blushing records the dæmon code of slavery—opened wide the seas and shores of the globe to British trade and enterprise. And this, the legislation of four short years, has been—let the over-timid and the over-bold mark this—achieved without one form of the constitution being violated—without one breach of the law being countenanced—without one drop of human blood being spilled." These last assertions of Lord Morpeth may be thought to admit of some controversy when we recollect the menacing array of physical strength which was sanctioned in the political unions; the conduct held in respect to the riots at Bristol; above all, the manner in which the reform bill was ultimately passed or rather forced through the House of Lords. The forms of the constitution may not have been directly violated in this last instance; but its spirit was never more grossly set at nought, than by a proceeding which effectively paralysed all expression of opinion on the part of a branch of the legislature.

In the meanwhile it may be supposed that the conservatives were not idle—on the contrary, it was the extraordinary activity which they had exercised in every method of application to public opinion, from the very close of the preceding session, that had principally roused the ministerial and popular parties to something of correspondent exertion. Notwithstanding the failure of their experiment to carry on the government, the result of the session had been in a high degree to cheer their spirits and raise their hopes. Finding themselves in possession of nearly half of the Commons' House and of an immense majority in the Lords; backed by the crown, the church, and generally by the land-

ed interest throughout the kingdom, they felt secure as to the future; and trusted, that a little more popularity was all that was wanting to restore them even to present power. With this view they addressed themselves to the use of every art of popularity: meetings, chiefly festive ones, of conservatives were held in every part of the country, and local associations organised for the defence and diffusion of their principles. This conduct on the part of their adversaries was amusingly adverted to by one of the speakers (Mr. Clay) at the Drury-lane dinner; who observed, that "the most turbulent class of the community at that moment was the tory aristocracy—they had a monopoly of agitation. Formerly, it was the people—the mob, as it was called, who were disturbed; now, strange to say, the masses were tranquil, and it is the upper classes who are in agitation—If, at any meeting, dangerous or even seditious language is used, ten to one but it is a meeting of tory peers and squires, and reverend gentlemen, most of them with two or three livings a-piece."

By far the most important meeting of this kind was one which, about the middle of January, took place at Glasgow in honour of Sir Robert Peel. The right hon. baronet had been put in nomination for the office of Lord Rector of the University of that city, in competition with the Attorney-General, Sir John Campbell, and had been elected by a large majority; and his visit to the place for the purpose of installation was made the occasion of a magnificent banquet in his honour, on the part of his political friends and admirers in that part of Scotland. An immense temporary saloon was erected, and tables laid for no less than for 3,432 guests. This number was said to include many persons who had supported the Reform Bill, a fact which was adverted to by Sir Robert himself in his speech, as a matter of satisfaction. He hoped, if that was the case, they might be safely there—"I want not" said he, "to taunt you with reaction or conversion; but I say, that if you adhere to the principles which you professed in 1830, it is here you ought to come. You consented to a reform to which you were invited in a speech delivered by your sovereign, expressly on the condition that it should be according to the acknowledged principles of the constitution. Let us have no mistake on that point; I see the necessity of widening the foundations on which the defence of our constitution and of our religious establishments must rest."

He then went on to ask of the reformers present, whether they adhered to the principle on which the Reform Bill was advocated by its authors; that is, as a means of improving and preserving the settled institutions of the country. He contended, that the reformers should not leave to him who was taunted with being a conformer, the defence of their own measure; but that they should prove it to be what they had contended it was, consistent with the principles of the British constitution. He agreed with them, that the machine of government should not be allowed to stand still, he wished to see it perform its proper, its healthful office; but he would not sanction constant intermeddling with the vital function of the machine.

"But," he continued, "let us come to the main point; for I do not wish to conciliate your confi-

dence or support by hoisting false colours. I mean to support the national establishments which connect Protestantism with the state, in the three countries." At this declaration, the whole assembly is described as rising in one mass, and responding unto it by prolonged and most enthusiastic applause. He went on, "then again I avow to you, that I mean to support in its full integrity, the House of Lords," (here was a second and similar outbreak of acclamation), "as an essential and indispensable condition to the maintenance of the constitution under which we live. Do you also concur in that expression of opinion?" (a loud and universal expression of assent.) "And if you do," said he, "it is a timely declaration of it. The *hour has arrived,* when if these are our feelings, we must be prepared to act upon them."

In conclusion, Sir Robert said, he had long fought the battles of the constitution; but he never despaired, he never doubted that the old, the ancient heart of England and Scotland would rally round the institutions of their common country—with what a feeling of confidence, then, should he now return to take his part in the same conflict! The disturbing influence of foreign example had diminished—the dazzling illusions of the glorious days had passed away; the affections of the people were visibly gravitating again to their old centre—full of a respect for property, a love of rational freedom and an attachment to long established institutions. From those walls, he trusted a spirit would go forth to animate the desponding and encourage the timid. He looked abroad from the spot on which he then stood, to the moral influence of that opinion which constituted the cheap defence of nations—he looked to it for the maintenance of that system of government which protected the rich from spoliation, and the poor from oppression—he looked to that spirit which would range itself under no tawdry banner of revolution—but unfurl and rally round the flag that had 'braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze.' Yes, he felt no shadow of doubt that it would continue to float in triumph, and that the constitution, tried as it had been in the storms of adversity, would come forth purified and fortified in the rooted convictions, the feelings, the affections of a religious, a moral, and a patriotic people.*

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* The following division of parties in the House of Commons appeared in the newspapers just before the meeting of parliament. Its approximative accuracy was not disputed, though it certainly somewhat under-rated the ministerial strength:—

Radicals, English and Irish	80	
Liberals	100	
Whigs	152	
Total Ministerialists		332
Conservatives	80	
Tories	139	
Ultra-Tories	100	
		319
		651

The Speaker, and six vacant seats, make up the remaining seven votes.

CHAPTER II.

Meeting of Parliament—Speech of the Lords Commissioners—Address moved by Lord Fingall ; seconded by Lord Suffield—Allusions to the State of Ireland—Duke of Wellington's Remarks on Affairs of Spain—Lord Melbourne's Reply—Debate on the Address in the Commons—Mr. Roebuck's Attack upon the Policy of Ministers, which is defended by Mr. Beaumont, Mr. James, and Mr. Curteis —Speech of Sir Robert Peel—Question on the State of our relations with the Peninsular Kingdoms—Reply of Lord Palmerston.

PARLIAMENT met on the 31st of January. The session was opened by commission. The lords commissioners' speech on this occasion began with the usual statement, that the king continued to receive from all foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition ; and that he trusted, that the experience of the blessings which peace confers upon nations would tend to secure and confirm the tranquillity that existed.

"The king," said the commissioner, "laments, that the civil contest which has agitated the Spanish monarchy, has not yet been brought to a conclusion ; but his majesty has continued to afford to the queen of Spain that aid which, by the treaty of quadruple alliance of 1834, his majesty engaged to give, if it should become necessary ; and he rejoices that his co-operations since has rendered useful assistance to the troops of her catholic majesty."

"Events," it was added, "have happened in Portugal, which, for a time, threatened to disturb the internal peace of that country. The king ordered, in consequence, a temporary augmentation of his naval force in the Tagus, for the more effectual protection of the persons and property of his subjects residing in Lisbon. And the admiral commanding his majesty's squadron was authorised, in case of need, to afford protection to the person of the queen of Portugal, without, however, interfering in those constitutional questions which divided the conflicting parties."

The speech then called the attention of the Houses to the important subject of the state of the province of Canada ; reports of the commissioners appointed to inquire into which had been directed to be laid before them. It also recommended to their serious deliberation the provisions which would be submitted to them for the improvement of the law and the administration of justice; objects, for the accomplishment of which the king's anxiety remained undiminished ; and, further, it con-

veyed his majesty's desire, that they should consult upon such further measures as might give increased stability to the established church, and produce concord and good-will.

Addressing more particularly the House of Commons, the usual assurance was given, that the estimates of expenditure for the present year "had been prepared with every desire to meet the exigencies of the public service in the spirit of a wise economy." The increase of the revenue, it was said, had more than justified the expectations created by the receipts of former years. The king then recommended to the Houses an early renewal of their inquiries into the operation of the act permitting the establishment of joint-stock banks, and took occasion to make the general remark, that "the best security against the mismanagement of banking affairs must ever be found in the capacity and integrity of those who are trusted with the administration of them; but no legislative regulation," it was added, "should be omitted which can increase and insure the stability of establishments upon which commercial credit so much depends."

The concluding topic of the speech was the state of Ireland, and the wisdom of adopting all such measures as might improve the condition of that part of the kingdom. With this view, the king recommended to the early consideration of Parliament the present constitution of the municipal corporations of that country; the collection of tithes; "and the difficult, but pressing question, of establishing some legal provision for the poor," guarding it by prudent regulations, and such precautions against abuse, as experience might suggest. "His majesty," said the commissioners, "commits these great interests to your hands, in the confidence that you will be able to frame laws in accordance with his wishes, and the expectations of his people. He is fully persuaded, that should this hope be fulfilled, you will not only contribute to the welfare of Ireland, but strengthen the law and constitution of these realms, by securing their benefits to all classes of his majesty's subjects."

Considering their shortness, and the solemnity of the occasions, it is, perhaps, a matter of surprise, that it is not thought worth while to give something more of dignity of tone, and precision of language, to the king's speeches. The studied vagueness of their matter seems to communicate itself to their expression; and, altogether, it would be difficult to find a series of compositions, more uniformly and thoroughly common-place in both respects. The speech, on this occasion, was a full illustration of our remark. For the rest, if the object of its authors was to compose a statement of opinion and topic to which it was difficult for the most captious adversary to make objection, they had certainly, in this instance, succeeded.

The address in answer to the royal speech was moved, in the House of Lords, by the earl of Fingall, and seconded by lord Suffield. As usual, both mover and seconder, in their speeches on this occasion, were careful not to go beyond the royal speech itself in the topics they touched upon, or the opinions they delivered. With respect to the state of Ireland, lord Fingall bore witness, that, notwithstanding the

continued sufferings of the people of that country, what are called agrarian outrages had been considerably diminished. Some amendment, he hoped, would be introduced into the constitution of the Irish municipal corporations. The two countries were now united inseparably, and both would naturally conceive themselves entitled to the same liberties and privileges. The Irish felt themselves to be as competent as they were inclined, to take the management of their own affairs; and could not but think themselves degraded by an exclusion from the benefits of that municipal reform which had been imparted to the two other sections of the kingdom. Upon the question of tithes, he would say nothing at present, except to express his conviction, that the security of life and property, as well as the preservation of the public peace in Ireland, mainly depended upon a speedy and satisfactorily settlement of it. With respect to the matter of poor-laws, he referred the House to the mass of evidence which had been laid before it, and which exhibited a variety and extent of human misery prevailing in Ireland, which was equalled only by the patience with which it was borne. The destitution was dreadful; and the time, he was sure, was come, when something must be done, by legal enactment, to attempt to relieve it. In conclusion, lord Fingall expressed his hope, that the session would not terminate without the settlement of some of these great questions, as recommended from the throne. He had no wish to see the union between the two countries weakened; much less dissolved. By that act Ireland had come to share in the dangers and glories of England; let her equally partake in her privileges and liberties. They had begun a course of enlightened and generous policy towards Ireland. They had established civil equality; abolished religious distinctions. They had extended the franchise, and increased the representation of the people. Let them then persevere in the same liberal course, and they would place the connection of the two kingdoms on a true and lasting basis, beneficial and glorious to each.

Lord Suffield insisted chiefly upon the same topic. The refusal of perfect equality to Ireland, he was convinced, was the chief source of the political evils that pressed upon that country. Look to the National Association; to what was that *imperium in imperio*, which threatened to distract the country, and paralyze all government, attributable? Was it not mainly to the denial of municipal reform and the tithe bill? And how was it to be dissolved? By doing justice; substantial justice to the people. It was in the national sympathy alone that you find the means of dealing with difficulties like this. Justice alone would secure the support of public opinion, which, in the present state of public intelligence, was the only aliment upon which a government could subsist. The highest wisdom was but the instruction of the past. What had been the history of the measure of Catholic emancipation? If the stern convictions of the men then at the head of affairs, if the cautious prudence of a Peel, and the indomitable courage of a Wellington, had bent before the impending disorganization of society in Ireland, would it not behove the House to profit by the example,

before matters were driven again to a like extremity? The current of public feeling and opinion was irresistible. What had it not already wrenched from the legislature? Catholic emancipation, reform of Parliament, of the Irish hierarchy, of the municipal corporations of this island. Let them then learn wisdom by experience. The contest was one in which all the chances of justice, numbers, and activity, would be against them. He was not of the number of those theorists who called for changes in the elective franchise, and the manner of its exercise, and even in their Lordships' House. Nor did he think, that the sound and stable body of the reformers of this country were prepared to risk experiments of so much doubt and hazard. Their feeling, however, was still for reform, extensive reform; and the direction and regulation of that feeling mainly rested with that House. It was still in their power to secure peace by timely concession. But if they took the contrary course, if, seduced by pride of station, and misled by party prejudices, they attempted to oppose their *vis inertiæ* to the active force which was arrayed against them, backed as that force was by the judgment and affections of the great body of the people, their usefulness, their respectability, perhaps even their very existence, would be endangered.

The duke of Wellington then rose. He admitted, that an address less liable to objection could hardly have been composed; it was not, therefore, his intention to offer it any opposition. He could not, however, but remark on the reasoning of the noble seconder, who seemed to think, that the existence and conduct of the Irish National Association was justified by the proceedings of that House. That was an assumption as singular as improper; and against it he must protest. He did not call upon Government to interfere with that association; but, while he saw a body existing which formed committees, named agents, raised money, appointed officers, he could hardly think such a part consistent with the state of tranquillity which had been talked of. Was it another evidence of that tranquillity, that church property was all but annihilated, and that no clergyman could claim his dues, without the certainty almost of being murdered?

The duke then went on to allude to the affairs of Spain. He had never approved of the quadruple treaty, though, when in office, he had thought it his duty to carry into effect its provisions. He had nothing to object, on that score, to the language of the speech. It had been questioned how far another party to the treaty had performed her part of its obligations. He could not see that she had not done so. His sense of its object had been, that there should be no intervention in the internal affairs of Spain; and it was his decided opinion, that there should be none such. Indeed, the notion of forcing any system of government on Spain, was wholly impracticable. To do so, we must take into pay not only our own army, but the Spanish: a proposition, which, he suspected, would not be very palatable to a House of Commons, or a Chamber of Deputies. He deprecated, therefore, any such attempt as absurd and ruinous to ourselves, and still more so for the sake of Spain herself.

He could say, to his certain knowledge, that three several parties had already been ruined in Spain by our intervention. Individuals had been induced to take a certain line of action by the assurances of our Government. They had afterwards, of necessity, been abandoned by their own; and were so left with their families ruined, their properties sacrificed, and their prospects blighted for ever.

Lord Melbourne closed the debate. He admitted, that the tranquillity of Ireland was but comparative; that the resistance to tithe-collection formed an important exception; and with respect to the body calling itself the National Association, he saw its existence with regret, and disapproved of much of its proceedings. Still, they might justly congratulate themselves on the prevalence in Ireland of a degree of quiet, which, unfortunately, was very unusual. As for meetings, and speeches, and resolutions, if these were to be considered as disturbing the peace of a country, the most distracted country in Europe had been England during the last vacation; and in these agitations many noble lords opposite had taken a conspicuous part. He believed, it was the persuasion of these noble Lords, that their agitation had not been without effect; that what was called a reaction had taken place in the public mind. If so, the effect would soon be seen in a transfer of the administration. But, in the meanwhile, he would recommend to his noble adversaries not to be deceived by the sound of their own voices, or to take the loudness of their shouts as a proof of the increase of their numbers. The department of calculation was a very important one to the conduct of a great party. It was one which they had rather neglected, and had, consequently, fallen into very serious mistakes. Such, he had reason to believe, would prove to be the case of their present reckonings of augmented strength. They had better, therefore, beware before they venture to act upon them.

With respect to the affairs of Spain, Lord Melbourne said, he perfectly agreed with the duke of Wellington, both as to the impropriety of interfering with the internal affairs of that country, and the impossibility of doing so with any effect. Accordingly, we had not interfered. The late revolution in that country, disastrous as it had been to property, was no ways ascribable to our interposition. It arose from the circumstances of the country, from the impatience of the people under a long civil war, carried on without success or progress.

In the Commons the address was moved by Mr. Sanford, and seconded by Mr. Stuart Villiers. The debate that followed was enlivened by Mr. Roebuck, who took the occasion to make a violent sally against the whole system of ministerial policy. In doing this, he entered into a regular review of the state of public opinion. A struggle, he said, was going on, not in this country only, but throughout the world, between two principles of government; that which would make the many dominant, and that which would make the few. Each of these principles was represented in that House, but very unequally. The tory, or aristocratic party, presented there a large array of members, while the representatives of democracy were in a miserable

minority. But, though weak in numbers within doors, they were still formidable by the support of the great mass of the people without. There was also a third party, called the whigs, which affected to mediate between the other two, but always in the interest of the aristocracy, of which it was, in fact, but an offset. It was thus in the great conflict of 1830, the whigs proposed and carried the reform bill, which the people were glad to take at their hands as an instalment of justice, a stepping-stone to further improvements. After the retreat of lord Grey, the same task of mediation had been taken up by the whigs under lord Melbourne, and the reformers were still willing to give them support, not from any particular confidence in their honesty, or respect for their principles, but because they thought them, upon the whole, better than the tories, and they thought they could get more out of them.

After this statement of the division of parties, Mr. Roebuck went on to declare, that the whigs had deceived the people; somewhat inconsistently, perhaps, with what he had just let fall; for, if the reformers had never really trusted the whigs, they can hardly be said to have been deceived by them. He contended, that they kept the country in a state of excitement, bordering on revolution, merely for the purpose of maintaining themselves in power. They made reform clubs; established registration societies; in fact, did every thing but the right thing, which was to do away with the rate-paying clause of the reform bill, and give the people the ballot. As for Ireland, which was dwelt upon as the bright spot in their administration, he asked, what had they done for that country? They had sent there an honest governor, indeed, which, in Ireland, was a species of miracle; but lord Mulgrave, after all, was but a lucky accident; he might be removed to-morrow by one of a thousand chances; and what then remained for Ireland? Had they made a single change in her laws, a single improvement in her institutions? If he looked abroad, did he find, in the foreign relations of the country, anything for congratulation to England? Did he not find an interference at once undignified and useless in Spain; and in Portugal an interference which was worse than useless; which was positively mischievous, directed, as it was, against liberal opinions? If he turned to the colonies, did he find things any better? The common cry of the colonies was, that the whigs were just the same as the tories.

Mr. Roebuck concluded by stating what, under such circumstances, he conceived it to be the course for the radicals to pursue. In his opinion, they should separate from these pretended friends of reform, the whigs; and force them into an alliance with the tories. He said, the people would then know who were really their representatives in that House; but, excepting this knowledge, he did not explain what advantage on his own principles they were likely to obtain from such an arrangement. Indeed, a considerable confusion of feeling and object was perceptible in the whole of Mr. Roebuck's speech on this occasion —it abounded in abuse of ministers for not doing more; but failed altogether in showing how more could be done so long as the con-

servative party maintained their present strength in the two Houses of Parliament.

Accordingly the member for Bath met with little encouragement in his diatribe against the ministry. It was observed, that he had not received a single cheer from any side of the House. Mr. Beaumont denied that the radicals were the only representatives of the people in the House of Commons; and if the whigs had lost something of their popularity, it was more from their greater approximation of late to the radicals, than from their refusing to co-operate with that party. The radicals called for organic changes; but we had had enough of them, and parliament should therefore apply itself to real reforms, and to the business of practical legislation.

Mr. James, too, differed from Mr. Roebuck in thinking the whigs were worse than the tories. The whigs would not give them the ballot; but could they get it from the tories? As for organic changes, he did not wish for them, any more than did the people of England; but unless the House of Lords would legislate a little more wisely, something of that kind would become necessary with respect to the constitution of that House.

Mr. Curteis also denied that the majority of the people were in favour of the ballot, or at all disposed to support the principles of the member for Bath; and Mr. Hume himself agreed, that though they had not got all they desired from ministers, still they had obtained much; and he was, therefore, disposed rather 'to pat them on the back' and support them. He deprecated any disunion among reformers; by separating they would lose all; by keeping together, they would, at least, gain something. Finally, Dr. Bowring admitted that ministers were deserving the support of every member who wished well to the principles of good government and the cause of general humanity.

Sir Robert Peel then rose; not, he said, with the intention of opposing the address, or provoking any lengthened discussion on the matters to which it referred; but chiefly to remark on that passage of it which expressed the satisfaction of the House that his majesty's co-operating force had rendered useful assistance to the troops of her Catholic majesty. Whatever had been his opinion of the policy of the quadruple alliance, he had always considered it our duty to fulfil the treaty so long as the national faith stood pledged to it; by that treaty, we stipulated to give the assistance of a naval force to the arms of the queen of Spain; and he supported the address on the understanding that the aid we had given had been strictly of that character. The distinction, he observed, was important—the grant of a *military* force might have supposed an interference with the civil dissentions and party conflicts of Spain; an interference which he deprecated most strongly as unjust in itself and most dangerous in its example. Might not the precedent be equally adopted by despotic governments claiming a right to support absolute principles among their neighbours; and where then would be the peace and repose of Europe? Indeed, the very next paragraph in the address, supplied a sufficient illustration of this danger of interfering in the civil affairs of other countries. In 1837, we express our regret that "events have happened

in Portugal which, for a time, threatened to disturb the internal peace of that country." These events, however, said Sir Robert, are only the corollary of the revolution which had taken place in that country in 1834; a happy result, as it was then called, in the speech from the throne, and to which it was made a matter of congratulation to parliament that the treaty of quadruple alliance had materially contributed. A consequence of this "happy result" is, that we have now no less than six sail of the line in the Tagus—for what purpose? to defend the queen of that country from possible personal attack on the part of her own subjects; and to protect lives and property of the English residing there from the dangers with which they were threatened.

Lord Palmerston observed, in reply, that "when we stated that the effect of the treaty of 1834 was to put an end to the civil war in Portugal, we did not take upon ourselves the responsibility of the government of that kingdom in all future times, or undertake that it should be henceforth free from the civil disturbances to which every country was liable." This may be true; but if the last revolution in Portugal is a demonstrable consequence of the one which we had been so instrumental in bringing about, it would be difficult to shew that we were not in a great degree responsible for its occurrence. At any rate, Sir Robert Peel's inference as to the danger of interfering at all in the internal dissentions of other countries remains unimpeached.

When the report on the Address was brought up, Mr. Plumptre objected that it contained no recognition of Divine Providence. There was some justice in Lord John Russell's observation in reply, that if the mention of Divine Providence on these occasions were made invariable, it would become a mere matter of form and the words would lose their effect.

CHAPTER III.

State of Ireland—Observations on the social and political condition of that Country—Difficulties in the way of its Administration—Conduct of Parties with respect to it—Proceedings of the National Association—Great Protestant Meeting at Dublin—Petition to Parliament——Motion for leave to bring in a Bill for the Amendment of Municipal Corporations in Ireland—Lord John Russell's Speech on the State of Ireland—Vindication of Lord Mulgrave's Government—Decrease of Crime—Improved tranquillity of the Country—Speech of Sergeant Jackson in reply—Speech of Mr. O'Connell—Mr. Roebuck—Adjournment of the Debate—Defence of the Irish Government by Lord Morpeth—Sir James Graham's reply—Speeches of Sir John Hobhouse and Sir Robert Peel.

IRELAND continued to be this year, as it had been from the beginning of the century, the cardinal point of our domestic politics. Judging, indeed, from the space it engrosses in the proceedings of the legislature, one might suppose that the effect of the Union had been rather to transfer the English parliament to Dublin, than to bring a section of the representation of the sister Island to the common metropolis of the empire. Our parliamentary annals, in fact, are little more than the history of the English government or misgovernment of this ill-fated part of the kingdom. The release of the legislature from these constantly recurring discussions of Irish questions would be not the least of the benefits attending any system of measures which would effectually and permanently set them at rest.

It is an obvious and serious evil arising from our system of governing by parties, that if there exist any ill humour in the body politic its acrimony is invariably exacerbated by the care of one or other of the conflicting factions as a means of discredit or annoyance to its adversaries. This has been peculiarly the case with the recent administration of Ireland. To minister to her political ailments with effect, must under any circumstances have been difficult, resulting as they do from the misgovernment of centuries. Time, of course, is an essential element in the remedy of evils which the period they had already lasted rendered almost constitutional. Ignorance alone, in such a case, could promise an immediate cure. But long as we must wait for the complete success of the remedies, there could be little doubt as to the indication

of them; and almost every difficulty that has arisen in the way of their application has resulted from the endeavours of successive oppositions to turn the malady itself to the service of their own particular purposes.

The natural result of this method of treatment has been, severely to aggravate the difficulties of the case. Measures, which five-and-thirty years ago, would have been of the happiest augury for the health of the commonweal, have already become inapplicable. Since Catholic emancipation was to be conceded, the sturdiest opponent of this measure will admit it had been better, had Mr. Pitt been allowed to carry it at the time of the Union. It is not that we set much by the additional securities to our Protestant establishment, which, at that time, would have been yielded with gladness by the Catholic body; but both countries would have been spared the long course of mutual irritation to which the incessant discussion, and agitation of the question has since given rise.

Great as may be the inconveniences or dangers to our establishment involved in the concession of the claims of the Roman Catholics, it was hardly possible, that any statesman should be blind to the necessity of ultimately conceding them. From the moment we ceased to govern Ireland as a conquered country, or a colonial dependency, we should have been prepared to treat her on the footing of the most perfect and rigid equality. Any middle term was clearly impracticable. It was wild to suppose that the mass of the Irish people, placed in immediate contact with ourselves, would be content to remain mere spectators of our privileges, without claiming to share in them to the utmost. Or even if they were disposed to be satisfied, there was a party among ourselves, which we might be sure would never allow them to remain so. Public grievances, whether real or imaginary, form the very bank or capital of opposition politics—it is their vocation to inflame them. It is, indeed, from the declamations of English orators and publicists, the Irish have chiefly learnt the story of their own oppression. However we may reprobate the conduct of parties in this respect, the business of a statesman is to expect it as inevitable and to calculate his difficulties accordingly.

In what has been said we blame neither party exclusively. If the whigs had long made the grievances of the Catholics in Ireland a means of embarrassment and annoyance to their adversaries; the tories seemed at present as ready to make the same handle of the oppressions to which they contended the Protestants of that country were in their turn subjected. Undoubtedly the friends of the Protestant establishment were honestly alarmed at the dangers which threatened it, and in many respects they had grounds for being so. We question, however, whether in this more than in other like cases, they who expressed loudest their apprehensions felt them most strongly, or were really the most anxious for their dissipation.

At this moment, indeed, Irish politics had acquired more importance than ever. It was by dint of political agitation that Mr. O'Connell was enabled to secure the return of that body of members, whose support was, in fact, the main stay of the ministry. A

question affecting the Irish church was the means whereby the whigs returned to power; and further concession to the same party was naturally assumed to be the condition of their continuance in it. Under these circumstances every effort was made to alarm and exasperate the Protestant mind throughout the United Kingdom by pictures of the oppression of our brethren in Ireland, and the perspective of the ruin which was represented as impending over the Protestant establishments in both islands. This was to be expected, and to a certain degree was justifiable, and even necessary; but the abuse was soon extended from the leaders of the Popish party to the great mass of the Catholic population; from the politics of the people to their religion itself; and it became difficult for those who were really interested in the peace and union of the empire to approve of the employment of a kind of warfare, which however effective for the purposes of temporary defence and triumph, could not fail in its employment to exasperate all the difficulties which surround the final adjustment of these great questions.

The readers of our last volume are acquainted with the nature and origin, and history of Mr. O'Connell's last machine of agitation, which he called the National Association. It does not appear to have been worked with any great spirit or effect. In fact, his position as a supporter and ally of the government, is necessarily a considerable hindrance to the exercise of his demagogic vocation. Even the fact that he now possesses, as a member of parliament, a legitimate field for political opposition, of itself takes something from the animation and interest of his extraforaneous exertions. Popular appeal comes always with most effect from opposition; and thus it was, that at this time, in Ireland as in England, the conservative, or Protestant, party surpassed even Mr. O'Connell himself in the vigour and perseverance of their agitation.

It would be useless to enter upon any details of the political campaign on either side. They would afford little interest to anyone whom the lapse even of a twelvemonth enables, in some degree, to recover from the heat and hurry of the conflict. After even a shorter interval men of sense of both parties feel commonly more ashamed at the violence of their own friends than irritated by that of their adversaries. We must not, however, pass over the great Protestant meeting which, as the consummation of their efforts, the Protestant party summoned to meet at Dublin on the 24th of January, a few days only before the opening of the session of parliament. It took place at the Mansion-house, and was said to amount to not less than 3,500 persons, including about thirty noblemen, and a large body of the landed gentry, and of the professional and commercial notables of Ireland. Among the noblemen present were Lords Downshire and Donoughmore, who, it will be recollected, had formerly been among the strenuous advocates of the claims of the Catholics. There was little of novelty or eloquence in the speeches delivered on this occasion. The sentiments of the assembly were embodied in a petition to the House of Lords; a portion of this document is given below as the most compendious

and authentic expression of the apprehensions entertained at this moment by the Protestant body of Ireland.*

This petition was presented to the House of Lords on the 28th of April by the Marquess of Downshire. It was the occasion of an

* "The dangers which threaten us are extreme, and are of a character to which the history of our country affords no parallel, unless it be found in the disastrous reign of James the Second. The establishment of our religion is assailed — the settlement of property within the realm is menaced, and the parties who are conspiring the overthrow of both, have acquired the power to do them harm, by solemnly abjuring any intent to subvert the one, and by swearing that, 'to the utmost of their power, they would defend the other.' Hostility thus unprincipled would cause alarm, if it sought the attainment of its ends by such means only as our free constitution allows; but the enemies of the national establishments have greatly augmented our danger by adopting means conformable, indeed, to the spirit of their designs, but repugnant alike to justice and humanity. They have persecuted, even unto death, several faithful ministers of our church—they have habituated a large portion of the people to practices of dishonesty and fraud — they have taught them how legal rights may be successfully withheld, and how justice may be effectually evaded and frustrated—they have convulsed the country by a most pernicious agitation, and they have organised a system of resistance to the laws which is daily becoming more extended and more formidable.

"We grieve to say, that the government has not punished or opposed the authors of these cruel and audacious proceedings; but, on the contrary, has given them effectual aid and encouragement. A lawless and seditious association is permitted and encouraged to hold its daily sittings in the metropolis, withdrawing the attention of the industrious and operative classes from their lawful pursuits and occupations—scattering the most mischievous and inflammatory addresses throughout the country, and receiving in return large contributions of money, to be applied in advancing the political designs of the leading agitators and demagogues, whilst it appears to exercise an unbounded influence over the measures of the government, and to furnish the most successful candidates for employment in the public service. Hence it is, that the powers intrusted to the executive that it may reward merit, and punish evil doers, and mitigate the rigour of severe justice, have all been abused. Patronage has been employed in the placing partizans in offices for which, from the nature of the services they had rendered to their party, as well as from their avowed principles and predilections, they had become morally, if not legally, disqualified. The prerogative of mercy has been so injuriously exercised as to bring, if that were possible, our incorruptible judges into disrespect, and to deprive the laws of their salutary sanctions—while the prerogative of the crown to conduct prosecutions has been in many cases so mischievously asserted, that it has converted trial by jury into a form in which an offender may confidently hope, that he shall be tried not merely by his peers but by his accomplices.

"The results of this unnatural confederacy between legitimate power and a faction, which makes lawlessness its practice and its boast, are, unhappily notorious; the friends, and advisers and patrons of his Majesty's government in Ireland, are those who recommend, and who have openly and successfully declared, resistance to the laws which that government has been appointed to administer.

"For loyal subjects, throughout the greater part of the country, there is not political freedom, there is not personal security: they dare not give free suffrages at election; in some places they have not been safe from insult and outrage, even whilst in their places of worship; they dare not seek redress for individual wrong, and they can scarcely venture to make known their apprehensions of national danger; and thus all confidence is interrupted between the government and the best friends of British connexion, at a moment when a most formidable and wide-spread conspiracy for the dismemberment of the empire seems rapidly approaching maturity. Such is the present calamitous

able and interesting debate on the state of Ireland; but as the facts stated, and the topics insisted upon, were for the most part identical with those which had been already so repeatedly adduced in the Commons, we do not think it necessary to occupy our pages with any abstract of them.

On whichever side the grievances of Ireland preponderated, ministers lost no time in bringing the politics of that country under the view of parliament. On the 7th of February Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill for the amendment of the Irish municipal corporations. The bill itself differed from that of the last year only on one material point; that whereas by the former measure the town councils were not allowed to interfere in the appointment of sheriffs which was vested in the crown, they were now authorized to nominate, or suggest, a certain number of persons for that office; the power of selection, of rejection, and ultimately of appointment, being given to the lord lieutenant. The noble mover therefore, was not long detained in stating to the house the particular provisions of his measure, but he took that opportunity of entering at some length upon a general review and defence of the conduct of ministers in the government of Ireland. The most important passage of his speech was that in which he seemed to bind the existence of the cabinet to the success of the bill. "I think it right," said he, "to state, that I consider this a vital question to the present administration. I am fully sensible of the evil of bringing forward bills year after year, and suffering them to be defeated and lost without taking any further step upon the subject. I do not think that we could permanently go on, or that we could be fairly entitled to ask for a continuance of the confidence of the House, if, as ministers, we suffered principles against which we decidedly protest to be applied to the government of Ireland."

Lord John Russell opened his general doctrine upon the subject of the government of Ireland by, what he called, "the recorded words of a very great man." This was Mr. Fox—an authority on any subject connected with the constitution or the administration of government of this country, which, he said, he always looked to first of all, and which with him was paramount to any other. In a speech which he delivered in 1797, Mr. Fox stated, in his usual frank and even incautious manner, the principles upon which he conceived the government of Ireland should be conducted. That

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condition of this part of the empire, rendered still more perilous as respects the future, by reason of the permanent establishment of a system of national education, which has not only failed to produce that united instruction for which it was experimentally adopted, but has, in effect, become exclusively Roman Catholic, save in a very small portion of the country; and whilst public aid has been withdrawn from institutions which had for their object the promotion of Scriptural education and Protestant principles, parliamentary grants to an enormous amount have been applied in support of a system which not only renders it impracticable for the Roman Catholic youth who desire to have access to the Scriptures of truth, the only sure foundation of morality and religion, but also facilitates and promotes their instruction in principles and habits hostile alike to the assertion of true liberty, civil or religious, amongst themselves, or the free enjoyment thereof of your petitioners."

principle was concession. He said, if he found he had not conceded enough, he would concede more; that the only way of governing Ireland was to please the people of Ireland. "My wish is," said Mr. Fox, "that the whole people of Ireland should have the same principles, the same system, the same operation of government; and, although it may be only a subordinate consideration, that all classes should have an equal chance of emolument—in other words, I would have the Irish government regulated by Irish notions and Irish prejudices; and I am convinced, the more she is under Irish government, the more she will be bound to English interests."

Whatever might be argued in favour of the policy of unlimited concession as a practical principle of government in Ireland, the wisdom of *professing* it as such in a popular assembly is not apparent. There would be less harm in thus encouraging exaction if bodies never asked more than it was for their own interest to obtain. But this we know cannot be assumed as certain; and the only effect of the publication of such a principle is to secure that, whatever you may thus encourage them to demand, they certainly will not be content with the concession of it. The second part of Mr. Fox's doctrine, as quoted by his disciple, might be admitted as unobjectionable; but there is evidently more difficulty in its practical application than either the author of it, or his disciple, thought proper to consider of. It is the divided state of that country in religion and race and language; where nearly all the property and intelligence are arrayed on one side against the physical force of numbers on the other; that makes it difficult to conduct its administration on any single or uniform principle, whether English or Irish.

It is probable Lord John Russell would not admit, that the problem was thus insoluble. He went on in his speech to contend, that Lord Mulgrave had fully and successfully carried out the principles of Mr. Fox. "He has endeavoured," said he, "to carry into all the legal and official details of his government the spirit of impartial justice. With this object he has had the advantage of a chief secretary, of an attorney and solicitor-general, all acting in complete accordance with himself. In illustration of his assertion on this point, Lord John Russell adverted to the change which Mr. O'Loghlin, when attorney-general, had introduced into the practice of putting aside men as jurymen because they were Roman Catholics, or of supposed liberal opinions. Formerly, too, a sort of encouragement was given to the bloody conflicts that commonly took place at fairs, by the indifference there was as to the prosecution of such offences; an impunity which had the worst effects on the habits and moral feelings of the peasantry. Mr. O'Loghlin, however, had taken care that there should be a solicitor appointed at every quarter sessions, who should send to him an account of all the cases of this kind; and institute a prosecution in all those in which he thought it likely to obtain a conviction. Care, too, had been taken in administering the police force that it should no longer be thought a mere party instrument; but that while it strictly enforced the law, it should have the confidence of the people. Moreover lord Mulgrave had been careful on

every occasion to admonish the people to refrain from those crimes of outrage and disturbance which had hitherto afflicted the country. And, according to Lord J. Russell's account, these counsels had not been without the most wholesome effect. In proof of the diminution of crime, he referred to the testimony of several of the judges given at the last summer assizes, and from which it appeared that the calendars were unusually light. It appeared, also, that from October, 1832, to March, 1833, the crimes of an insurrectionary character in Ireland were 6,894; while from July to December, 1836, they were only 3,008. In Kilkenny county alone, in the former period, there were 364 burglaries and attacks on houses; while in the latter period, in the whole of Ireland there were only 212. In 1835, the number of persons indicted for riots were 795; in 1836, 344. Another important feature in Lord Mulgrave's government was the impartial selection of persons for government offices. Thus, for example, out of 835 stipendiary magistrates appointed by the Irish government previous to Lord Mulgrave's arrival, only one was a Roman Catholic. Out of fifteen who had been appointed by Lord Mulgrave, six were Roman Catholics, and nine Protestants.

Lord John then animadverted upon the late meeting at Dublin, the charges which, to use another expression of Mr. Fox, "not the *aristocracy* of Ireland, he would not give them so respectable a name, but a miserable, monopolizing minority," had there brought against Lord Mulgrave; charges which, if true, should insure that high officer's instant dismissal—charges which it was easy to carry with all strangers excluded, all opposition rigidly shut out, and Orange flags streaming in the air; but which, nevertheless, although members of the legislature were present at the meeting, it did not appear, that any one of them had ventured to give notice that he would bring before parliament. To read the resolutions passed at this meeting, one would suppose the Protestants of Ireland to be suffering under all the horrors of the penal code. They reminded one of the man recorded in the Spectator, who, by reading medical books, came to fancy himself ill, and thus found himself afflicted with all the symptoms of gout, except the pain. As for the assumption of these gentlemen that they are the king's only loyal subjects in Ireland, Lord John Russell said, he repudiated it altogether. "The king may trust to his parliament; he may trust his lord lieutenant; he may trust to his faithful subjects in that country; their zeal and their affection will preserve it to his majesty and his successors, even if these gentlemen, in exclusive meeting assembled, gave themselves no further trouble on the subject."

As for the National Association in Ireland, Lord John contended it was a mere result of the political state of the country. Why were there not the same in London—in Edinburgh? Because the same causes did not there exist to call for them; and when we inquire into those causes, we find, to use an expression of Lord Plunkett, that it "is the spawn of your own wrong." What concessions have we ever made to Ireland that have not seemed at least the effect of fear. In 1828, do we not find

Lord Lyndhurst exhorting the Lords not to give way to intimidation; and in the very next year was not a little more intimidation sufficient to convert the noble and learned lord himself to the prudence of concession? Are these things without mark? What is the lesson they teach to the people of Ireland? As long as the Municipal Corporations Bill was passing through the House of Commons the people were quiet, trusting in our justice. It was after their prayers had been rejected, and rejected with insult, that this association was formed. Can we wonder, that what was found so successful on former occasions was resorted to on this? And what is the remedy? To suppress the association? No: but to treat Ireland as you treat England—as you treat Scotland. Much, then, as I regret the existence of such a body, I cannot say that there has not been a plausible ground for its formation; nor can I say, that there is not an easy way for its suppression. It is that easy way which I now ask you to take. I tell you not, that this bill is to be the panacea for the ills of Ireland. Great and numerous as are these ills, large and manifold must be the remedies which the legislature, the executive, the magistracy, the proprietary of that country must apply to them. But, at any rate, it will be taken as an evidence of the spirit in which you are disposed to legislate, and will conciliate confidence in your further measures. It was said of some proposal of Themistocles, I think, that it would indeed be very profitable to Athens, but that it would be very unjust. Now, I propose to you a measure which will be eminently profitable. It will be profitable in giving you the hearts and affections of the people of Ireland—in promoting the increased welfare of the towns, greater order, a better administration of justice, and a more general confidence in your government. But while it has all these motives of expediency and profit, I especially commend it to parliament on this ground, that I believe it to be just.'

Mr. Sergeant Jackson spoke for nearly two hours, and with much ability, in reply to Lord John Russell. He reiterated all the assertions of the Dublin meeting against Lord Mulgrave, and especially reprobated the conduct of the late attorney-general, in giving orders that no juryman should be set aside. The consequence was, that verdicts could not be obtained against men whose guilt was notorious. The lightness of the calendar for last year was a fallacious test of the diminution of crime. Most of the cases of outrage resulting from factious feuds and fights at fairs were now disposed of at the quarter-sessions and not at the assizes. But supposing that greater quiet did prevail, it was not Lord Mulgrave [illegible] had wrought the miracle. A greater power than his was in operation in that country; and might not the same influences which now checked, at a convenient season again let loose the spirit of lawless outrage? The noble lord had done homage to the conduct of the leaders of the Orange societies, which had voluntarily broken up almost on the first intimation that such was the wish of the sovereign. Yet, in almost the same breath, he justified the existence of the General Association, a body which was nothing else than the old Catholic Association revived.

One presumption of countenance on the part of government towards this body, as cited by the sergeant, was, that the author of it, Mr. O'Connell, had been invited to dine with the viceroy. This charge did not seem to make any great effect on the house; and, indeed, it would have been singular if Lord Mulgrave, who as well as the rest of the government, owed their existence in office directly to the support of Mr. O'Connell, had not thought him worth the civility of an invitation to dinner. A more serious ground of inculpation was the recent appointment of Mr. Pigot to the important office of legal adviser to the Irish executive. Mr. Pigot was a Roman Catholic barrister, of high legal eminence, and perfect private respectability, but he was one of the most active and able members of the General Association; he had been pronounced to be so by Mr. O'Connell himself; it was precisely he who had enabled them successfully to carry on their war against the just rights of the clergy; and the selection of this gentleman for a department through which passed the entire correspondence with the magistracy and police of the country, was certainly not a happy one. In the same way, it seems, another member of the association, Mr. Cassidy, a notorious resister of tithes, had been lately nominated to the magistracy, and that in direct opposition to the opinion of the lord-lieutenant of the county.

Mr. Jackson inveighed strongly against the vice-roy's autumnal circuit of gaol-delivery. Lord Mulgrave, as was well known, set out in the autumn on a tour; what was the object he did not know—probably popularity. He knocked open all the prison doors, and discharged the prisoners according to the extent of the county or the number of its inhabitants. He did this without any reference to the judges—without asking in a single instance what were the circumstances of the case. Thus in Sligo he discharged twenty-five prisoners, in Cavan fourteen, in Donegal ten. Was this the way, asked the sergeant, to ensure the confidence of the country in the administration of the law?

Mr. O'Connell spoke in answer to Sergeant Jackson, but his speech was made up of little but vague and vulgar abuse. There can be no question of the great talents of this gentleman, and occasionally he has given very remarkable proofs of them in the House of Commons; but upon the whole his parliamentary speeches have added nothing to his reputation; his habits of dealing with audiences of the vulgarest description have ruined him as an orator for an assembly of educated men. Some sharpness of retort and drollery of illustration, in the exercise of which, however, he as often fails as succeeds, together with a certain force and flow of style, commonly as coarse as it is vigorous, make up the whole of his merits as a speaker in parliament. He was followed upon this occasion by Mr. Shaw, whose speech, for the most part, consisted of extracts from the discourses and letters of the great agitator; all to the purpose of proving the undisguised virulence of his enmity to British connexion.

At this point of the debate, interposed Mr. Roebuck, who, with characteristic moderation and dignity, admonished the House on the countenance it seemed to be giving

to this reciprocation of abuse. He said, it appeared to him that the tone and manner of gentlemen, particularly belonging to Ireland, had lately been such as was likely to create anything but respect for the assembly in which they were indulged. With respect to the matter in debate, it mainly turned upon the question, whether the people were or were not fit for self-government. That was the great question which divided parties at the present day; and the case of Irish corporations formed only a particular instance of it. The principle of democracy was the thing really involved; and he wished to press it on ministers, that this same principle of self-government was in reality their maintenance and support. Every step they made in carrying it out was an increment of their own power. Let them not listen to any suggestions coming from the other side. Let them not abate one jot of the bill they had brought in. "Enlarge," said he, "if you will, and make it what it ought to be. Pass it through this House and send it up to the other, and then if the noble Lord will declare that his ministry is dependent on the fate of that bill, I am not afraid of the result." To the people of England he would trust the issue of this grand and high debate, certain that victory would be with the right—with those who were fighting in that House for the clear, definite rule, that the people of both Great Britain and Ireland were worthy to be their own governors.

On the second night of the debate Mr. Lefroy and Mr. West, with much force and ability, went over for the most part the same topics that had already been urged against the conduct of the Irish government and of its firm ally Mr. O'Connell. In illustration of the state of public peace in Ireland, Mr. West cited the case of a most respectable clergyman, of the name of Ayre, whose life had been twice attempted, and who consequently thought it necessary, for the sake of his family, to effect an insurance upon it. How was that application received? Mr. West said, he held in his hand the answer from the office, which was to the effect, that the directors were unwilling to risk an insurance upon the life of a clergyman belonging to the established church, in the present state of Ireland.

The noble secretary for Ireland, Lord Morpeth, then entered upon a detailed vindication of the government of the viceroy from the various allegations that had been brought against it. With respect to the challenge of juries, Mr. O'Loghlin's rule, he said, had been not to set them aside on the ground of religion merely; and the result had been an increase of convictions proportionably to the cases presented. In his visits to prisons, before he exercised the prerogative of mercy, Lord Mulgrave had always carefully required reports on three distinct points — first, from the local authorities, on the conduct of the prisoners during their confinement; next, on the state of their health, from the medical men; and lastly, from the neighbouring gentlemen, an account of their previous character, and of the probability of their amendment. Every document proved the good effect of the system adopted by Lord Mulgrave in the improved tranquillity of the country. A report from Clon-

mell stated, that out of fifty-seven prisoners discharged from the county gaol by the lord-lieutenant, only one had been recommitted within the next six months, and that one an idiot.

Lord Morpeth then stated the circumstances under which Mr. Leigh had been rejected from the magistracy, and Mr. Cassidy had been appointed to it; but he brought forward nothing materially affecting the statement of these cases as they had been made by his adversaries. But the loudest thunders of the opposition had been received for the appointment of Mr. Pigot. "Now," said he, "there is no nomination on which, both on public and private grounds, I take more cordial pleasure than this—I know no one of whom I have a higher opinion, or for whom I anticipate a more successful career. He is a member of the association; and, no doubt, there are many members of that body who profess opinions widely at variance with those of the government. But I apprehend, our availing ourselves of any benefit which may be received from the advice of Mr. Pigot, will in no way remove any responsibility which his appointment may impose either on the lord-lieutenant, the chief law officers, or myself."

The meaning of this last observation, is not immediately apparent, and certainly in courting the responsibility of the appointment, Lord Morpeth offered no sort of defence for it, beyond the fact of the professional qualifications of the gentleman in question; which was not the point in dispute. It did not even appear, that in becoming a confidential adviser of the government, Mr. Pigot had ceased to belong to the obnoxious association; nor did Lord Morpeth give any pledge that he was about to do so. It was a poor argument of the noble Lord's that no one had ventured to say the association itself was positively illegal. It might not, therefore, be the less dangerous to the peace of the country; or the less unbecoming on the part of the government to afford it any sanction or countenance, however indirect.

Lord Morpeth was followed by Sir James Graham who, speaking from the opposition bench, began by adverting to some sneers which his position there had called forth from Mr. Roebuck. "Whatever I have done," said he, "has been in the face of day, I have concealed nothing; I am ashamed of nothing, I have compromised no opinion. I rejoice in that union which prevails on the bench where I have the honour of sitting. No effort, on my part, shall be wanting to cement and perpetuate it; nor, contemplating the dangers that surround the country, and in the face of the dangerous and unnatural combination which I see on the benches opposite, do I think my vindication difficult."

Sir James said, he addressed the House with some trepidation after the admonition on proprieties of language and deportment which had been dealt to it by Mr. Roebuck: who, as representative of the subjects of Beau Nash seemed to consider himself as a sort of *arbiter elegantiarum* in that House. However, he fully agreed with that gentleman, that the matter now at issue was, whether in the present circumstances of Ireland, we were prepared to increase the democratic power in that country. "I am not," said he, "to draw a bill of indictment against a great people, or to depreciate the character

of the Irish nation; but I cannot conceal from myself that there are the seeds of imminent danger within it. One striking peculiarity in the condition of that country is, that while the great mass of the property belongs to those professing the Protestant religion, the great mass of the population are Roman Catholics. Every concession that has hitherto been made has failed; and the past, I fear is, in this respect, only a pledge for the future. Believing that any increase of the democratic power would be dangerous to Protestantism in Ireland, I am prepared to take my stand and to resist not the abolition of exclusively Protestant corporations, but certainly the erection of new ones intended to be really nor more nor less than so many Catholic fortresses to assist in the warfare against the Protestant establishment."

He next came to the National Association, and dwelt at length on the violent resolutions it had passed; and on the declarations of Mr. O'Connell, in favour of the total extinction of tithe. He quoted passages from the letters and speeches of that gentleman, proving that he was professedly using ministers as his instruments for the overthrow of the Protestant church. After the appointment of Mr. Pigot, he defied the ministers to evade the responsibility of their connexion with the association. That single measure identified them as having a common interest; and what had been the language held by Mr. O'Connell in this association, and in reference to this very question? "There is no danger," said he, "of coaxing the people from their interests by giving them the taste of a few agreeable instalments: let them have a little pap, and depend upon it they will acquire a relish for solid food; but to obtain corporation reform will be a pretty good instalment." Does not the truth (asked Sir James) here come out? Have we not, then, from the most competent witness, the certainty of what will be the effect of the measure he calls for?"

In his reply to the right hon. Baronet, Sir John Hobhouse referred to, and repeated Lord J. Russell's intimation that the fate of this measure would decide that of the cabinet; and he then asked of the powerful party opposite, if they succeeded in throwing out this bill and so coming into office, upon what principle they hoped to be able to govern Ireland? Was it by Orange neckerchiefs and acclamations that they expected to do so? They ought to be prepared to give a decided answer to this question. The country would expect it of them. Did Sir Robert Peel think to conduct the government by a majority of the House of Lords against a majority of the House of Commons; an House of Commons assembled under his own auspices, and which has nevertheless already supported this measure by a majority of eighty-six?

Sir Robert Peel, in answer to this challenge, said, that he doubted any one's right to catechise him on the results of a contingency which till that night he had thought of all things the most remote. Sir John's speech had been half, a congratulation on the future fate of the present government; and half, a doleful lamentation of their inability to carry it on. As for Lord John Russell's exposition of the policy of the Irish government, it reminded him of the performance

of the play of Hamlet, in which the parts of Hamlet and Ophelia were omitted: it contained not a word of reference to the two great questions which concern that country; those of tithe and poor-laws. "But you tell us," said the right hon. baronet, "because we refuse to apply the same principle to Ireland as to England, in respect of municipal institutions, that we are inflicting wrong and offering insult to the Irish people. Now, let me ask you, do you intend to apply that rule to the other measures? Do you, having passed an act of parliament incorporating the church of Ireland with the church of England, do you mean to apply the same identical principle of legislation to both? If you do not, on what ground do you refuse it? Is it not that there is a peculiarity in the circumstances and state of society of Ireland which justifies the application of a different principle? Again, do you mean to apply the same principles to Ireland with respect to the poor-laws? this, surely, is an important matter; affecting interests as extensive, numbers as great, parties as entitled to sympathy, as any that exist. I know many that have clamoured for identity of legislation, and assailed us with the charge of insult, who have shrunk from it when the poor-laws came into consideration. Poverty and impotence, it seems, are not intitled to the same identity that political parties may be. In that case, the dissimilarity has been denominated by no more soothing a description than as a great *humbug*. And when it is said, do you mean to refuse relief to the poor on the same principle on which they have it in England, the answer is, that this is taking for granted that it will be relief; and the whole question remains as to how far there is not that difference in the state of the two countries, which calls for the application of totally different systems."

Sir Robert then went on to argue that it was no more an insult to Irishmen to refuse them certain municipal institutions, than it would be to reject a measure for erecting Manchester and Birmingham into corporate towns. And when he was asked what he should do with the Irish corporations when he came into power, he would, in return, ask of Sir John Hobhouse who *was* in power, what *he* would do with the Irish church? Lord John Russell, concurring with Mr. Fox, had said he knew no other plan for governing a people than allowing them to have their own way. By adopting this principle, the minister concedes every thing; he must not only concede the municipal bill, but the Protestant church; for he has had fair notice, that while that church exists, the association shall remain.

In his concluding reply, Lord John Russell said, he had not thought it desirable that the questions of the church and poor-laws should be mixed up with that of corporation reform: as for the appointment of Mr. Pigot, it was not right that the fittest person for an office should be passed over merely because he was a member of the General Association; but he presumed that Mr. Pigot would no longer take a part in its proceedings. It was certainly his wish to support the church of Ireland; he much deplored the sufferings of the clergy belonging to it, but the danger to that establishment came from Sir Robert Peel and his friends. He firmly believed, that if the bill of 1834 had been ac-

cepted, they would have gotten a better guarantee of its security than it would probably now be in their power to obtain.

The motion, which was merely for leave to bring in the bill, was not opposed; consequently, the two parties had no opportunity of making trial of their strength on a division. Upon the debate in general, we would merely observe, that both parties were tolerably successful in pointing out the difficulties that attached to the principles upon which either of them proposed to govern Ireland. With respect to the attacks upon Lord Mulgrave's administration in particular, we cannot say we think the violence of them was altogether justified by the facts alleged. Some improper appointments were, no doubt, pointed out; but with the exception of the case of Mr. Pigot, none of these were of great importance; and it should be recollected, that in a country so divided as Ireland, where almost every individual is called upon to range himself in one faction or the other, it would often be difficult for a government to find persons for its service that were not more committed to party proceedings and pledges, than of itself is desirable. That a government should be popular is always important; and to make itself so is, therefore, a legitimate and even praiseworthy ambition with that of Ireland. No doubt too high a price may be paid for the object; but judging from the charges brought against the administration of Lord Mulgrave, and even admitting the accuracy of them, as stated by his adversaries, we are not prepared, in this instance, to say that such has been proved to be the case.

CHAPTER IV.

Irish Municipal Corporations Bill—Motion for a Committee upon it in the House of Commons—Instruction moved by Lord Francis Egerton—His Speech on the occasion—Review of the differences between the present Bill and the last—Mr. Ward opposes the Motion—Mr. Young supports it—Able Speech of Mr. Charles Buller—Situation of the Church in Ireland—Speeches of Lord Morpeth and Lord Stanley—Second Night of the Debate, opened by Sergeant Jackson—Speeches of Lord Howick and Mr. Roebuck, in support of the Measure—Third Night's Debate—Powerful Speech of Sir James Graham—Mr. Sheil's Attack on Lord Lyndhurst—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—The Motion is rejected on a Division—Debates on the Third reading of the Bill—Speeches of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel—The Bill is carried on a Division—Introduction of the Measure into the House of Lords by Lord Melbourne—Debate on the Second reading — Speeches of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham—Duke of Wellington moves the Postponement of the Committal of the Bill—Motion resisted by Ministers, but carried—Motion for its further Postponement—Speech of Lord Lyndhurst upon the occasion—Reply of Lord Melbourne—Motion carried on a Division.

THE debates of the 7th and 8th of February were occupied by a review of the general policy and procedure of the Government in Ireland, and had little reference to that which was ostensibly the subject of them; the reform of municipal corporations in that country. On the 20th of the same month the matter came more directly and substantially under discussion. When the order of the day was read for going into committee upon it, lord Francis Egerton rose to move an instruction similar to that which he had brought forward in the preceding session; to the effect that the committee be empowered to make provision for the abolition of corporations in Ireland, and for such arrangements as might be necessary on their abolition for securing the efficient and impartial administration of justice, and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland.

As this was the second time he had brought forward this instruction, it could not be expected, that in his introductory speech, the noble mover would have much that

was new to urge, as directly bearing upon it. He strongly disclaimed, on behalf of his friends and himself, the imputation cast on them by their adversaries, that they were disposed to look upon Irishmen generally as unfit for the exercise of the same privileges as the natives of this island. They had never broached any so absurd and offensive proposition, but they contended, that there were particular circumstances in the social and political condition of Ireland, which made it most unwise to apply to that country the particular nostrum which, in the present measure, it was proposed to administer. Ministers spoke of the measure as what would establish justice and promote peace in Ireland. "We tell them," said lord Francis, "that, on the contrary, it will inflict injustice and exasperate strife. They say, it will destroy an unjust monopoly. We, that it will merely lead to its resuscitation and transfer. They define justice to Ireland to be an identity of government by local corporations; we deny the synonymy, and quote in answer the instances of Manchester and Birmingham at home." Lord John Russell talked of identity of legislation, but what said the bill he had himself just brought in for establishing poor-laws in Ireland? or, rather, what said Mr. Nicholls's report, upon which it was immediately founded? Does it not, in a dozen instances, insist upon the impossibility of applying the same enactment to one country and to the other?

The only material difference between this bill and that of last year, consisted in the manner in which it was proposed to appoint the sheriffs. Six names might be proposed by the town-councils to the lord-lieutenant; and, in case of his objection to all of them, the nomination would then rest with him. Lord Francis Egerton considered this to be no improvement, and was still disposed to leave the officer in question to the absolute nomination of the castle. If the new bill then presented no change to conciliate his support, certainly none appeared to have taken place in the general condition of the country, which would render its application less objectionable than it seemed to be before. It was true, that the General Association had been established in the interval, but lord Francis said, that the method of pacification adopted by that body had not tended to diminish his fear of the consequences of annual municipal elections. The new corporations would be nothing more than platforms for batteries to be directed against the national church. This would be no objection against them with some gentlemen; but lord John Russell always professed anxiety to uphold that church, yet he brings forward a measure for increasing the power of them whose avowed aim is to subvert it. That noble lord talked of justice to Ireland; but it was a phantom that always eluded the grasp; the phasis of a rainbow that was perpetually changing its shape; to day assuming the form of municipal reform, the next day of universal suffrage; but, under every disguise, it meant always the subversion of the church, and of "the blood-stained impost of tithes." Peace to Ireland! That was not the first occasion upon which peace to Ireland had been promised. It had been pledged by every voice that hailed with acclamation the passing of the Catholic relief bill. Lord

Francis said, he would not inquire how that promise had been kept. Such an inquiry would be worse than useless, for the promise was no longer made. The real supporters of the bill did not even profess to be satisfied with it. They told us, that as long as one stone remained on another in the church of Ireland, so long should the storm they had raised continue to rave round the edifice.

Mr. Ward followed lord Francis Egerton, and, in reply to his arguments, as founded on the state of opinion in Ireland, he asked, was the House never to escape from this vicious circle in respect to that country? The people complained of the want of justice, and justice was to be denied to them, because they complained. If they were silent, it was construed as indifference; and, again, when they agitated, it was said, "we must not yield to clamour." The majority of the people were Catholics; the bill would give power to the majority; therefore, the people of Ireland were told that they should not have it. In this way, one injustice was made the pretext for another. Because the people were saddled with a church which they did not want, therefore they were to be refused municipal institutions, which they did want!

Mr. John Young confessed, that he did not apprehend much danger from the preponderance of Catholic agitation in the new councils. In the first excitement that might be the case, but, before long, the respectable traders and merchants would be chosen by their townsmen. At the same time, the declaration of Mr. O'Connell, that give him this measure, he could do what he pleased in Ireland, naturally excited alarm; and, under such circumstances, he thought it wise to vote for the amendment, which would confer on the towns all the substantial benefits of the bill, without its dangers and disadvantages.

Mr. Charles Buller animadverted on this line of argument with his usual force and acuteness. He deprecated this incessant dwelling upon Mr. O'Connell's past violence, and upon the minister's present subserviency to him. All that had been repeated ten thousand times; and, he really thought, must, by this time, have produced all the effect it could upon the human mind. And, suppose it was all true; was Parliament, on that account, to refuse municipal institutions to the people of Ireland? "We are shallow legislators," said Mr. Buller, "if we devise our schemes of government without taking into account the invariable disposition in human nature to pervert all public institutions to the purposes of personal aggrandisement or party profit—if we do not so shape the institutions we give to Ireland, as to secure her from something more than the factions of a day, or the ambition of an individual. What matters, then, what Mr. O'Connell's plans are, or what he avows? We want not his confessions, or his boasts, to put us on our guard against a danger, which, if we did not apprehend from him, we might from some one else."

From all that he could learn from past history or personal experience, from books or from observation, he came to the conviction, that the welfare of nations had their best guarantee in local self-government; not merely were their own affairs necessarily better so ordered, but, by making men

electors of magistrates, you enlisted their sympathies in behalf of law and order, and made them parties to the administration of justice. In a municipal republic might be found the best apprenticeship for the discharge of higher electoral duties. Men are accustomed, by the exercise of the municipal franchise, to select the most upright and able of their fellow-citizens, and so learn to whom to confide their more extended interests. They acquire habits of mutual forbearance and concession; and even the subdivision thus occasioned of the electors into numerous parties, is not without its advantage, as saving them from the danger of division into two great and irreconcileable factions. And, if such were the general advantages of municipal government, what country stood more in want of them than Ireland?

But their establishment in that country was opposed, as threatening injury to the Protestant church. Would the Irish church, then, crumble at the touch of free institutions? Mr. Buller declared, he had always been an undisguised enemy of that establishment. He had never dissembled his horror at it, as the most revolting profanation of all that is venerable in Christianity, and the most odious perversion of all that is useful in the principle of a church establishment. "I rejoice, therefore," said he, "to hear it avowed by its friends, that, in order to keep it up, it is necessary to deprive Ireland of almost every institution which you think good for Great Britain. This is the real mischief of that church. Its mere existence has been, indeed, a dreadful evil. It has been a constant cause of irritation to the community; a perversion of a great national fund to the miserable purposes of a sect and a faction; and an obstacle to the endowment of the national religion in the country, which, perhaps, more than any other, requires the connexion of the state with the church of the people. Yet more. In order to maintain this institution in defiance of the hostility of the nation, you have been obliged to pervert every other institution that belongs to it; and the train of auxiliary grievances has been far more than those which they have been summoned to aid. The proof of this is before us. It is confessed, that Ireland is to be deprived of municipal government, on account of the existence of the church establishment. I do not quarrel, said Mr. Buller, with the premises of this reasoning. But, I believe, in a short while, the people of England will draw from it a very different conclusion. They will see in it no argument against corporation reform, but a very strong one in favour of church reform."

Mr. Emerson Tennent made a long speech, less in application to the present subject than for the purpose of enforcing the charges that had been brought against Lord Mulgrave's government, of abuse in the exercise of patronage, and of the prerogative of mercy. Lord Morpeth in his reply admitted, that he was striving to raise the Roman Catholics in the scale of citizenship, and that as they advanced in instruction and property they would be found occupying in greater numbers all those departments which are attainable by habits of activity and business. As for the argument commonly urged of the danger arising to the religious establishment of Ireland

from the passing of this bill, Lord Morpeth asked, "could it be from the friends of the church that such an argument proceeded? Is the church strong enough in the veneration of the Irish people—is she so clear from all ground of offence that you can afford to make her the scape-goat against every charge—the bulwark against every attack? Is her structure so sound, or her fabric so firm and impregnable that you can call together all the scattered elements of enmity to select her out as a mark for the hatred of the whole people?"

Lord Stanley observed, that this was resting the argument in defence of the bill on intelligible grounds. Therefore, fearless of the scorn and contumely with which the very name of Protestant appeared to be met on that side of the house, [*Loud cheers from the opposition benches, with violent cries of denial from the other side,*] and notwithstanding the taunts which his noble friend had directed against such as rested on such grounds, he must assert one intelligible and insurmountable objection to the measure—that it was calculated for the overthrow of the Irish Protestant church. Ministers obviously mistook their position, and notwithstanding the warnings given them, both by friends and opponents, they went blindly burrowing on in their course of mischief. Like the madman, they thought all the rest of the world mad, and all the rest of the world thought them mad. One party opposed, and another supported, the bill; and both agreeing as to what would be the effect of it; but his majesty's ministers said they were both mistaken. These supported the bill because they believed it would destroy the church; the others opposed it from the same conviction; and ministers in the face of both parties, and of common sense, declared they felt bound to carry it forward, on the ground that it would be the salvation of the church. Lord Stanley did not deny the abuses of the present corporation system in Ireland, and had no wish to maintain them, but he could not consent to the present measure till the church question was settled—till she was placed on a footing to be secured from outrage, and confirmed in her property.

On the following day the debate was opened by a long speech from Mr. Sergeant Jackson, in which he busied himself chiefly in enforcing his former accusations of misgovernment against Lord Mulgrave. This was the main subject, too, of an equally protracted discourse from Mr. Vesey, a matter surely of grave importance, but not so immediately bearing on the question in hand as to require much abstract of detail.

Mr. E. L. Bulwer supported the bill, on the same grounds for the most part that had been alleged by Mr. C. Buller. Lord Howick, too, rested his support of the measure mainly on the reasoning of that gentleman, to which, he said, not the slightest attempt to reply had been made by the opposition. Nor substantially do we find much of additional weight in the long and laboured speech with which Mr. Roebuck followed on the same side. He dwelt much upon the general usefulness of municipal institutions to a people, and contended that the expediency of them applied as strongly to Ireland as to any country. Why, then should we not give them to that part of the empire? It was said,

that the corporations would endanger the church. But, how? Was it meant that the religion of the church was in danger? No: not precisely that; but it was said, that, under such a system, the clergy would not be paid, and if not paid they would not preach, and so the people would cease to believe. But are you not paying your religion a poor compliment to say it will die the death of a pauper unless paid by the state? But after all, how could the power of appointing constables, and superintending the lighting, draining, and paving of a town, prove injurious to the church establishment? Mr. Roebuck denied the position, that because the minority in power had been persecutors, the majority also, if they acquired power, would use it as a means of oppression. A minority in government is driven to persecution as a means of self-defence; but the majority in the same position, being identified in its interests with the people at large, are under no such necessity.

In conclusion, Mr. Roebuck said he would ask of Sir Robert Peel a plain question—"Can he pretend to carry on the government of Ireland on entirely different principles from those of Great Britain? Does he believe, that at this period of man's history, and by the side of the most enlightened nation of the earth, doctrines of government suited for the meridian of St. Petersburg, can be carried into actual practice? In a word, does he believe, that the system of Protestant supremacy can be continued in Ireland without civil war? Party politics, I know, sanction many things; but in the estimation of wise and virtuous men some further justification of this fearful hazard will be required than the acclamations and applause of party adherence; some better reason than the desire of rallying under his banner the bigots of the Orange faction. The world gives the right hon. gentleman the credit for prudence—we assume then, that he has weighed the consequences of his acts and is prepared for them. We suppose, that when he has aided in denying this measure to Ireland, he is ready to govern her at the point of the bayonet—that he is prepared to justify before the people the ruin and bloodshed that will follow his hopeful project. We presume that he sees these things—that he acts upon reflection, and we judge him accordingly."

The debate was again adjourned, and on the third night it was distinguished by a powerful speech of Sir James Graham, in support of Lord Francis Egerton's amendment. He admitted, that, in the abstract, municipal institutions might be excellent; but were they therefore necessarily convenient to all forms of government, and all conditions of a people. Nothing could be more certain as a general proposition, than that it was not right to refuse just demands from the apprehension that the accordance of them might encourage ulterior pretensions which were less founded. That was good reasoning in the abstract. Still it was the business of the statesman to look to probable consequences. Mr. Burke, to this purpose, had truly said, that, of all abstract rights, self-defence is the most clear. A sword is a weapon of self-defence, yet if a man asks me for a sword which I know he means to use to cut my throat, I am a fool or a coward, if I surrender it. He saw clearly enough the dangers that

threatened the church of Ireland —dangers resulting less from the hostility of her foes, than the hollow and wavering support of the king's ministers—of that king who was sworn to defend her.

"The cry of the supporters of this measure," said the hon. baronet in conclusion, "is justice for Ireland. We, too, contend for justice to Ireland—justice to the judges of the land, whose judgments are reversed, and their feelings outraged, by the lord-lieutenant of the king—justice to the magistracy of Ireland, whose authority is impaired when turbulent violators of the law are placed in the commission of the peace, side by side with its accredited guardians—justice to the Protestant clergymen of Ireland, whose rights are overborne by open violence, whose property is despoiled with impunity and their lives taken in open day—justice to the freeholders of Ireland, who are overawed in their exercise of the elective franchise, by the constant interference of their priests—justice to the entire people of Ireland by vindicating the majesty and supremacy of the law, for the equal benefit and protection of all. These are our plans of justice, and when you have satisfied them, then, and not till then, we shall be prepared to consider the extension of popular privileges to that country, and to encounter even the danger of your normal schools of peaceful agitation."

Mr. Sheil followed, in a speech of considerable power, but of a tone more personal than argumentative. The most effective sally of this kind that he made was against Lord Lyndhurst, (who happened at the time to be sitting under the gallery) in vengeance of his unfortunate application of the term of *aliens* to the Catholic population of Ireland, and the first allusion to the subject called forth the most tremendous cheering from the opposition benches, when the learned Lord's presence was discovered. Mr. Sheil observed, that the obnoxious expression had never been disavowed; and that even Sir Robert Peel, though he would not adopt, dared not disapprove of it. He was only surprised, that the Duke of Wellington when he heard it had not started up and said, that those aliens had done their duty. [*Immense cheering.*] "The duke," said Mr. Sheil, "is not a man of sudden emotions, but he ought not to have forgotten Vimeira and Badajoz, and Salamanca and Toulouse, and the last and glorious conflict which crowned all his former victories. On that day, when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries spread slaughter over the field, and the legions of France rushed again and again to the onset, did the *aliens* then flinch? On that day the blood of the men of England and Ireland and Scotland was poured forth together; they fought in the same field—they died the same death—they were stretched in the same pit—their dust was commingled—the same dew of heaven fell on the earth that covered them —the same grass sprung from the soil in which they reposed together —and is it to be endured, that we should be called aliens and strangers to that empire for whose salvation our best blood was shed?"

This appeal called forth the most enthusiastic cheering from his own side of the house, in the midst of which Mr. Sheil sat down.

Sir Robert Peel then rose and

deprecated this method of catching at every hasty phrase that may be uttered in the heat of debate, and making it a matter of history. He asked, for example, whether Mr. Sheil had ever heard of an Irishman (Mr. O'Connell, we believe,) who thought so little of his country's glory as to be able to frame no better appellation for the Duke of Wellington than "a stunted corporal?"

Sir Robert had been reproached by Lord Howick for not having earlier seen the necessity of yielding to the Catholic claims. Would the noble Lord ask of his noble colleague of the foreign department, why *he* was not an earlier convert than he had proved to reform? Would he put the same question to the head of the present administration? If it were blindness in him not to foresee in 1825 the necessity of concession to the Catholics, was not the blindness of Lord Melbourne as great when in 1826, he even opposed the transfer of representatives from Penryn to Manchester. For himself, he would only say, he thought that a man might, without any irrational distrust of the Roman Catholics have entertained conscientious doubts, whether the removal of their disabilities would restore peace to Ireland and secure the stability of the established church. He feared danger to the Protestant establishment; had he been *entirely* wrong? He now heard the church designated as a curse, and that by those who had urged him to yield Catholic emancipation as a means of strengthening the church; and was he to be blamed, if he refused to put weapons in the hands of those who would use them for her destruction?

Sir Robert Peel's rejoinder here was effective enough *ad homines;* otherwise we cannot but wish that he had been able to offer a more direct defence of his conduct on its own grounds. We are even inclined to think, that he was in some degree responsible for those very tergiversations on the part of some of his opponents, by which he sought to justify his own. Had it not been for the adaptation of principle to circumstances of which he gave them the example in the instance of the Catholic question, we doubt whether the friends of Mr. Canning could ever have entertained the proposition of becoming converts to parliamentary reform.

It had been said, that a majority never persecuted a minority. Sir Robert asked, were not the early French emigrants a minority? Were not the Girondists who were guillotined by the score, a minority? Had not the government of Spain sent a general into Andalusia with authority to hang every one who should refuse to join them? As for the assurance of the benefits to be derived from the establishment of local administrations in Ireland, he had no trust in it. The Irish corporators would be controlled by the General Association, and would constantly interfere with the elective franchise. Nothing could be more unjust and ungenerous than the conduct of the government in Ireland, in cajoling the Orange societies to dissolve themselves by appealing to their sense of loyalty; and then to countenance and encourage an association of their opponents, by giving appointments to the active members of it. Nothing could be more impolitic than the principle on which the ministers profess to

govern Ireland; a principle of constant compliance with popular demands; a principle absurd in itself; and which, by its avowal, must disable all the peculiar functions of restraint or control in the government.

Mr. O'Connell followed and dwelt upon his usual topics of the long misgovernment of Ireland, and the necessity of a repeal of the Union, as her only chance of obtaining justice. After a reply from Lord John Russell, the House divided and there were found for Lord Francis Egerton's instruction to the committee 242 votes; against it 322; giving a majority of eighty in favour of ministers. Upon this point, therefore, they seemed enabled to maintain their ground. Indeed, it was observed, that some six or seven of the conservative party who had assisted at the debate, were absent from the division that closed it.

Little discussion took place on the bill when in committee; the third reading of it was moved on the 10th of April. As the measure did not ultimately pass into law, it is unnecessary to dwell on the details of the discussion that took place; we shall select only those points of it which bore upon the relative position and prospects of parties. The debate was opened by Mr. Goulburn, who in a long and able speech, opposed the measure as pregnant with danger to the church; and tending by its renewed agitation to place the two Houses of Parliament in an undesirable situation. Mr. Bulwer made on this last topic a general attack upon the conservatives. He reminded them that their leader had publicly admitted not long ago, that the House of Lords could not, in these times, wage a successful war with a majority of the representatives of the people. How, then, could he reconcile this with the conduct he was now pursuing? But his friends said, "You don't know Sir Robert Peel—he knows this bill must pass, and after he comes into office he will pass something in the shape of a tithe bill; and then he will say, 'having thus a little secured the church, I will give you a corporation bill.'"

Lord Stanley warmly disclaimed such a principle of conduct on the part of his right hon. friend. He admitted, however, that if he saw the church in a more secure position, many of his objections to the establishment of municipal corporations in Ireland would be removed.

The ministers and their friends eagerly caught hold of this admission on the part of their opponents. The principle of granting municipal institutions to Ireland, then, said they, is conceded—the question is now only of time—"They will not allow us to have the credit of it," said Mr. Spring Rice; "they will not allow us to carry the bill, but it will be carried." "But," he asked, "would the result be the same, if the bill were carried by gentlemen opposite? Were they prepared to go on still in the steps which they had been so long treading; opposing measures one day and carrying them the next? Were the hon. members who flocked down to-night to record their votes against the bill, aware that they might have been called down to assist in carrying it?"

Mr. O'Connell declared, that no government could be unjust and strong at the same time. Take away the grievances of Ireland, and he should change places with his present adversaries; they would

become strong, and he should become weak. While it was denied that either the church or the corporations, as at present constituted, was a grievance, his power must continue. Again he raised his voice for corporation reform for Ireland, as it had been given to England and Scotland. To those who sought to withhold the boon, he would say, "Your paltry corporations, the last remnant of your tyranny, may give you a temporary protection; but I tell you, emphatically, that seven millions of Irishmen will not endure them long. The elders among us may bear with it, because we have been bred up in servility; but there is young and violent blood in Ireland which will not long submit to the tyranny practised on ourselves and our fathers."

Colonel Thompson, too, asserted that there was a large and growing party, who sympathised warmly with the Irish in their indignation against their oppressions; and who would be rather gratified than otherwise by the apparition of an Irish republic, if the Irish were driven to it. He did not dissemble that such was his own feeling —If he were called upon to define the political party to which he considered himself to belong, he should say, it was that which might be called "the republicans under compact;" by which he meant, men who having no more doubt of the inherent superiority of republican institutions than they have of a straight line being the shortest distance between two points, are still willing to concede to the wish of the majority, and to engage to discharge all the duties of citizen under a monarchical government; and he had yet to learn in what portion of those duties they had failed. We have thought it worth while to extract this profession of republican principles on the part of a member of the legislature. The openness of the declaration is one of those symptoms of the times which a contemporary historian is not allowed to pass by.

Mr. Charles Villiers said, there could be no doubt, from the tenor of their speeches and newspapers, that the tories were only lying in wait for an opportunity of repealing the three great measures of Catholic Relief, Municipal Reform, and Parliamentary Reform; and this they hoped to effect by a revival of the no-popery cry, which had done them such service of old.

Lord Francis Egerton disclaimed anything like hostility to the Catholics, on the part of his friends, or any design against the measures that had been past for their relief. He had always supported those measures—but he admitted the opponents of them had proved to be better political prophets than himself in respect of the dangers to the Protestant church, which they anticipated from the passing of them.

Lord Morpeth, on the other hand, could not see in what these dangers consisted, or how they would be aggravated by passing a measure like this, which interfered neither with the revenues, the doctrines, or the clergy of the church.

Sir James Graham referred the noble Lord to the declaration of Mr. O'Connell himself on this subject; who, he said, ought to be the best judge, both of his own means and his ends: and by adopting the support of such a man as the mainstay of their government,

ministers did in effect promote his views.

Lord John Russell said, the taunt was as weak as it was threadbare. Certainly Mr. O'Connell supported the ministers; and if his or any other considerable section of the House withdrew their support, they would lose the majority. But was there not also a strong body of old whigs sitting on the same side of the House; and who, if they saw the ministers going too far, would check them in like manner? As for the danger of the church, they who put the church forward in the argument created the very danger they apprehended. The danger of the church of Ireland arose from its being the church of a small minority; and from the daily increasing wealth, intelligence and power of those who dissented from her. No doubt, by denying the power conferred by this bill, you would be keeping back one weapon by which the church might be attacked; but push that argument to its full extent, and you would retrace every step of relaxation you have made from the full rigour of the penal code. But they were told — vaguely, indeed, even by Lord Stanley, who, however harsh, was generally sufficiently explicit in his language—that give security to the church, and they will enable us to pass a municipal corporation bill. Lord John did not know how perfect security could be given to a church circumstanced as that of Ireland now was. Bring forward any measure on the subject of tithe likely to pass both Houses of Parliament; and, at the same time, give satisfaction to the people of Ireland; and no false feeling of pride on his part should prevent his giving it his support. But the difficulties in the way of such a settlement as yet were immense. The very measures which would formerly have satisfied the people, if at length sanctioned by the House of Lords, would now no longer do so. As for the bill now before the House, Lord John supported it, from a conviction of the justice of it, and looked forward with confidence to its triumphant success; sure, that, if granted now, it would meet the support and gratitude it deserved. "But if," said he, "on whatever pretences you delay to give it, I feel not the less assurance that it will ultimately be carried and carried too by the support of the right hon. Baronet opposite; but I do not feel an equal confidence that it will then be with the same good feelings and the same good effects in Ireland."

Sir Robert Peel began by adverting to the novelty of Mr. Villiers' attempt to get up a cry of "the Reform bill in danger," in opposition to that of "the Church in danger," of which, he said, the conservatives were seeking, unfairly, to avail themselves. The attacks on that measure, however—and they were pretty numerous, as appeared from their notice book—happened all to come from the other side of the house. With respect to his imputed purpose of passing the present measure himself, when he got into office, he denied he had given the least authority for such an expectation; and if he thought the bill, as it stood, fit to be proposed by him as a minister, he would, as an honest man, support it when in opposition. As to what might be the possible circumstances under which he would relax in his opposition to the grant of Irish municipal corporations, he

conceived, that was an hypothetical question which no one had a right to put to him. But this he would say, that before the king's government asked of that house a final decision on this measure, it was their duty to state what they meant to do with the Irish church. The noble Lord had said, he would make any sacrifice for a satisfactory adjustment of that question. He interpreted this to imply a willingness, for such an object, to give up the appropriation clause. He saw no other way by which it could be done. It was the evil of that resolution being neither carried nor abandoned that engendered bitterness in Ireland.

As for the vague intimations of ministers about their quitting office, Sir Robert said, he hardly knew what to think of them. He taunted them not with a desire to retain office; he believed, that in the state to which they had reduced our public affairs, both domestic and foreign, few men would be tempted to encounter the difficulties which at present surround them, excepting they felt impelled by a sense of public duty. He did not, however, hesitate to say, that if ministers should make this a pretext for abandoning their offices, and escaping from the difficulties with which they were beset, he believed there was spirit and energy enough in the country to find ample compensation for their loss.

The debate lasted two nights. There had been a very general disposition to close it on the first; but the ministers supported a motion of adjournment, in the expectation of a better attendance of their friends on the morrow. Their hope, in this respect, does not seem to have been realized. The motion for adjournment on the first night was carried by a majority of 54; and the division next night, when the house was more full, gave them only an increase of one; the numbers being 302 in favour of the bill, and 247 against it.

It had been inferred from certain intimations which fell from the tory leaders in the course of the discussion of the bill in the House of Commons, that they were not so hopelessly adverse to the grant of municipal corporations to Ireland, but that, under certain circumstances, and combined with other measures for the security of the church in that part of the kingdom, they might eventually be brought to consent to it.

It was on the 13th of April that the bill was introduced to the House of Peers by Lord Melbourne, who moved, that the second reading be fixed for the 25th of the same month. The Duke of Wellington on this occasion gave no opinion on the subject of the bill, but contented himself with observing, that it was only one of the three measures relating to Ireland which had been recommended to the consideration of the house in the speech from the Throne. The subject of the poor law for that country, it is true, had been brought under the consideration of the other house of parliament, and stood on the votes; but the third question, that of Irish tithes, had not yet been introduced to either house. As he thought it desirable that, before it decided on the present measure, the house should have the other two before them, he hoped the noble viscount would appoint a more distant day for the consideration of it.

Lord Melbourne, however, objected to do this, stating, at the same time, that he could not see any

such necessary connexion between the three measures as should preclude the discussion of one of them before the others were brought forward.

On the day previous to that fixed for the second reading, a meeting of the conservative peers is said to have taken place at Apsley-house, for the purpose of considering how it were best to deal with the bill. A strong party were for throwing it out at once; but the Duke of Wellington's opinion, that it should be allowed to go into committee, prevailed. When asked, what he would do with it in committee, the noble duke is reported to have answered, that it would be time enough to think of that when it was there; an answer which sufficiently implies, that he had formed no irrevocable decision on the subject, but was disposed to take counsel of events and circumstances.

In moving the second reading of the measure, Lord Melbourne dwelt much upon the good effect which had already resulted from the grant of a similar boon to England. In proof of this, he read a report that had reached him from Bristol, which stated, that in consequence of municipal reform, justice in that city was more accessible and efficient; that the town was better watched, at a less expense; that the local taxes and expenditure had been reduced; confidence increased, and party virulence abated. Similar reports had been received from Leicester, Norwich, Liverpool, Cambridge, and other places; and good fruits of the same kind might confidently be expected from the extension of the same reform to Ireland. No country wanted it more. At present the members of Irish corporations were too much in the habit of looking only to the castle, and of doing nothing for themselves. It was said, we proposed only to transfer power from the Protestants to the Catholics. Lord Melbourne said, "I doubt much if such would be the effect of the measure; but suppose it were, what is the nature of the power so transferred? It could not be dangerous in any hands. Possibly political matters may be agitated in these town councils, and they may be induced to present addresses concerning them to the king, or to both houses of parliament. If that be the danger apprehended," said the noble lord, "I hold it very cheap indeed. If they step out of their sphere, depend upon it their influence will be very small. None are so weak as those who endeavour to go farther than they have a right to go. Public opinion would divest their proceedings of all weight; the measures they thus brought forward would be only the proof of their own weakness and imbecility. At any rate, whatever be their influence, are there no assemblies, no associations at present? and may not these, by carrying on correspondence and raising funds, act even more efficiently than town councils for the furtherance of their political purposes?"

Lord Melbourne, therefore, called upon the house to accede to this measure. It was, he said, only a little to give, but a great deal to withhold. It is true the great majority of the people of Ireland are of the Roman Catholic religion; but if we make that a reason for rejecting the bill, how are we to hope to govern Ireland? Is there any probability that that religion will come to prevail less than it does now?

And are we prepared always to conduct the government of that country in hostility to the feelings of the great mass of the people?

The Duke of Wellington said, he would agree to the second reading of the bill on the principle that the existing corporations ought not to be continued. He would, however, by no means pledge himself to consent to the present measure, to various details of which he felt strong objections. These he would endeavour to remove in committee. In the meanwhile he could not but express his surprise that Lord Melbourne should have thought proper again to bring before the house, a measure, the same with that which it had rejected last session.

Lord Lyndhurst stated, that for many reasons he did not think it consistent with his duty to oppose the second reading of the bill. Some change was, undoubtedly, desirable in the Irish corporation system; moreover, the house, in its address at the beginning of the session, had pledged itself to the crown to take the subject into consideration. He must, nevertheless, at the same time declare distinctly that he, for one, would never acquiesce in the passing of this bill in its present shape. How far it might be rendered more consistent with the safety of Ireland, of the established church, and of the Protestant interests there, and of the connexion of the two countries, he did not pretend to say.

In reference to the surprise expressed by the Duke of Wellington, that the bill, after having been rejected, should be proposed again, Lord Melbourne said, the case was far from a singular one; and he reminded the noble duke of a bill which he had always divided in opposition to, and which yet he was, at length, the very man to introduce and to carry.

Lord Brougham said, that he should have hailed the duke's and Lord Lyndhurst's consent to the second reading as a real blessing to the country, could he believe it proceeded from any change of opinion on the policy of the bill. As it was, he rather regretted it, as from the tone of their speeches he was led to believe, that they would only throw away some five or six weeks of their time in unprofitable discussions on the subject, and be left at the end of this session where they were at the close of the last.

The noble and learned lord's augury on this occasion implied the possession of no remarkable spirit of prophecy. On the 5th of May, when the order of the day was read for the house to resolve itself in committee on the bill, the Duke of Wellington rose, and moved to defer the committal till the 9th of June. The duke gave as his reason for asking this delay, that he was anxious to see the result of the deliberations of the other house of parliament on the pending measures of Irish tithe and Irish poor law. With respect to the former of these, as recently introduced by the government, he saw nothing in it but a departure from the appropriation clause; a concession of some importance, no doubt, but which was here accompanied by provisions that appeared to him more harsh than that clause itself, and likely to be more injurious to the church. The clause went to dispose of a surplus which never existed, and never was likely to exist. The present measure directly established a fund for such a surplus, and deprived the successors of those that held benefices

of one-seventh of their income, to be applied to what was called education in Ireland. The duke said, he certainly could not see any great improvement in the measure; but having made this change, he hoped they might make others, and so he was disposed to await the close of the discussion on the subject in the Commons before he determined of the bill more immediately before them. So, too, with respect to the Irish poor-law bill—he was aware of the great difficulty of the question, but, if carried at all, it would obviously afford the best means of testing the qualifications of electors under the corporation bill.

Lord Melbourne decidedly objected to the proposed postponement, both as inconvenient in itself and most dangerous in the motive on which it was grounded. There was, he said, no connexion between the church and corporation bills; and if the House of Commons should follow the example of the Lords, and refuse to consider one set of bills until the Lords had passed another to their satisfaction, he apprehended their lordships would not have the best of the struggle. As for the appropriation clause, he denied that it had been abandoned; it substantially existed in the new bill as strongly as in the former one. And with respect to the criterion for the franchise to be afforded by the proposed poor-law bill, nothing could be easier than to add the same qualification to a bill for the reform of the municipal corporations; if, which he much doubted, noble lords opposite were disposed to pass one.

Upon this the Duke of Wellington stated, in explanation, that, however he objected to much of the present measure, he was not adverse to the establishment, under certain circumstances, of local jurisdictions in Ireland. This admission was followed by yet ampler ones from the same side of the house. Lord Fitzgerald said, that he still thought the course adopted by the house last session was, in itself, the fittest for securing the just administration of the law and public tranquillity in Ireland; but he certainly did find, in the manner in which the adoption of that course had been received in Ireland, a strong reason for departing from it, if they could do so consistently with their duty, more especially as there seemed no ground for hoping that it would receive the concurrence of the other house of parliament. He utterly disclaimed for himself and his friends any notion that the people of Ireland were unable to govern themselves. He had no wish, therefore, to repeat the vote of last year, but merely asked for delay, on the principles stated by the noble duke; that they might have all the three measures for the improved administration of Ireland before them, before they finally decided of the provisions of any one of them.

The Earl of Wicklow went further than his noble friend, and admitted, that he was decidedly favourable to the grant of municipal corporations to Ireland, and that he had abstained from taking any part in the discussions last session from disinclination to oppose those, with whom he habitually acted. His objections to the bill referred only to details; the principle of it he was disposed to maintain in its full integrity; but the postponement asked for was evidently desirable in many respects, and he could see no good ground for its being refused.

The Marquess of Lansdowne said, he now understood the Duke of Wellington and Lord Fitzgerald to give, without qualification, their assent to the principles of the bill. He deprecated, therefore, any further delay in the progress of it, and endeavoured to shew how futile were their apprehensions as to the dangers it menaced to the established church. He instanced the cases of the four most Catholic towns in Ireland, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, and Galway, in which either the corporations had already been thrown open to Catholics, or institutions for municipal purposes had been established under acts of parliament, without any distinction of sect. In none of these cases was the least disposition shewn to exclude Protestants from office; and in one a Protestant clergyman had been elected a commissioner by a Roman Catholic constituency.

Lord Brougham said, he drew no happy augury of the fate of the bill from the very significant speech of the Duke of Wellington. He would not say any sinister motive lurked in his proposition for delay; he admitted, no one spoke out more plainly on all occasions than the noble duke—no man expressed himself in less vague and general terms, or was less capable of taking up a cause which he feared to avow. But if he was so averse to the present measure as he appeared to be, why did he not throw it out altogether, and bring in a better one of his own, if he was disposed to legislate on the subject? It was all very well to talk of amending the bill; but their lordships' amendments would alter it so that the man who drew it would not know it again. He knew very well, that though the different sections under the duke's command might move by different routes, they would all meet in the end. However various might be their methods of clipping and cobbling, the result would be the same. If it was meant to keep their decision on this measure in terror over the deliberations of the House of Commons on certain other measures, he could understand the motive of the delay; but he begged the house to consider they were thus setting a precedent which might most inconveniently be turned against themselves.

On a division, there were found in favour of the postponement 192 votes; against it, 115; it was carried, therefore, by a majority of 77.

On the same night in the Commons, when the house was in a committee of supply, on the motion to grant to the king a certain sum for the payment of outstanding exchequer bills, Mr. Hume took occasion to say, that there was nothing like two houses agreeing; as the Lords chose to stop all reforms, the Commons had better put a bar on supplies. He moved, therefore, that the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again; and if that were agreed to, he should propose that the chairman do sit again on the 9th of June. The motion was received with cheers from his own side; but on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's remonstrance that the money was really wanted to discharge the obligations of the state, Mr. Hume consented to withdraw it.

Although the postponement thus carried was for more than a month, there appeared to be little probability that either the tithe or the

poor's-rate bill would be before the Lords by the term so assigned. So slow, in fact, was the progress of these measures, that the one of them had hardly been committed; and the second reading of the other was, accidentally, as it was said, fixed for the very day (June 9) to which the Lords had adjourned their further consideration of the municipal corporations bill. Accordingly, when that day arrived, Lord Lyndhurst rose to move a further postponement of that measure; at the same time, he took occasion again to state his objections to it. Looking to its provisions, especially to the qualification of the electors, he was satisfied that it would, in effect, hand over the corporations in Ireland to the Roman Catholic agitators in that country. What was the complaint over and over again urged against the present corporations? That they were exclusively Protestant—though it should be remembered, that to support the Protestant establishment was the very purpose for which they were formed; and the effect of the proposed change would be, that they would become as exclusively Roman Catholic. He was aware, indeed, that this would be a strong recommendation of the measure with some persons. The very ground on which they urged it forward with so much perseverance and zeal was the hope of thereby destroying the Protestant establishment. Lord Lyndhurst added, that he could not but think that his majesty's ministers shared in that feeling. Such a suspicion was not unnatural, when we remember it is to the party which not merely entertains but avows that feeling, that the ministers directly owe their continuance in office.

As a striking illustration of the inclinations of government in this respect, Lord Lyndhurst quoted their conduct towards the General Association in Ireland. Never, he said, in this or any other country, was there to be found a body of men so formidable in their character, so extensive in their combinations, so desperate in their designs, as this. That association was composed to a great extent of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, and was in communication with the whole of them. It has in every parish an agent, under the name of a pacificator, for the purpose of assuming to itself the power of levying money upon the public at large, for the accomplishment of their own objects. They take upon themselves the superintendance of registry matters; they influence and over-awe the electors; they denounce and prescribe members of both houses of parliament; and all this tremendous means of mischief, to what is the use of it directed? Do they not openly avow their object to be the overthrow of the Protestant established church; do they not declare they will never cease from agitation till they have accomplished that purpose, giving us as the only alternative of its consummation, a repeal of the legislative union?

Lord Lyndhurst then dwelt on the conduct of the government in respect to this association. Instead of taking measures to dissolve it, they had in every way given it their countenance. Early in the session a noble lord, who is also a member of the association, had declared in that house, that if his majesty expressed his desire that it should dissolve, it would do so at once. Had the government intimated any such desire? Had

they not, on the contrary, done every thing to uphold and encourage it? Lord Lyndhurst admitted, that this conduct of theirs was not unnatural. The association was a formidable engine of power. It was exercised at this moment in support of the ministers, and it might fairly claim their sanction in return. And here the noble and learned lord said he could not but stop to consider what is the situation in which his Majesty's ministers stand. To whom do they look for support? To the enemies of the Protestant establishment. In Ireland their dependence is on the Papists: in England on the Dissenters. Deprive them of the aid of one or other of those bodies, and they fall at once. When before, in the history of this country, was the king's government ever placed in such a position? "And, my Lords," he continued, "where is this to stop? Give these men a part of the spoils of the established church, and you only encourage them to make further demands? This is the usual result of concession, and that it will be so in this case is no matter of speculation, but of fact. What are we told by those persons? They say, that they will receive all that you offer, but that they take it only as an instalment; an earnest and means of further exactions. Indeed, the same principle is, to a certain extent, avowed by ministers themselves. They proclaim, that the only way to govern Ireland is by concession. Concede every demand, say they, and if she is not contented go on conceding till she is so."

With respect to the bill itself, Lord Lyndhurst said, he could never acquiesce in it as it stood. He objected first and chiefly to the 5*l.* qualification which was the basis of it. He was not so ignorant of what was passing around him as not to know, that a 5*l.* qualification was no qualification at all; and that upon that principle the new municipal constituency would be composed of persons driven to vote under the absolute direction of the Catholic priests. Again—last session an act was passed which took the appointment of police constables from the magistrates and gave it to the lord-lieutenant; yet this measure transferred it to the town-councils; and, be it observed, the jurisdiction of these constables was extended all over the counties in which the boroughs were situated. These town councils were to have the power of appointing officers, of giving salaries, of levying rates at their discretion. Let the House consider what would be the state of Ireland, with bodies thus elected and armed with such powers, combining and corresponding together, as instruments of the principle of agitation now dominant in that country.

Lord Lyndhurst then adverted to the observation of Lord Melbourne, that bodies which assumed a power which did not belong to them instead of becoming formidable only made themselves ridiculous. The remark might be applicable to this country, where there existed the countervailing forces of a powerful magistracy and an influential clergy, and institutions of various kinds to check any body of men in the usurpation of functions that they were not entitled to. The case was widely different in Ireland. What controlling power existed there? If they set up these bodies in that country, arrayed them in legal authority, gave to them the forms and ensigns of office, with the

power of commanding the constabulary and of making use of the public purse—could it be said they would not be creating a power of a most formidable character?

In a case of this kind, Lord Lyndhurst said he was unwilling to rest wholly on his own general observation. There was a witness on this subject whose testimony Lord Melbourne would hardly object to, as he was the patron and protector of the noble viscount's government — a witness more schooled in the arts of agitation than any other individual that ever lived—Mr. O'Connell himself had told the people of Ireland, that all he was anxious to obtain was municipal reform; give him that, said he, and he would make himself responsible for getting the rest. When he had this evidence to support the conclusion of his own reason could he question the soundness of it?

However, Lord Lyndhurst said his object was not to oppose the bill altogether. The people of Ireland were desirous that a municipal bill should pass, and he was content to vote for a measure of that kind, provided it could be so framed as to be consistent with the tranquillity of that country and the interests of the church. For this purpose it must be founded on such a principle of election as to ensure responsibility among those persons to whom the municipal administration would be intrusted. He did not, therefore, move the rejection of the present bill; but only its further postponement until the time when the measure for the regulating Irish tithes, and establishing an Irish poor-law should be before the house. The former of these might possibly be so framed as to put the church of Ireland on a safe foundation; and the latter would afford materials for arranging the municipal franchise on something better than a nominal qualification. Lord Lyndhurst therefore moved, that for the word "now" be substituted "the third of July next."

Lord Melbourne observed, that the noble and learned baron's present speech was likely to be little less successful than was the one he pronounced on the same occasion last session, in exciting popular indignation, and aggravating every difficulty in the way of a conciliatory arrangement of the matter. He warmly questioned the learned lord's right to designate the supporters of ministers, be they Roman Catholics or Dissenters, as enemies of the constitution. There was nothing so high in his own character as should authorise his setting himself up as the censor and judge of large masses of his fellow subjects. Lord Melbourne strongly objected to the further postponement of the measure. Such a proceeding could neither tend to the promotion of a good understanding between the two houses, nor to a satisfactory arrangement of the measure. With the view he takes of the spirit and purposes of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, it was most inconsistent in Lord Lyndhurst to give the bill any countenance at all. Whatever be his skill and ingenuity he can never contrive that they should not have the preponderance in municipal elections. With respect to the General Association in Ireland, and the appointment of members of it to official situations; Lord Melbourne contended, that when a body like that had grown up to importance and excited much enthusiasm among young minds,

it would be imprudent in the government to pronounce against all connected with it the bar of perpetual exclusion from office. They had done so, it was true, in the case of members of Orange societies, but with great doubt and reluctance; and only on the ground of the peculiar and secret character of those societies.

In conclusion, Lord Melbourne opposed the further postponement of the bill. No other peer spoke on either side. The house divided, when there appeared for the original motion 119; against it 205; leaving a majority of 86 against the immediate consideration of the bill.

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of Ireland continued—Source of the disorders which infest that country—Question of establishing a system of Poor-law in Ireland—Report of the Dublin Commission of Inquiry—Mission of Mr. Nicholls—Abstract of his Report—Habits of the Peasantry—Prevalence of Mendicancy—Habits of Intoxication—Objections to the introduction of Poor-laws considered—Application of the Work-house System—Estimate of the Expense of Erection—Formation of Unions and of Boards of Guardians — Proposed Exclusion of Clergymen from these last—Assessment of the Rate—No System of Parochial Settlement—Suppression of Mendicancy—Central Directing Authority—The subject is brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Lord John Russell—The Measure is supported by the O'Conor Don and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. O'Connell disapproves of, but does not oppose it—Second Reading of the Bill—Speech of Mr. O'Connell in opposition to it—Various objections urged by Irish Members—Committee on the Bill—Mr. Lucas's Motion for a Clause enacting a Right of Settlement—Debate on the Motion, which is lost on a Division—Irish Tithe Question—Lord Morpeth brings forward a Measure for the Commutation of it—Provision for establishing Schools for General Purposes—On the Second Reading of the Bill, it is opposed by Mr. S. Crawford, Mr. Browne, and Lord Stanley—New System of National Education for Ireland—Lord Melbourne's Motion for an Inquiry into it—Speech of the Bishop of Exeter on the Subject—Replies of Archbishop Whateley and Lord Plunkett.

IT is a melancholy subject in the retrospect of the recent history of Ireland, to consider how much has been said about the political grievances of that country, and how little attempted towards the remedy of the social evils that afflict it. It is indeed much easier to declaim upon the one, than to minister to the other; nor should we so much complain of the time and talent that has been expended in the discussion of the imaginary grievances of the Irish people, if it had not the effect of distracting the attention of government and the public from the practical consideration of the causes which have operated to keep the mass of them so far in arrear of the prosperity and civilization that prevail in the rest of the kingdom. In

speaking of the political disadvantages under which the Irish have laboured as *imaginary,* we use the term for the sake of distinguishing them from those ills that have more directly affected the material interests of the population ; and not at all as intending to underrate their importance. A disorder, if felt, is not the less real because it applies rather to the imagination than to the bodily functions of the patient ; and is often, therefore only the more difficult of cure.

We are not prepared to say, that this is the case with Ireland. It is their long perversion to party purposes which chiefly stands in the way of the adjustment of her political disorders. Her social distemper is far more arduous of management ; resulting from long habits of abuse, they have become chronic, and, as it were, constitutional. The metaphor, however, here ceases to apply. The case of an individual under such circumstances would be desperate. We might palliate the symptoms, but could not hope to cure the disease. But communities are immortal ; and in dealing with their ailments, the statesman has in prospect an unlimited command of time—an important element in every process, whether physical or political ; and which, when things have been put upon a true course of recovery, if undisturbed by subsequent mismanagement, will of itself almost surely secure a successful result.

The great malady of Ireland is apparent. It is the destitute and degraded condition of the class which composes nine-tenths of the natives. How to deal with an evil so extensive and radical was a problem of the highest difficulty. But one thing seemed clear—that before you attempt anything for the purpose of affecting the habits of the people, you must conciliate their confidence in your good intentions by offering them something in the shape of a positive benefit. A provision for the destitute in that country, therefore, seemed necessary, not merely as called for by the actual sufferings of the population, but as a ground for the introduction of other measures of a less palatable character.

The chief objection to the measure lay in the abuses and embarrassments that had arisen out of the administration of a similar system in England. This difficulty, however was in a great degree removed by the apparent success of the changes which have lately been introduced into the English Poor-law ; and men of all parties were now almost eager in their desire to see the system applied to Ireland, with the modifications necessary to fit it to the different circumstances of the two countries.

A board of commissioners had been for some time busied with the consideration of this subject at Dublin ; and in the last session a report containing the result of their inquiries was laid before parliament. They recommended, that a large class of the more destitute and suffering part of the population should be provided for at the public expense, by means of a national and local rate. The persons to be thus entitled to relief were lunatics, persons deaf and blind, and generally the infirm poor. Widows with young families were included in the same category. These were to be supported within the walls of public institutions ; and for such of the sick as remained at home, dispensary institutions were to be formed

for the purpose of supplying them with medicine. Emigration formed another great feature of the system recommended by the commissioners. Public money was to be advanced for that object, and dépôts formed, where persons willing to emigrate should be collected and supported until the time of their embarkation.

The scheme appeared to government to be as inadequate in some respects as it was injurious in others. The cases selected for relief, such as the blind and lunatic, were often precisely those which would be most secure in their appeal to individual compassion; while no provision was made for the able-bodied poor when thrown out of the means of subsistence by unavoidable circumstances. The methods proposed for promoting emigration were also open to obvious difficulties in practice. It would not be easy to enforce upon five or six hundred emigrants, collected in a dépôt, the order and discipline which their number and situation would require; and if, after being kept there for a month or two, they should refuse to embark, no means would exist for compelling them to do so.

The government, therefore, thought it desirable, that some inquiry should be made as to how far it might be practicable to introduce into Ireland a system of relief based upon the principles of the new English poor-law. For this purpose they commissioned Mr. Nicholls, one of the commissioners, to proceed to that country, and prosecute the matter by personal investigation. Lord John Russell's instructions to that gentleman are dated the 22nd of August; and seems to have found a journey of little more than six weeks afford him sufficient facts and grounds for the very able report which he sent in on the 13th of November. As this document is directly the basis on which the proposed Irish poor-law, as introduced by government, was founded, we shall proceed to present our readers with a brief abstract of its contents.

Ireland, it would appear, notwithstanding her sufferings, is decidedly an improving country in respect of production. Evidence of increased wealth is everywhere apparent; but more particularly in the towns. But although capital has increased, the increase of population has been still greater, and therefore, individually, the great mass of the people remain poor, notwithstanding the continual growth of the public wealth. The extreme sub-division of land tends to produce this result. The soil, fertile as it naturally is, becomes exhausted by incessant cropping. Except in the grazing districts, farmers of above 100 acres have become almost extinct. There being no legal provision for the destitute, and the sub-division of the land into small holdings having destroyed the regular demand for labour, the occupation of a piece of the land is to the peasant the only means of subsistence. Hence the violence with which they resist dispossession. Land to them is a necessary of life. A man cannot obtain a livelihood as a day labourer. He must get a plot of land, on which to raise potatoes, or starve.

Mendicancy is almost universal, and has, therefore, ceased to be disgraceful; and much of the dirty and indolent habits of the peasantry may be traced to this source. It is not disreputable to

beg, or appear wretchedly clothed, or without the decencies of life.

Drunkenness, too, appears much more common among the Irish than in England. Notwithstanding the evident poverty of the people, the use of whiskey and tobacco is excessive; and is said to be increasing. Much of the violence and disorder prevailing in the country, may be traced to this habit.

Travelling through the country, it is impossible not to be struck with the depression of feeling, morally and personally prevailing among the peasantry. It shows itself throughout the whole of their general economy and conduct. They seem to feel no pride, or emulation—they do not strive to add to their comforts or improve their situation. This may be partly the effect of old habits: bad as things are, they were probably worse than they were thirty years ago.

The desultory and idle habits of the peasantry, are very remarkable. They postpone any business, even the most necessary to the safety of their little crop, for the sake of a fair or a funeral. One cause of this propensity may be sought in their position as part occupiers, part labourers. Their own work is soon done, and they think may be done any day; for wages are uncertain; hence arises a total disregard of the value of time. The heaviest part of the drudgery seems to fall on the females.

The chief objection urged against the introduction of a legal system of relief in Ireland, is its probable charge. It is said, that it would lead to universal pauperism and a consequent confiscation of property. The difficulty is met by making actual destitution the sole ground of relief, and providing an adequate test of its reality. At present, no test of destitution exists in Ireland. Mendicancy is only the outward sign of it; but it constitutes as heavy a charge upon the property of the country, but partial and unequal in its collection and distribution. At present, the burthen of relief falls almost exclusively upon the lower classes; the higher classes, generally, and the absentee proprietors entirely, escape from their share of it. The people are aware of this, and, in general, it appears they are anxious for the introduction of a system of poor-laws similar to the English one, as recently amended by the legislature. Such a system would go far to correct the existing inequality in the pressure of the burthen; and, at the same time, by connecting the interests of landlords and tenants, become a means of benefiting both.

A system of poor-laws, however, if established in Ireland, must not be expected to work miracles. It would not immediately give employment or capital; but it might serve to help the country through the season of change from the system of small holdings and sub-divisions of land now prevalent, to that of dependence on daily labour for support. Of all changes, this is the most desirable. The eager clinging to land, and its sub-division into small holdings, is both a cause and a consequence of the rapid increase of the Irish people, and of the extreme poverty and want prevailing among them. At present, the poor are the sole providers for their own necessities, each out of his own little holding; they are thus very apt to under calculate the extent of their wants and often squander their store so

early as to be left without food before the new crop is ripe. Hence the kind of famine, more or less intense, that occurs annually in Ireland, between the going out of the old and the coming in of the new crops.

A legal provision for the destitute, moreover, appears to be an indispensable preliminary to the suppression of mendicancy. Before the state can prohibit begging, it must offer an alternative. That in Ireland, it would, on the whole, be economical to do this, there can be little doubt; but the moral effect of removing such a disease from society, would be of infinitely greater importance.

Mr. Nicholl's states, that he found the people almost universally favourable to the introduction of a poor-law. This was the case, almost without exception, with the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant. The shopkeepers, too, and manufacturers and dealers generally, were invariably of the same opinion. They, for the most part, declared that independently of other and higher considerations, they should be gainers by it at the end of the year, whatever might be the legal amount assessed upon them. The great object, however, of such an institution would be the improvement of the social condition of the people themselves. Till a change takes place in that respect in Ireland, it is in vain to look for that accumulation of wealth and influx of capital which are necessary for developing her resources, agricultural and commercial; and for providing profitable employment for the population. "Ireland," Mr. Nicholls observed, "is now suffering under a circle of evils, producing and reproducing each other—want of capital produces want of employment—want of employment, turbulence and misery—turbulence and misery, insecurity — insecurity, prevents the introduction or accumulation of capital—and so on. Until this circle is broken, the evils must continue and probably augment. The first thing to be done is, to give security; that will produce and invite capital, and capital will give employment. But security of person and property cannot coexist with general destitution—so that in truth the drainage, reclamation and profitable cultivation of bogs and wastes—the establishment of fisheries and manufactures, improvements in agriculture and in the general condition of the country; and lastly, the elevation of the great mass of the people in the social scale, appear to be all more or less contingent upon establishing a provision for the relief of the destitute."

With respect to the particular question of how far the introduction of the English poor-law was practicable in Ireland, two difficulties seemed to suggest themselves; first, whether the workhouse system could be relied on as a test of destitution in Ireland; and secondly, whether the means and machinery existed there for the formation of unions, as in England.

The great principle of the workhouse system is, that the support which is afforded at the public charge in the workhouse, shall be on the whole less desirable than that to be obtained by independent exertion. Now, it would, perhaps, be in vain, even if it were desirable, to seek to make the lodging, clothing, and diet of the inmates of an Irish workhouse, inferior to those of the Irish pea-

santry. In Ireland, therefore, would not be found this security for the efficiency of the workhouse test. On the other hand, however, it is to be remembered that the Irish are naturally, or by habit, a migratory people; fond of change full of hope, eager for experiment. They have never been tied down to one limited settlement like the English peasantry; or enervated like them by a dependence on a misapplied system of parish relief. Consequently, confinement of any kind is more irksome to an Irishman than it is even to an Englishman; and the test of the workhouse is likely to prove fully as efficient in Ireland as it has been found to do with us.

It has been objected, that the expense of erecting workhouses at once for the whole of Ireland would be enormous. Mr. Nicholls, however, calculated that it would be considerably less than is supposed. If the surface of Ireland be divided into squares of twenty miles each, so that a workhouse placed in the centre would be distant about ten miles from the extremities in all directions, this would give about eighty workhouses for the whole. But even taking the number necessary at an 100; and supposing the expense of erection to be the same as for our English workhouses of the largest class; namely, 7,000*l.*—this would give a gross outlay of 700,000*l.* a sum not surely large considering the nature of the object. If advanced by way of loan from government, to be repaid by a yearly instalment of five per cent of the principal from the rates; a payment of 35,000*l.* annually, with the interest on the constantly decreasing principal would clear it off within twenty years.

With respect to the supply of local machinery for the execution of the law, Mr. Nicholls considered that by making the unions sufficiently large, there would be no difficulty of obtaining boards of guardians of competent intelligence and activity. These might be elected by the contributors to the county cess; but Mr. Nicholls thought that, in the first instance, large general powers should be vested in some competent authority to control and direct the proceedings of the boards of guardians; and even, where necessary, to supersede their functions altogether. He further proposed, that the same central authority should be empowered to dispense with the election of the first boards of guardians, and to appoint such persons as it should think proper to act in their stead.

In England, all magistrates are *ex-officio* members of the boards of guardians. In Ireland, it appears that the number of magistrates who would be entitled so to act would be such as, in a great degree, to destroy the elective and popular character of the board; and consequently to lower it in the confidence of the people. It was proposed, therefore, that the number of magistrates acting officially as guardians, should never exceed one-third of the elected members of the board.

It was further proposed, that no clergyman or minister, of any denomination, should be eligible to act either as elected or *ex-officio* guardian. This exclusion was not proposed, from any notion of the general unfitness of the clergy to fill the office, but with reference solely to the present state of religion in Ireland. If the ministers of one persuasion were admitted,

the ministers of every other must be so; and, it was feared, that the deliberations of the board would thus be often affected by religious differences. Besides, the duties of a guardian being altogether of a civil character, a clergyman bearing the office would be bound to exercise it as a lay member; and, it was thought, that clergymen of all persuasions would be enabled to exercise a more legitimate influence within their districts, if they were not members of the board, than if they were. The board, in the faithful performance of their duties, have often to act with strictness, and even with apparent rigour. If a minister of religion were a member of it, a part of the odium attaching such acts would fall upon him, and possibly affect his ministry. The clergy, in general, might act much more usefully, as independent of the board, in explaining to the people the nature and objects of the new law, and thus preventing any exaggerated notions as to what is intended.

Another advantage dwelt upon in the report was, the probable advantage to the habits of the people, derivable from the example of a better economy, which would be exhibited to them in the union establishments. Moreover, the enactment of a provision for the destitute at the common charge, would give the community a right so far to interfere with the proceed' gs of individuals as to prevent the spread of destitution; and to guard itself from loss and damage by the negligence or obstinacy of any of its members. With this view, it was recommended, that the central authority should appoint, or empower the board of guardians to appoint, one or more wardens or headboroughs for every parish, who might superintend generally the affairs of the district.

Assuming the general practicability and expediency of establishing a system of poor-law in Ireland on principles the same with those of the English law, Mr. Nicholls proceeded to consider of the details of its application in that country. It was proposed, that all relief should be absolutely refused out of the workhouse. This strictness of limitation might be objected to on the ground of the utter want, approaching to starvation, which occasionally assail large portions of the Irish population. These, however, are extreme cases, and such as it is altogether above the powers of a poor-law to provide for. There is then an actual deficiency of supply; as there is less to consume, less must be consumed; and to assess the rate-payers to enable the rate-receivers to continue their ordinary consumption, would be only to shift the suffering.

Another point to be insisted upon in carrying out the workhouse principle in Ireland is, that no individual of a family be admitted, unless all its members enter the house. Relief to the father or husband is, in part, relief to the child or wife, and *vice versa;* and, while they continue one family, a part cannot be considered as destitute, and the rest not so.

It was not proposed to impart a right to relief even to the destitute, but to place the ordering and directing of all relief in the hands of the central authority.

With respect to the formation and regulation of the local machinery; the report recommended that, as in England, the appointment of guardians should be vested

in the rate-payers and owners of property in the union; and a scale was proposed, by which the numbers of votes possessed by an individual rate-payer might be raised from one to five, as his rating increased from five pounds to two hundred. Tenants of property under five pounds value would possess no vote, and the rate for these, it was intended, should be paid by the landlord.

The commissioners of the Irish poor-law inquiry had proposed that the owner should pay two-thirds of the rate, and that the remainder should fall on the tenant. Mr. Nicholls considered, that a better arrangement would be, to divide the charge equally between the two parties; and this chiefly on the ground, that at present the occupier contributes nearly the whole relief of the destitute, and his burden would be sufficiently lightened by putting the half of it on the landlord.

It was not recommended to establish a parochial settlement in Ireland. No such practice has hitherto existed in that country. The habits of the people there are migratory; nor is it desirable to introduce among them a part of the English poor-law, which, by fixing the peasantry to the narrow limits of their own parish, beyond which the world was to them a blank, has done more than any other to destroy the elasticity and self-dependence of their character.

If a law settlement should be established, it would, of course, be a union of settlement, making the limits of the union the boundary; and the simpler the conditions on which the settlement is made to depend, the better. These might be limited to two; namely, birth, and actual residence for a term of years. These conditions would be retrospective as well as prospective, and the wife would always take her husband's settlement, and the children that of their parents, till they had acquired one for themselves.

It was, however, the conviction of the commissioners that it would be better to dispense with settlement altogether. Some inconvenience might possibly arise at the first declaration of an union, from an undue pressure for relief from strangers; but, as the unions increase in number, this effect would diminish; and when the whole country was formed into such districts, it would nearly, if not altogether, cease. It is, moreover, true, that vagrants and mendicants from other districts might congregate in particular unions from accident or inclination; but, if the workhouses were all regulated upon the same scale of diet and discipline, there would be no motive for these classes to prefer one union to another, and they would probably remain scattered throughout the country much in the same proportion as at present.

A great object, in the establishment of a legal relief for the destitute, would be the right it affords to take measures for the suppression of mendicancy. The present state of Ireland, however, and the habits and feelings of the Irish people, throw considerable difficulty in the way of the immediate enforcement of such a prohibition. The best method would, probably, be to enact a general prohibition, and to cast upon the central authority the responsibility of bringing the act into operation in the several unions, as the workhouses became fitted for the reception of

inmates. Time and forbearance, however, would be necessary for carrying such a measure into effect; and the present generation would, probably, pass away before the evil habit itself was subdued.

With respect to emigration, Mr. Nicholls did not think that it should be looked to as an ordinary resource. The necessity for its adoption should be regarded as an indication of disease, which it would be better to prevent than thus to relieve. Nevertheless, the resource is one which must be employed as a present means of relief, whenever the population becomes excessive in any district, and no opening for migration to other districts can be found. The actual excess will be indicated by the pressure of the able-bodied labourers upon the workhouse. If a considerable number of these remain there subject to its discipline, it may be taken as a proof of their inability to provide for themselves, and of the consequent excess of labourers beyond the means of employment. Under such circumstances, emigration is the only present remedy; and it was proposed, that the charge for resorting to it should be equally borne by the government and by the union from which the emigrants proceed. This division seems equitable; for, though the immediate benefit applies to the union, yet, eventually, the whole empire is relieved; excess in one portion of it tending to occasion excess in the whole.

In the conclusion of his able report, Mr. Nicholls came to the consideration of the nature and appointment of the "central authority," upon which the whole administration of the new system would, in point of fact, depend. It is clear, the law might be carried into effect either by a separate Irish commission, or by the existing English board; and Mr. Nicholls was decidedly in favour of this last alternative. The object being to carry the English system into Ireland, it clearly could be done only by persons practically conversant with the administration of it. Moreover, with separate boards, even governed by the same principle, there would be no unity of action, and therefore no unity of result. Mr. Nicholls was even disinclined to make any increase for this purpose of the number of commissioners. He preferred, that the present number of these should be continued, and conceived, that, by some alteration in the intermediate arrangements, the efficiency of the board might be adequately enlarged for the fulfilment of its additional obligations.

We have thought it desirable to give an abstract of this very able paper, as it affords not only the best statement of the ground of the new measure, and of its intended provisions, but, because it would be difficult to find a clearer review of the real nature of the social disorders under which Ireland has so long laboured. It is possible, indeed, that Mr. Nicholls somewhat overrated the universal efficacy of the remedy which he proposed to apply to those evils; nor, perhaps, has he accurately calculated all the practical difficulties that oppose themselves to its introduction into Ireland. But this is an objection which it is easy to make to every measure of reformation; and in the case of diseases so virulent and inveterate, as those which oppress the Irish peasantry, the question is less what are the probable hopes of complete success from this or that

mode of treatment, as what better or other can be proposed.

On the 13th of February, Lord John Russell called the attention of the House of Commons to that part of the king's speech at the opening of the session, in which his majesty had recommended the state of Ireland, and particularly "the difficult, but pressing question, of establishing some legal provision for the poor," to the early consideration of Parliament. Lord John, at the same time, laid on the table of the House, a copy of Mr. Nicholl's report upon this important subject; and the copious abstract we have already given of that judicious document, will dispense with our troubling the reader with much of the discourse with which the noble lord prefaced his motion; for his bill, in all its leading features, was strictly founded on the commissioners' recommendations.

In the beginning of his speech, Lord John dwelt upon the benefits derivable to a country from a well-administered system of poor-laws; upon its tendency to preserve peace, prevent vagrancy, diminish crime, and to create a kindly feeling between the upper and the lower classes of the community. In proof of this beneficial tendency of the system, he referred to the history of our own island. Previously to the act of Elizabeth, the number of crimes committed throughout the country was enormous. In the reign of Henry 8th alone, seventy thousand persons were executed for theft and other offences. Gangs of marauders ravaged the country. In the county of Somerset, though forty were hanged in one year, four-fifths of the guilty escaped. In London, even, it was found necessary to empower a certain officer, to seize offenders in the streets, and hang them without trial. Lord John then stated the leading provisions of his bill, as recommended by the commissioners. With respect to the expense of the system, he said, it had been calculated that the whole average charge for each person in the English workhouses, including lodging, fuel, clothing, and diet, was 1*s.* 6*d.* per week. If, therefore, we take an hundred union houses, each containing 800 inmates, and suppose them all fully occupied, the annual expense for the whole will be 312,000*l.*

Irish members of all parties, expressed their satisfaction at the introduction of the measure. Mr. Shaw observed, that whatever abstract difficulties might be raised against the principle of it, the extent and intensity of suffering in Ireland, was such, that the application of a system of poor-law to that country, could be no longer avoided.

The O'Connor Don said, that any doubt he might formerly have entertained of the necessity of the measure was removed by the report of the Irish commissioners. He stated, that there were not less than 2,300,000 human beings reduced many months of the year to a state approaching to starvation. The estimate was probably exaggerated; but make what deductions from it you can, the residue of human misery remaining, was most appalling. It appeared, that there were districts in Ireland visited with periodical inflictions of famine; that thousands supported themselves upon the smallest quantity of the worst description of food; that hundreds wandered over the country in idleness and mendicancy, supported by that

poor-law, (for there was then a poor-law for Ireland), by that poor-law of sympathy which makes the Irish peasant share to the last potatoe with those scarcely poorer than himself. He would be glad to see the poor-law transferred from the poor to the rich. He was convinced the landed proprietors would find it as much their interest, as it is their duty to contribute to the relief of the destitute.

Mr. O'Connell did not oppose the measure; but he expressed himself considerably less sanguine as to its beneficial results. The hundred workhouses could afford shelter and relief only to 80,000 persons; what proportion did this bear to the mass of destitution existing in Ireland? It was impossible, that the claimants for relief should be so few. He objected, also, to the proposed *gradual* introduction of the measure. They would thereby create a state of transition during which neither relief nor charity would be afforded to the suffering population of the country. If destitution were relieved in one district, it would put in motion all the neighbouring destitution; and the unavoidable disappointment of the claims thus called forth, would create an immediate and general excitement.

He disapproved, too, of that part of the plan which confined relief and employment to the workhouses. There was no part of Ireland which might not be made ten times more productive than it was, and yet they proposed to feed men in idleness, in a workhouse! The system of workhouses acted well in England, where a sort of slave-labour was adopted in them to force the idle to seek employment elsewhere; but what could be expected from it in Ireland, where men would work for *2d.* a day? Many expected that a poor-rate in Ireland would prevent the influx of Irish labourers into England. There could not be a greater mistake. Unmarried men would still go to England, and the married would go there also, leaving their families to be maintained in the workhouse. However, the experiment, he saw, must be made; and, therefore, whatever be his own expectation of the result, he would certainly give every aid in working out its details.

Mr. O'Connell had especially urged the resource of extensive emigration on the consideration of government, as the best means for relieving the distress of Ireland. Sir Robert Peel said, he was not sanguine as to the benefits to be derived from such a means. The long sea voyage would always stand in the way of its adoption to any considerable extent. It was easy to move from one part to another of a vast continent; but not so to leave a small island, to secure a ship and a surgeon, and incur the various expenses incident to the removal of a wife and family. As to public works, to vote money, merely to employ people, would only aggravate the evils that exist, by interfering with the natural demand for labour.

Sir Robert, however, said he was disposed, cordially to support the measure in its general objects, and Lord Stanley expressed himself still more strongly to the same effect. As an Irish landlord, he bore a warm testimony to the benevolence exercised by the Irish peasantry towards each other. It

was not at all an uncommon thing for persons, themselves steeped in poverty, almost to the lips, to open their houses to a widow, or orphans who might have been left destitute; and even to charge themselves with their permanent maintenance. He was far from wishing to check the spring of a charity so honourable to the Irish people; but it was a principle which, however, high and holy in itself, would lead in its exercise to the greatest social evils. Its direct result was a general improvidence among the people, from the very consciousness thus produced, that the last half-penny, or potatoe was to be shared with the first applicant that asked for help.

Mr. O'Connell, as we have seen, did not dissemble his dislike of the proposed poor bill, and his despair of its efficiency on its first introduction. The second reading of it did not take place till the end of April; and the interval seems only to have confirmed him in his hostility to the whole of its provisions. Upon that occasion, he attacked the measure in a speech of much force and ability. He repeated again, that it was not his intention directly to oppose it; some measure of the kind had become inevitable; he saw the necessity, and submitted to it; but his deliberate judgment was, that it would aggravate, instead of mitigating the existing evils of the Irish peasantry. Those evils were owing entirely to English misgovernment. The distinct and direct object of the penal laws, was to enforce ignorance and poverty by act of parliament. By the 7th of William, and 8th of Anne, the Catholics were in fact prohibited from being educated. To teach a Catholic child, was a felony punishable with death. For any child receiving instruction, there was a penalty often pounds a day; and upon the third offence, a forfeiture of goods and chattels. To send a child out of Ireland to be educated, was a similar offence; to send it subsistence from Ireland, incurred the same forfeiture; and strange to say, even the child incurred the forfeiture. Again, no Roman Catholic could acquire property; or if he did so, any Protestant could come into a court of law, and say, "Such a one being a Roman Catholic, has purchased an estate,—transfer it to me," and it would be given him.

"I am not," said Mr. O'Connell, "to be told that all this is ancient history,—these laws were in force when I was born. For a full century, we had laws, requiring the people to be ignorant, and punishing them for being industrious — can we wonder at the natural consequences of such a system?"

What were those consequences? Mr. O'Connell entered into a variety of statistical details, to prove, that with a less fertile soil, the quantity of agricultural produce raised in England was, as four to one, compared with that of Ireland; though according to the number of acres under cultivation, it ought not to exceed two to one. On the other hand, the number of agricultural labourers in Ireland, actually exceeded by above 75,000, that of England. In England, the wages paid to the labourers is from 8*s.* to 10*s.* In Ireland, it is only from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; of course the people in such a country are in a state of destitution. It appears, that there are there 585,000 heads of families, who, for seven

months of the year, are without employment. It has been said, that it is the undue competition for land that occasions all this destitution. Now, it happens, that not less than 567,441 of these persons have not an inch of land; and yet the commissioners tell us, that we have only to put an end to the exorbitant rents now demanded, and you will afford relief to the destitute — that is to the 17,000 which compose the whole number of those that hold land.

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to read numerous extracts from the reports of the commissioners, descriptive of the extreme misery of the Irish peasantry. Men were described as lying in bed because they had nothing to eat; turning thieves in order to get the protection of a gaol; lying on rotten straw, in mud cabins, with scarcely any covering; feeding on unripe potatoes and yellow weed; feigning sickness in order to get into cholera hospitals. "This," said he, "is the condition of a country blessed by nature with fertility, but barren from the want of cultivation, and whose inhabitants stalk through the land, enduring the extremity of misery and want. Did we govern ourselves? Who did this? You! (*Cheers*) Englishmen! I say, you did it. It is the result of your policy and domination."

The violence of this apostrophe might have been spared on this occasion, but we cannot say, that it was altogether foreign to the purpose. Historically we believe Mr. O'Connell to be correct in his account of the causes of the state of things which it was the object of the bill in some measure to remedy; and, moreover, it may be not unwholesome to remind an English legislature, on any discussion of Irish grievances, how long and deep is the retribution we owe for the faults of our fathers to that unhappy country.

With respect to the bill before the House, Mr. O'Connell ridiculed the proposition of relieving the destitution of 2,300,000 persons, by building poor-houses to shelter 80,000, at an expense of 312,000*l.* a year. Why, the charities in Dublin alone amount to half that sum; and then the farmers gave away, in kind, from a million to a million and a half yearly. Mr. Nichols's calculation was founded on the estimate, that one per cent. was the amount of in-door's pauperism for certain English counties; but he forgot that the proportion of persons relieved out of doors in the same counties was four per cent. Yet it was on this gentleman's report that the House was to legislate. As for tranquillizing the country, Mr. O'Connell contended it would have the contrary effect. All relief is to be given in the workhouse. You will thus give for every man you refuse, a pretext for prædial disturbance. The man you refuse is the very man to resent, in the worst way, your refusal. He will go to others, and induce them to adopt his quarrel —perhaps to avenge what he conceives to be his wrong.

After dwelling thus long and vehemently on the general impolicy of a poor-law for Ireland, and the certain inefficacy of the one proposed, Mr. O'Connell did little in the way of shewing what else, or better, could be done for the relief of his wretched country. He admitted, that he was opposed to a law of settlement, and also to a labour rate; emigration, he thought,

should be tried on a large scale; and he was still an advocate for a tax on absentees. However, much as he disapproved of the bill, he would not vote against it. He confessed, he had not moral courage enough to resist a poor-law altogether. In making this avowal, it does not seem to have occurred to him, that it was no friendly part to his countrymen to aggravate thus the difficulties of a measure which he admitted was unavoidable.

The rest of the discussion on this occasion, though it was prolonged to another night, presented little of interest or novelty. Every body had their criticism to offer on the details of the measure, though all agreed, it had become indispensable. Mr. Sharman Crawford said, he considered the principle of a poor-law was, to make compensation to the poor man for the injustice done to him by the monopoly of the land. He knew, that it was necessary to society, that that monopoly should exist, but the poor man also must exist; and as his existence depended upon the produce of the earth, a poor-law was essential wherever a monopoly of the land was allowed. Therefore, the question before the House, he conceived, was not whether the poor of Ireland should have relief, but whether the system of relief proposed in this measure was an expedient one. The only remedy suggested by Mr. O'Connell for the distress and misery which he had so forcibly and truly described as existing in Ireland, was the extensive expatriation of the poor. But that was a remedy which even, if practicable, he could not approve of. With respect to the present bill, his chief objection to it was, that it did not recognize the right of settlement, an omission that entirely subverted the responsibility of the landlord, and which would, in effect, cover Ireland with wandering paupers.

Mr. Richards proposed, that instead of having a workhouse in every twenty miles square, one should be built in every square of eight miles, and that they should be open all day for the reception of every destitute person who applied for relief; that work should be afforded at somewhat less than the current rate of wages in the neighbourhood, which would sufficiently discourage the poor remaining in them, and at the same time not interfere injudiciously with the market of labour.

Mr. W. S. O'Brien objected to the great extent of discretion which it was proposed to entrust to the commissioners; a discretion which, if directed against the rich, would enable them to confiscate the whole property of Ireland; or, if employed against the claims of the poor, must make the measure itself altogether inoperative. They are empowered to build either ten thousand workhouses, or only ten—they may levy a rate of twenty shillings, or of a halfpenny, in the pound. They may convert the whole of Ireland into an union, or constitute one in every parish.

Sir Robert Bateson contended, that the bill, as it stood at present, would operate as a premium upon absenteeism (though in what way it would have this effect he did not explain). He objected, too, to the size of the unions. He would have one in every parish; and he disapproved of the total withholding of out-door relief. We have given these as specimens of the kind of objections which were

urged against the measure from both sides of the House, though all parties concurred in giving it a general support. Mr. Wyse expressed himself in favour of a poor-law, but said, he had never considered it as a panacea for the ills of Ireland, but rather as one, and that the last, of the many remedies which her case demanded. He looked to it as a means of extinguishing whatever surplus of misery might be left after other measures had been tried to restore her to sound health. To apply it before such measures were in operation, was like attempting to drain off the waters without looking to their fountain head. The malady of Ireland was not simple, but multiform, arising from many and distinct causes. He looked to see the church placed on an equitable basis—tithe extinguished—education improved and extended—local government on a liberal scale—civil and religious rights common to all, before he could hope that any good could come from a law like this.

Mr. Wyse, however, offered no argument beyond the metaphor above given, for such a postponement of the question. His general remarks upon the causes of Irish misery deserve more attention. He thought the operation of the causes to which it had commonly been ascribed was exaggerated. Excessive rents was one of these; and where the system of an intermediate series of middlemen prevailed, the peasant was, no doubt, miserably oppressed; and that not to the profit of the landowner. But the system was going out under the operation of the non-subletting act, and the painful experience of its ruinous effect to the landlord. Otherwise the Irish proprietor did not receive more rent than the English one. Taking into consideration the differences of average, of local and national imposts, of wages and of soil, he should rather say, that he received less. The population, again, was excessive in some localities compared with the amount of produce, but not to the productive powers of the soil. The amount of absenteeism was much less than was usually supposed. In the county of Waterford, at least, there was not a single family mansion vacant.

Mr. Pryme was one of the few members who expressed a decided opposition to the measure on principle. His chief objection to it was the abstract one, that all the money raised by it was only diverted from one channel to another. If you levy, said he, an hundred pounds, you take it from the employment of productive labour, and you place it to the relief of the unemployed poor. The people of Ireland, he contended, merely suffered from want of employment; supply that, and there would be no surplus of labour in the market.

Both Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell contended, in reply, that a poor law was not a general means for providing employment, though it was the mistake of its proper functions in that respect which had led to the chief abuses of the system in England. Its object was merely to relieve the absolutely destitute, who, under other circumstances, might be left to starve, and to give a right to the constituted authorities to suppress vagrancy and imposture. Sir Robert Peel had, however, expressed an apprehension, that the new law would afford an inducement to landlords to eject their smaller tenants. Lord John Russell thought it would have an opposite effect, as the ejected tenant

would now be thrown on the rates, and thus increase, in another way, the burden of the landlord.

The only point in which any serious opposition was raised to the measure, respected the law of settlement. On the 12th of May, when the order of the day was read for the House to go into committee upon it, Mr. Lucas moved "that it be an instruction to the committee to introduce a provision for settlement, so as more justly to apportion the pecuniary charges to be incurred and levied under the name of poor rates." Mr. Lucas on this occasion, suggested a particular scheme of settlement, by which he conceived most of the evils attaching to the system as hitherto practised, might be avoided; but his statement of its nature and probable operation was not very intelligible.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Lynch. He said he could see no need of such a provision. It was objected, that one district would be burthened to the relief of another; but, why should a pauper leave his own workhouse merely to travel to another; unless there were in the mis-management of it, something offering a peculiar inducement to do so?

Colonel Wood proposed to simplify the law and avoid litigation, by giving a man a settlement after a residence of three years. Mr. Charles Buller, too, contended that some such provision was necessary, otherwise, the landlord would be ejecting his tenants, who would go to burthen his neighbour. Without a law of settlement, it was impossible to localize either the relief or the charge. This, too, was the opinion of Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Poulett Scrope. On the other hand, Mr. Shaw expressed his conviction that if by such a means a right to relief were established, it would tend to a general confiscation of property; and on this point, Mr. O'Connell, for once, agreed perfectly with the member for the Dublin University.

Lord Stanley said, that it was with rare satisfaction he saw the perfect accordance of these two hon. and learned gentlemen, upon a point of so much importance; nevertheless, he could not bring his mind to the same conclusion with them. "I will admit," said he, "that the experiment is a dangerous, or if you will, a desperate one—but it is undoubtedly the duty of a government to make up their minds to the full extent of the principle on which they are prepared to act." He could not separate in his mind the two ideas of a law of settlement and a right to relief. Bring the definition of destitution as near as you please to actual starvation; still if you are to have anything deserving the name of a Poor-law for Ireland, it should recognize the principle that no man should be allowed to starve. There was, undoubtedly, a great temptation to landlords to clear their estates of insolvent tenants, if it could be done without inflicting severe suffering on the dispossessed. Lord Stanley gave one instance of this from his own experience. Six years ago, he had greatly improved a small property of his in Ireland, though at a considerable expense to himself, by promoting an emigration of a part of the tenantry. Now this might be done in a benevolent, or it might be done in a harsh manner, and if the proposed law were passed, without a law of settlement, there would be no security against any landlord ridding himself by wholesale of his super-

fluous tenantry, and throwing the support of them on the surrounding unions.

Lord John Russell opposed the clause ; a law of settlement would be more pernicious in Ireland than any other country ; there were districts there with a vast number of persons out of employment ; there were others, where labour might be most usefully and profitably engaged, But all interchange of hands would be precluded by a provision like that proposed. He reminded the House that the measure was an experimental one, and that it would always be easy hereafter to introduce a clause of settlement, should it be found desirable. On a division, there were found 68 in favour of Mr. Lucas's clause and 120 against it.

It is not worth while to follow the further story of the bill in the committee ; as in consequence of the demise of the crown, it never got beyond that stage of its progress. In the mean while, the abstract we have given of the discussions which the measure underwent in the present session of parliament, will not be found without its use and importance, as containing information highly illustrative, both of the actual state of Ireland, and of the views which the several parties in that country took of the measures necessary for the improvement of its social condition. It is not, indeed, quite accurate to speak of *parties*, as taking share in these debates ; as little as possible of party spirit was manifested in the conduct of them. Mr. O'Connell himself bore witness to this fact ; and remarked, that from no one speech that had been pronounced, would it have been easy to infer to which political section the speaker belonged.

There yet remained another cardinal point of Irish policy to be settled, as pointed out to the consideration of parliament in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the session. On the 1st of May, the House of Commons went into committee for the purpose of considering that part of his Majesty's speech which related to tithes in Ireland ; and the passage in question having been read, Lord Morpeth addressed the committee. This, he said, was the fifth measure which had been brought forward in the last three years for the adjustment of this question ; and the House, no doubt, would excuse him if he made his statement in as concise and matter of fact a manner as possible. His plan was shortly this. He proposed to deduct thirty per cent from the tithe composition so as to make a rent-charge on the owner of the first estate of inheritance, in the proportion of 70*l.* for every 100*l.* of tithe. By the bill of last year, power was given to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to collect the rent charge ; but this was thought to make the clergy too dependent on the officers of government, and they were, therefore, to be allowed to collect it for themselves. The provisions of former bills for the revising or re-opening of compositions, would be reserved With respect to the regulation of the incomes of the various benefices, Lord Morpeth proposed to adopt the scale recommended by Lord Stanley, last session—with the exception of the *minimum* of 300*l.* which Lord Stanley had taken as the lowest point of reduction to which the clerical income s hould be liable."

The most novel provision of Lord Morpeth's measure was that by which he proposed to apply a por-

tion of the clergyman's income, to the purposes of general education. He observed, that by a statute, the 15th of the 28th of Henry 8th, it was enacted, that "every incumbent in each parish in Ireland, should keep or cause to be kept, within his parish, a school to learn English; and that every archbishop, bishop, &c., at the time of the induction of any clergyman to his benefice, should give to the person so inducted, a corporal oath, that being so admitted or inducted, he shall to his best, endeavour himself to teach the English tongue to all that are under his rule or governance." Penalties are laid both on the bishop and clergymen for the breach of this statute. For the two first offences, the holder of the benefice is fined in different amounts; and for the third, he is deprived of his benefice. The oath imposed by this act, was taken to this day by all rectors or vicars, on being inducted into their benefices; it ran in these words, "I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English school within the said rectory or vicarage, as the law in that case requires."

Now, the question was, said Lord Morpeth, had this obligation been complied with? There were 2,400 parishes in Ireland, and it appeared from the report of the commissioners of inquiry into Irish education, there were only 782 schools, the number of benefices being 1,242; and the amount of the contributions of the clergy, 3,299*l*. It resulted from the same report, though there were many benefices in which there was no school, yet the act of Henry 8th was supposed to be sufficiently complied with by the payment of forty shillings annually to a parish schoolmaster. An attempt was made in 1767, to revise the same act in order to make it more efficient, but it was abandoned. Something of the same kind was proposed by the Duke of Bedford in 1806. Lord Morpeth's plan now was, to raise a fixed rate of ten per cent upon the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland; including the incomes of the dignitaries of the church as well as of the parochial clergy; to take effect, not on the present holders, but on their successors. The education of which the means were to be thus provided, was not to be confined to the teaching of the English language to the wild Irish folk, as they are called in the act of Henry 8th; but would combine with instruction in letters, those lessons of morality and religion which are the concern of all; and that upon a national system embracing persons of all sects and denominations.

Lord Morpeth, however, said, that on this occasion, he did not intend to propose resolutions which would call upon the House to pledge themselves to the whole of his plan. He contented himself, therefore, for the present, with moving "that it is expedient to commute the composition of tithes of Ireland into a rent charge payable by the first estate of inheritance, and to make further provision for the better regulation of ecclesiastical duties." Not a word further was said on either side of the House, and the resolution was adopted.

When the bill, founded on Lord Morpeth's resolutions, was read a second time (June 9th), it was opposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford, as wholly inadequate to the expectations of the people of Ireland; who, he said, would not be satisfied with anything short of a

complete release from all assessment to the support of the established church. He moved, therefore, that it be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. D. Browne seconded the amendment. He objected chiefly to the omission of the appropriation clause in the present measure, and refused to consider the mulct of ten per cent on clerical incomes for the purposes of general education, as an equivalent for it. He valued the appropriation clause chiefly for the principle it involved. It was the first insertion of the wedge—the first step towards the application of church property to other than church purposes. It was not the pecuniary burthen of tithes which the Irish complained of; it was the national dishonour of being compelled to support a church with which they held no communion.

Lord Stanley, too, objected to the measure, but on different grounds. He admitted, there was much in it of which he could not do otherwise than approve, for several of the clauses were taken *verbatim* from the measure which he himself had formerly introduced on the subject. But he would never consent to the proposed abstraction of ten per cent from the incomes of the clergy, which ministers had brought forward in alledged conformity to a statute of Henry 8th, to enable them gently to slide out of the principle of appropriation.

Lord Morpeth and Lord John Russell defended their measure, and observed, that it was difficult for government to steer between the opposite difficulties of contending parties. They declared that they were no friends of the voluntary system; and their purpose and principle was not to subvert but to extend and strengthen the Protestant establishment in Ireland. And this they conceived they could not better do than by those concessions to circumstances and public opinion, which the political condition of Ireland imperiously demanded, On a division, Mr. Crawford's motion was rejected by a large majority of 229 to 14. Nothing further was done in the measure before the close of the session. The decision on the clause for taxing livings was deferred to the 16th and afterwards the 23rd; but the death of the king on the 20th preceding, precluded any further consideration of the bill.

A leading topic of Protestant discontent in Ireland, is the new system of national schools which had been introduced under the auspices of the whigs. The matter, like many others of present agitation in Ireland is one upon which it is difficult for a bystander to attain a satisfactory conclusion; so opposite are the facts alleged by the contending parties, or so different the colouring which they contrive to give to them. It is probable, that the Protestant party has really grounds for dissatisfaction and alarm at the measures of the government in this, as in many other points; but, perhaps, they do not make sufficient allowance for the necessities of the case; or weigh enough the impossibility of administering upon any general and impartial principle a country so torn by contending factions, without the exaction of considerable sacrifices from both sides. Under such circumstances, it is, perhaps, absurd to hope to satisfy both parties; the real question remains which of the two on princi-

ples, both of policy and justice, it is most urgent to conciliate.

The ministers, this session, anticipated the attacks they had been usually subjected to on this subject, by bringing forward on their own motion, Feb. 28th, a proposal for inquiring into the whole of it. On this occasion, Lord Melbourne reminded the House of Lords, that the Kildare society had been in operation from the beginning of the century; but the discontent which the system pursued by that body had occasioned, among a large class of the Irish population induced the king's ministers, very shortly after their accession to office to introduce an entire change of it. This was in 1831; when a board of commissioners was appointed to carry the new system into effect, under a letter of instruction from Lord Stanley at that time, chief secretary for Ireland.

Much and continued dissatisfaction with that system, however, had been expressed, by a certain powerful party, in that country; and Lord Melbourne thought it wise on many accounts, to make an inquiry into the manner in which it had worked. Five years had elapsed since the date of its institution; the commissioners had presented their reports of their proceedings and progress; they had now, which they had hardly had before, the materials by which to form an opinion on the subject. He moved, therefore, that a select committee be appointed for that purpose.

The Bishop of Exeter, as might be expected, availed himself of this opportunity to enter into a detailed statement of all the grievances which the adversaries of the board of commissioners were in the habit of alleging against them. His speech, indeed, was for the most part, in the nature of a defence of another one on the subject he had spoken and published in the preceding session; and which had been minutely commented upon in the last report of the commissioners; but the details of this controversy would little interest the reader were we even able to assist him to a just conclusion on the rights of it. In support of his general accusations against the board, the Bishop observed, that very few Protestant clergymen were in communication with it; in Leinster, there was only one; in Connaught, one; in Munster, five; in Ulster, twenty-three. Of Catholic clergymen, there were no fewer than 317 in communication with the board; among whom there were persons who, as he learned from the report of the intimidation committee, had carried discord into families, broken the peace of society, and even urged the peasantry to commit murder. Protestant clergymen had the greatest difficulty to obtain access to the schools. In one instance, a nun was the school mistress and received 20*l.* a-year from the board —another school-master had organized a procession in honour of Dr. M'Hale, in which a banner was carried with the inscription of "Liberty and Religion." This was on the occasion of an irruption into the island of Achill, when it was declared, that "Protestantism began in hell, and in hell it would remain;" and Dr. M'Hale expressed his approval of this sentiment.

The bishop dwelt much on the encouragement given by the board to the perversion of the scripture to Popish purposes, by means of gar-

bled extracts and unauthorised translations. He instanced particularly the omission in the first chapter of St. Luke of a passage relating to the incarnation of our Lord. Upon this fact he founded an accusation of perjury against Dr. Murray, who, in his evidence before the House, in 1824, and given therefore under oath, had said, that he should object to extracts from scripture unless they were taken from the Douay version; but he now sanctioned compilations which were neither in the authorised nor the Douay version. He had said before, that he should now distrust the oath of any Roman Catholic prelate, where the interests of his religion were concerned. That remark, he knew, had given great offence, but he would repeat it, and would not shrink from the responsibility of it.

The omission of the passage in question, it should be observed, could not have been grounded on any party or sectarian motive; and surely therefore a fact like this, taking the statement of it by the right rev. prelate to be perfectly accurate, affords a very slight ground for so grave and sweeping a charge, not merely against the Roman Catholic dignitary in question, but the whole body of his brethren. We have adverted to the circumstance merely as indicative of the spirit in which the learned and eloquent prelate comes to this controversy, and as suggesting therefore the necessity of making considerable allowance, atleast for the colouring which he gives to his statements concerning it. We may add, that the strong party feeling with which the Bishop of Exeter evidently considers the question of Irish national education, must explain the singular narrowness of all his views respecting it. His speeches on the subject consist exclusively of details of the alleged misconduct of parish priests and village school masters. We are far from questioning the importance of these details, or their bearing on the subject; but surely they do not make up the whole of it.

The Archbishop of Dublin observed, that the right rev. prelate's charges would be best adduced and proved before a committee. Many reports of the kind had been circulated, but when inquired into had been proved, in almost every instance, to be gross exaggerations or mere falsehoods. Yet the authors or retailers of these calumnies never manifested any repentance, or gave any apology to the injured parties. It was not true, he said, that the attempt to establish a system of united education had failed; for 17,874 Protestants and 96,514 Catholics attended the schools. The difficulty with respect to the free use of the scripture by the Catholics seemed insurmountable. They dared not search the scriptures on account of the influence of their priests; and again, the only way to get rid of that influence was by a better knowledge of scripture. With respect to the various versions of the Bible, Dr. Whateley thought, that nothing was more dangerous than to give currency to the notion, that those differences were on essential points. Unlearned persons must abide by the authority of their spiritual instructors, as to which translation was most correct; and the true friends to the progress of religion should rather encourage the persuasion, that on main points they were all alike; otherwise in the conflict of opposite doctrines the ignorant

might come to the conclusion, that no interpretation could be trusted.

Lord Plunkett animadverted severely both on the present and the last speech of the Bishop of Exeter; particularly on the term "a *rabid* priesthood," which, he said, had been applied by the bishop to the Roman Catholic clergy; and to the language he had used respecting Dr. Murray. He adverted, too, to the charge which the bishop had recently published as delivered to the clergy of his diocese; in which he accused the Roman Catholic members of the House of Commons of a violation of their oaths, for having given their support to the ministerial measures for reforming the church, but which the bishop declared were calculated only to effect her overthrow. It was a most odious and unconstitutional act, thus to charge the whole body of Catholic members with base perjury because they took a different view of the tendency of a measure from the right rev. prelate.

We do not defend the prudence or the propriety of violent language on the part of the right rev. prelate, but it must be admitted, that the having taken the oath alluded to does put a Roman Catholic member of the legislature in a very peculiar and difficult position. It is just *possible*, that he may support certain measures with a view to the benefit of the church, though the church herself resist them as subversive of her rights, and though all her enemies, not being Catholics, urge their adoption avowedly as an instalment of dilapidation; but if the Roman Catholic give his vote on these occasions with the dissenter or infidel, on the principle which they admit to govern theirs, it would be certainly difficult to defend him from an implicit violation of the oath, under which he is allowed to vote at all.

CHAPTER VI.

Church Rates—Ministerial Plan for the Abolition of them, brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Speech on the occasion—Nature of the Grievance—Statement of the various Schemes proposed for its Removal—Calculations on which the Government Measure was founded—Meeting of the Bishops on the Subject—Archbishop of Canterbury's Protest against the Plan in the House of Lords—Lord Melbourne's angry Animadversion upon it, with the Bishop of London's Reply—Committee of the House of Commons on Mr. Rice's Resolutions—Sir Robert Peel's Speech against the Measure—Objections to the Financial Details of it, and to its general Principles—It is defended by Lord Howick—Dr. Lushington's Opinion of the Law of the Question—Second night's Debate on the Subject—Speeches of Sir William Follett and the Attorney-General and Mr. Pemberton—Lord John Russell's Defence of the Plan—Third night's Debate—Mr. Gisborne's attack on the Conduct of the Bishops, who are Defended by Lord Sandon—Speech of Mr. Baines—Lord Stanley's Vindication of Himself—The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Reply—Question carried on a Division.

IT was generally understood, that the government had been for some time occupied in framing a scheme for the arrangement of the question of church-rates, on principles, that they hoped would be satisfactory at once to the scruples of Dissenters, and to the claims of the Establishment; but although their friends gave out, that the ministers had attained a solution of this difficult problem, little was known of the grounds on which it had been effected. The 3rd of March was the day fixed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his motion, that the House of Commons resolve itself into a Committee on the subject; and the statement of his plan, on that occasion, was generally looked forward to with unusual curiosity and interest.

The speech of the right hon. Gentleman, in this instance occupied nearly three hours. In the first part of it, he brought forward a mass of details, to prove, that, at any rate, the existing system could not be maintained. "By the law, as it stood at present, any vestry has the power of refusing its assent to a church-rate. Can it then be said, there is in fact, any fixed or

satisfactory mode of providing for the maintenance of the churches of the establishment? Not only have they the power of refusing their assent, but this power has been frequently exercised. In consequence of the contests that took place in Sheffield on the subject, up to the year 1818, no rate has existed there since. In Manchester, in 1833, a poll took place on a rate which was lost by a majority of one, out of six or seven thousand votes. It is true, the majority was set aside on a scrutiny; but it has not been ventured to collect the rate. In 1834, and 1835, the same scenes took place—large majorities were polled against the rate; those majorities were on a scrutiny, declared to be minorities; but the churchwardens did not dare to act on their decision, or levy the rate that had been assessed. Can, or ought," asked Mr. Rice, "this state of things to continue? If you depend upon the church-rate for the maintenance of the church, can you depend upon the present state of the law to enable you to enforce that payment? It is not sufficient to assert, that the law must be strengthened; if you wish to maintain such a proposition, you must carry the House of Commons with you. Can you do so? I confess I should like to see, not the person, but the party, however combined in force or numbers, who could come down to this House, and ask of Parliament to grant additional power for enforcing the payment of church-rates. They would soon find, that they miscalculate the character, both of the legislature, and of the people whom it represents."

We must interrupt our abstract here by a question in this passage:—Can it not have occurred to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that when a minister of the crown, whose especial duty it is to provide the means of enforcing the law, thus openly declares his inability to do so, he is, in fact, confirming the impotency which he assumes. Is there a single tax composing his ways and means of which he might not, in like manner, secure the refusal, by declaring it so unpopular, or unjust, that it could not be collected. Language and conduct of this kind on the part of men professing to exercise the functions of a government, presents a sort of solecism in politics, not less absurd in itself, than it is seriously inconvenient in its consequences. It is certain, that the recent tithe agitation in Ireland, takes its rise directly from expressions of a similar kind, which were used on the subject of that property by Lord Stanley. In the case of English church-rates, the only wonder is, that more advantage has not been taken of the direct encouragement, and sanction thus held out to resistance to their imposition; and the inference from this fact, we think, is one strongly conclusive against the general discontent which is alleged to prevail upon the subject. Mr. Rice, on this occasion, could not pretend, that the instances of resistance were numerous. He himself alleged but three.

Having stated thus strongly the grievance, Mr. Rice next came to the consideration of the remedy. First, there was the voluntary system, by which the fabric of the church would be supported by the members of the establishment. To this, he expressed his decided opposition, as a member of the church, and sincerely attached to her by conviction, as well as by birth and

education. As for the voluntary principle itself, he would only say, that when he could be satisfied, that the army and navy can be supported, or the administration of justice provided for, on the voluntary principle, then, and not till then, would he apply it to the church.

Some had proposed a distinctive tax on the members of the establishment; but beside, that this involved the same objection in principle as the voluntary plan, it would be impossible in practice. Another proposition was, of a graduated impost on the benefices of the clergy. Now, it appears from an official report on the subject, that the average income of the parochial clergy of England does not exceed 285*l. per annum;* and even if we were to throw in that of the bishops, deans, and chapters, it would not raise it above 300*l.* a year to each clergyman. This was not an income on which Mr. Rice was prepared to propose any reduction, when he considered the duties of the clergy, and the claims on their charity. Another method was, to raise a fund from pew-rents; but if all admission to churches were to depend upon money payments, it would be to rob the poor of their rights. In application to the sittings of the rich, however, some use might be made of this suggestion.

Lastly, there was the proposition brought forward by Lord Althorp, that a sum of 250,000*l.* should be voted by Parliament for the purpose of maintaining the fabric of the church. That plan, however, had not found favour, either with the House or the country; and, in fact, it would not be fair to tax the whole empire, for the benefit only of a portion of it. It had been calculated, that there were more than 5000 parishes in England, where no church-rates were levied; the expense of maintaining the churches being defrayed out of charitable bequests, and other parochial funds. Yet, if the burthen of the whole were laid on the consolidated fund, these parishes would be required to pay a portion of the rates required by others.

Having thus exhausted every other supposable remedy, the Chancellor of the Exchequer at length stated his own. It was no less than this—to take the whole property of the bishops, deans, and chapters, out of the hands of those dignitaries; and to vest them in the hands of a commission; under whose improved system of management it was calculated, that, after paying to their full present amount, all existing incomes, a sum not less than that assigned by Lord Althorp, might be saved, and applied to the purposes of church-rates. For this object, eleven commissioners, (a general burst of laughter followed this word), would be appointed; five of high ecclesiastical rank; three high officers of State. and three paid members of the board. It was by putting an end to the present system of leasing church-lands, that so considerable an increase in the income of them was reckoned upon. At present, the revenue is raised by fines on the renewal of leases. The church is thus in the state of a person who lives by raising money on a reversion, which is decidedly, of all methods, the most improvident. It was proposed, therefore, that the present leases should be allowed to run out; then to be renewed on

certain conditions, in reference to their full value. With a view, however, to protect the interest of lessees, it was provided, that they should not only be entitled to a right of pre-emption, but might renew at five per cent under the improved value; and further, they were to have the power of purchasing the fee simple of the church estate, subject to an increased rent, payable to the commissioners, and which should fluctuate with the price of corn.

Mr. Rice calculated, that by these means, a sum not less than 255,000*l*. a year might be recovered for public purposes. Moreover, he proposed, that in all cases where pew-rents had been received, or where they could justly be demanded from the rich, the proceeds should be collected, and placed in the first instance under the control of a parochial committee, who should be required, in ordinary cases, to apportion one fifth of the whole space in the church to free seats for the poor; in the churches built under the church-building act, one third; and where there have hitherto been no pews let, one half; the surplus to be handed over to the commissioners. With respect to the debts already contracted by parishes, on the security of the church-rate, they were to be repaid from a rate in those parishes to be collected with the poor-rate. The sums received by the commissioners, were to be paid to the ecclesiastical commission, to be by them applied to their specific objects. Visitation fees, and fees on swearing in churchwardens, were to be abolished: and Mr. Rice stated, that this alone would effect a saving of 180,000*l*. a year.

It had previously been understood, that the House, on this occasion, should content itself with hearing the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan, and that no discussion of it should take place. A short and desultory conversation followed, in the course of which the liberal members generally expressed themselves satisfied with the proposition; though one of them, Mr. Young, entered a strong protest against it as a direct aggression on the establishment. The opposition leaders did little more than intimate their distrust of the principle of it.

It was, indeed, easy to anticipate what would be the opinion entertained of such a proposition by the members of the church itself; particularly by that part of the hierarchy, whose interests were more directly affected by its provisions. Accordingly, they lost no time in sounding an alarm upon the subject.

Three days after Mr. Rice's statement, (March 9,) a meeting of fifteen bishops, being all who were at the time in town, took place at Lambeth Palace; and they came to an unanimous resolution in disapprobation of the proposed measure. The same evening, the archbishop of Canterbury, on presenting some petitions against the abolition of church rates took occasion to express his strong feelings on the subject to the House of Lords. The principle and outline of the bill, he said, was so unkind to the church, and so mischievous in its effects, that he certainly would never give his assent to its becoming law. It took property from the church, which had belonged to it immemorially, and appropriated it to purposes which had hitherto been otherwise provided for. Who complained of

these rates? Certainly not those out of whose pockets they chiefly came. The possessors of property would be ashamed to complain of an impost, which was laid on them for the maintenance of the church, and the preservation of religion. There were nearly two millions of persons in various parts of the country, almost destitute of the means of religious instruction; and was there not here a field sufficiently ample for the due employment of any surplus which might be raised out of the funds of the church? How, too, would this surplus be obtained? By nothing more nor less than the sequestration of the estates belonging to the dignitaries of the church; by placing those properties under the management of a board of commissioners, with full powers for granting leases, for selling reversions, for mortgaging or alienating the lands and houses as they might think advisable. Was not the plain effect of this plan to make the dignitaries of the church mere annuitants? to deprive them of all the influence and advantages which were annexed to the possession of land, and to render them dependent on a board of commissioners, to be nominated by government? Why, considering the violent changes that had often taken place, a conjuncture of affairs might arise, in which the whole of this property might be swept away in a moment."

Nothing, surely, can seem more reasonable, or natural than this protest; early and strong as it was, against the proposition of government, on the part of individuals so immediately and seriously affected by it. Yet it seems to have created something like actual indignation in Lord Melbourne. "He had heard," he said, "this expression of opinion on the part of the most reverend prelate, with the deepest sorrow and concern; not less on account of the effect which it must have on the success of the measure in question, than with reference to the interests of the church herself. He would put it to the archbishop whether there was not something of undue haste and precipitation in the course he had adopted, and whether he was not put forward on this occasion by those who had more guile and entertained deeper designs than himself, in order that his expressed opinions might affect the decisions of the question in another place? Considering the object and the importance of the measure, he did think it would have been more decent and proper if the most reverend prelate had waited for the regular time for the discussion of this matter, and not have so precipitately announced his intentions with respect to it. He learned with great affliction that government were to have the opposition of the most rev. prelate and his brethren on this measure; nevertheless, he would assure them firmly, but respectfully, that their opposition would not alter his course. Considering it as just in itself, advantageous to the church, and beneficial to the community at large, he should persevere in urging it upon the adoption of Parliament."

Certainly, nothing can be more singular than Lord Melbourne's objection to the archbishop's proceeding on this occasion, on the ground that it was likely to affect the fate of the measure in the House of Commons. Entertaining, as the primate did, so decided an opinion of its injustice and impolicy, that was naturally the very effect which he would aim at by

this early expression of his sentiments. The noble viscount's exhibition of temper in this instance, really needed no animadversion; otherwise it was amply afforded by the bishop of London. "What!" said the right rev. prelate, "when the prime minister declares that a sacrifice is to be made to secure religious peace and harmony, we the bishops of the church of England are not to complain of it as a sacrilegious act of spoliation, because the only sacrifice to be made, is the sacrifice of that Protestant Church, of which we are the appointed ministers! Peace! produce peace! Does not the noble viscount know that this measure never can produce peace? Is he so blind to the experience of the past, as not to see, that peace never will follow concession made only at the expense of one party? Measure after measure have we passed to conciliate Ireland, and always under the promise that they would remove contention and promote peace; and have they not all been made the substrata for further agitation?" The bishop proceeded to remind the House, that the commissioners of ecclesiastical inquiry, had had all the property of the episcopal bench confided to them, to see whether it might not be made more efficient for the supply of the spiritual wants of the community; and of course the possible improvement of the church property by some such measure as this had not escaped their consideration. But in their last report, they stated distinctly that so far as related to the management of episcopal property, this measure had been considered, and rejected as inexpedient. That resolution had been unanimously affirmed by the members, lay as well as ecclesiastical, of the commission; (Lord Melbourne here denied having given his assent to any such resolution) and the bishop begged to ask whether it was just or politic that a measure, deemed inexpedient by the commissioners of ecclesiastical inquiry, when it was proposed with a view of making a better provision for the spiritual wants of the church, should be considered expedient for the purpose of relieving a body of men, who have no equitable claim to relief.

However unreasonable the ministers chose to consider this expression of opinion on the part of the bishops, the friends of the church did not show themselves disposed to content themselves with this protest against the principle and policy of the measure with which they were threatened. A general movement took place on the subject throughout the country—and petitions were got up from all parts, particularly the rural districts, deprecating the measure both as unjust in itself, and uncalled for by any adequate necessity. In point of numbers, these petitions greatly exceeded those that called for an abolition of the present system; though it was contended that the amount of signatures to these last were by much the greater. But when it is recollected that the one body of petitioners asked for the removal of a tax, while the other intreated for its continuance, it is not difficult to decide to which belongs the greater authority in point of principle. The question, indeed, is one which it is hardly fair to submit to the arbitration of the mass of the people. It is not reasonable to expect that they should object to a relief of this kind; and therefore that so general a dislike was expressed of the mea-

sure, is in fact, a strong testimony to the undiminished attachment of the great body of the nation to the establishment.

On the 13th of March the House went into a committee upon Mr. Rice's resolutions. The discussion was opened on this occasion by a long speech from Sir Robert Peel, who began by an examination of the financial part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's project. Mr. Rice had assumed, that 261,000*l.* was the sum annually received for fines by bishops and chapters, and that 250,000*l.* was the amount required for the repairs of churches; therefore 511,000*l.* was the sum required to be raised. Now, in the first place, no allowance was made for the expense of management of this property when taken out of the hands of the owners; not less than 30,000*l.* a-year would be required for this purpose, which would make the permanent annual income to be provided for, 541,000*l.* It was calculated, that the average term of the existing leases of church lands was twenty-four years, and that at the end of that term the rental of those lands would be 1,323,000*l.*; this was a defined annuity, the present value of which was taken at 516,000*l.* a-year, whereas there would be 541,000*l.* to be provided for; which would make a difference of 428,000*l.* in the ultimate values of the annuity. There was, moreover, reason to believe, that twenty-six and not twenty-four years was the average duration of existing leases. This would, of course, proportionably increase the permanent charge; and supposing the average duration to extend to twenty-eight or thirty years, the whole plan would be destroyed, for the deficiency would amount to millions. Again, it was assumed, that 7 per cent. was the rate allowed on the renewal of leases. He had reason to believe, that 5 per cent. was the rate allowed on land, though on houses it was much higher, on account of the expenses to be borne by the tenant. Again, it is true, that 516,000*l.* is the present value of a perpetual annuity of 1,323,000*l.* to commence at the end of twenty-four years, but he found, on inquiry, that the present value of an annuity to the same amount, to be derived, three parts from land, and one from houses, was only 468,730*l.*; supposing land to be with twenty-five years purchase, and houses only sixteen two-fifth years purchase. But Sir Robert contended, that it was in vain to hope, that the owner of a beneficial lease for a considerable number of years would give twenty-five years purchase for land; and he was persuaded, that the proposed plan would entail a loss of several millions on the state.

After thus disposing of the financial part of the question, Sir Robert said, he came to consider it under a point of view much more important—he meant as it concerned the eternal principles of justice and sound policy. No doubt, there was a distinction between the charge for tithe and that for church-rate; inasmuch as in the latter case there was a power on the part of the parishioners to defeat or postpone the payment; but could it be denied, that the expectation under which nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of the country had inherited and purchased their property, was, that this charge, existing from time immemorial, was one to which it was

strictly liable? Could any thing, then, be more unjust than the scheme of removing the charge from the whole rateable property of the country, and of placing it on the property of the church? As for the precedent of the abolition of the vestry cess in Ireland; not to say that it was ungenerous to appeal to it; he denied that you fairly could do so; for that was expressly understood at the time to be an exception to the general rule of legislation. Of the landed property of the country, but a small proportion was held by Dissenters. Even of towns, he had seen estimates which stated, that the amount of church-rate paid by Dissenters amounted to not more than one-twelfth. Thus for the sake of satisfying a small section of Dissenters, the rest of the community were to be relieved from an impost of which they did not complain. Moreover, it was proposed to take the whole property of the dignified clergy from its present possessors, and place it under the control of a board, thus converting the deans, chapters, and bishops, into mere annuitants, in order that a certain fixed sum may be made available out of their property for the support of the fabric.

But Sir Robert contended, that if, by any plan of the kind, it were possible, consistently with strict justice to the proprietors and lessees, to raise a profit out of the church revenues, there existed a prior claim to the benefit of it on the part of hundreds of poor livings that required augmentation, and of vast districts where new churches were wanted. And these surely were the purposes to which any surplus of church property was, in the first instance, justly to be applied; not to the relief of the large landed proprietors, by whom in effect the church-rates were paid. What was to be done in the case of Scotland? Were the great landed proprietors who dissented from the establishment there, to continue subject to the charge for supporting it? And could the members of the church of England —the possessors of the real and rateable property in this country, on account of the supposed difficulty of drawing a line between the Dissenters and themselves, consent to accept this relief at the expense of the church, when such was the spiritual destitution proved to prevail among thousands and ten thousands of the population of the country?

Lord Howick declined going into the financial criticisms of the right hon. baronet, but would observe on one palpable mistake in them. He had said, that no account was taken of the expense of management; whereas the fact was, that the net, and not the gross, income was the basis of their calculations. That expense, therefore, was already allowed for, and as it was fair to presume the commissioners would manage the property more economically than its present holders, a gain, and not a loss, should be set down on this head. Then, again, Sir Robert had forgotten, that 261,000*l.* a-year did not include the church property in monies, copyholds, and heriots, amounting to 33,000*l.* a-year. Besides, he was convinced, that the property of the church, in land and houses, was very much greater than was reported by the bishops and chapters, and was greatly improveable under a better manage-

ment, and he enlarged upon the evils of the present system, and the absolute necessity of removing them for the sake of the church.

That the property of the church was greatly improvable was admitted by Mr. G. H. Vernon, who gave, as an instance, that Sir Joseph Banks had held land under the Archbishop of York; on a renewal of the lease 900*l.* was demanded. Sir Joseph, who had before paid only 600*l.* objected; it was agreed to refer the matter to Mr. Morgan, the actuary, and he had decided, that 1,800*l.* was the proper sum to be received by the archbishop; who, his son added, had since invariaby taken the benefit of Mr. Morgan's calculations.

Mr. Goulburn said, that it had been a principle of law from the earliest times, that the parishioners were bound to keep the parish church in repair, and he could not justify it to his conscience to relieve them from that obligation. Dr. Lushington did not deny the antiquity of the rate; but dwelt upon the inconveniencies of continuing to enforce it. First, there was the question, whether the vestries had the right to refuse the rate altogether: then there was the unseemly contests that took place in the debate of the matter; and when the rate was made, if a man refused, and was compelled to pay it, he was proclaimed a martyr, and received with honour by the whole town. And what remedy would they propose for the rich? Would they give the power to justices of the peace, in petty sessions, or to churchwardens, to impose the rate? Or did they imagine, that they could carry such a measure into operation? Or would they saddle the amount on the consolidated fund? By so doing they would violate the religious scruples of two millions of his majesty's subjects. Dr. Lushington admitted, that in his own opinion such scruples were unfounded. It was no violation of his conscience to contribute not merely to an established church, but to any other sect in a Christian state. Still he never undertook to decide of the religious opinions of other people. If the scruple were entertained, it became him to respect it.

This principle of the learned civilian's might easily be pushed to an extent that would, at once, show its unsoundness. It is clear, that it would make it impossible for any country to have an established church as long as the smallest section of the people professed to entertain conscientious objections to such an institution. In truth, it is difficult to understand in what sense the payment of church-rate, or, indeed, of any other impost enforced by public authority, can be made a matter of religious scruple at all. The act is not of the individual, but of the state; and, therefore, however objectionable he may consider the intended application of the money, he cannot, morally, be answerable for it.

On the second night the debate was opened by Sir William Follett, who objected to the proposed measure as leading directly to the subversion of the national church. He differed entirely from the doctrine that the vestry were the judges of the expediency of levying a rate, and could make or reject one at their pleasure. By the common law of the land, the inhabitants of a parish could be compelled to make a rate for the repair

of the parish church; although he did admit, that this obligation was only enforceable through the ecclesiastical courts. It is true, the court of king's-bench had refused to issue a *mandamus* to a parish to make a rate, but this was only because there existed another mode of compelling the rate through the ecclesiastical courts; not because the obligation itself on the parish was at all doubtful. He granted the mode of proceeding through the ecclesiastical courts was cumbrous and costly; but the conclusion from this was, not that the rate itself should be abolished, but that the mode of recovery should be altered. Sir William then objected to the part of the plan which left the legal estate in the bishops and deans; thus making them parties in any action which might be brought, while it took away from them all discretion or power in the management of the property. He dwelt, too, on the inconsistency of those who professed themselves friends of the church, whose property they were ready to sell at half its value, in order to stop a clamour set up by her enemies. When Mr. Pitt brought forward his measure for regulating the disposal of church lands, the Crown sent a message to the House requiring its assistance in that object; but, in the present case, neither the church nor her tenants; neither lessors nor lessees, wished for legislative interference; and yet the government interfered to the injury of both!

The Attorney-General, on the other hand, contended, that Sir W. Follett was mistaken in supposing that land was liable to church-rates by law. That was the case in Scotland; but, in England, the impost stood on a different footing. It is certain, that, originally, churches were repaired out of the tithe; though it did not appear how the church got rid of the burthen, and managed to make the church-rate a personal tax. As it was, however, there was no existing law, civil or ecclesiastical, to compel a parish to make a church-rate. It was quite absurd to contend, that the court of king's-bench would issue a *mandamus* for that purpose; and he challenged any learned civilian to point out any process, ecclesiastical or civil, by which such imposition could be effected. It was true, in the olden time, there was a remedy; for the pope would have put a parish under interdict, if the church were not repaired—that resource, however, was no longer available; and some other must be found to save the churches from ruin. Sir R. Peel had hinted a plan for making a distinction between town and country parishes; but that would lead to worse difficulties than those it was sought to escape from. Then there was Lord Althorp's proposition of charging the consolidated fund with the expense of church repairs; but that would no longer be accepted by the Dissenters, and, indeed, there was something of *thimble-riggery* in it. As to the objection to the present plan, that it would deprive the hierarchy of the character of landowners, he thought that rather a recommendation of it. The bishops, as well as the judges, ought to be relieved from the cares incident to the management of landed property, and the property itself would be improved under the new system. Churchmen, having only a life interest in the soil, were always bad landlords: give but some party a permanent interest in the

improvement of the land, and its value would be increased.

Mr. Cayley entered into detailed consideration of the financial part of the scheme, in order to show how injuriously it would operate on the present lessees; and contended, in the result, that the *bonus* offered to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would cause a diminution of thirty-one per cent in their income; and of twenty-eight per cent. on their capital.

Mr. Pemberton observed, that if, as their opponents contended, church-rates were of the nature of a voluntary contribution, there could exist no right to convert it into a fixed tax directly or indirectly. But he insisted, that it was not voluntary; and quoted an opinion to that effect from Dr. Lushington; given not as a member for the Tower Hamlets, but when sitting as a judge. No doubt the mode of enforcement was defective, but was that a reason for doing away with the obligation altogether? He dwelt strongly on the injustice offered by the plan to lessees. It was proposed to meddle with property of the annual value of 1,323,000*l.*; and which had remained undisturbed for three centuries. In the time of the Commonwealth, a somewhat similar attempt had been made, and it had nearly produced an insurrection in the north. Lands held on lease in the same families for three centuries, were scarcely distinguishable from freeholds. And for what was this done? He believed the popular feeling was against the abolition of church-rates. Ministers miscalculated the direction of public opinion, The church of England, he was persuaded, was daily gaining strength through the increasing piety and diligence of her clergy.

Lord John Russell then rose, and entered upon an elaborate and able defence of the measure proposed by ministers. It was admitted, he said, on all hands, that some interposition of the legislature was required in the question; and all that ministers, at present, asked, was permission to lay their plan for that object before the House. The bill itself had not yet been printed, and it was premature to oppose the introduction of it before its details were before the House. With respect to the interests of lessees, it was not accurate to say, that they had the right of renewal. It is frequently refused: and he had been told, that in 1790, the value of church lands in Durham was almost equal to freehold property; but, in consequence of the difficult terms of renewal which had been enforced of late years, church land sold for fifteen or sixteen years purchase. With respect to the rights of bishops, times were changed; formerly, it was held, that parliament had no right to inquire into the income of the bishop of Durham, for instance; but, in the last session, parliament had ordered the bishop of Durham to pay 2,000*l.* a-year to the bishop of Ripon; and a sum of 11,000*l.* a-year to the church commissioners. After this, it can no longer be said, that a bishop has unlimited power over his lands; and, in fact, under this bill, his position will be considerably improved.

In conclusion, Lord John took an opportunity of avowing the high respect which, true churchman as he was, he had always entertained for the Dissenters of this country; and contended, that for their ser-

vices in the cause of humanity, they were entitled to the gratitude of every man who has at heart the improvement of his kind, and of the social character of the community to which he belongs. "I rejoice, therefore," said he, "when, consistently with the maintenance of the established church on her present footing, and of all her just rights; and of the pomp and splendour of her hierarchy; I am able to accord relief to those excellent and true-hearted Dissenters, in a matter which has long been to them one of just complaint."

On the third night, the debate was opened by a lively speech in support of the ministerial plan from Mr. Gisborne. He contended that there was an end of church-rates. They had been virtually given up even by their advocates, who had all admitted the necessity of substituting some other system. The king's attorney-general had denied the legal right of vestries to levy church-rates; and challenged all the common and equity lawyers of the other side to disprove what he had said. As for the calculations of the comparative numbers of churchmen and dissenters, they were necessarily defective; there was a third and central party of which no account was taken. By these, Mr. Gisborne we presume, meant the large and influential class of persons who are of no religion at all; but he would hardly contend that indifferent as they may be on the subject, they ought not to be made to contribute to some form of public worship.

Sir Robert Peel had appealed to the noblemen and gentlemen of the country, whether they wished to relieve their own estates from this burthen? Mr. Gisborne said, he was prepared so to relieve his own estate; and when he had done so, he would enter into a bond with the right hon. baronet to pay thirty years purchase of the existing rates to any society having for its object the increase of church accommodation. As for the late meeting of bishops on the subject, he designated it as a mere cabal, as contemptible as it was vile, for upsetting a liberal ministry, by influencing the decision of that House.

Lord Sandon vigorously defended the bishops from the attack thus made upon them, for the mere expression of their opinion on a matter so intimately concerning their interests. Many of these prelates, far from being hostile to the ministers, were bound to them by ties of gratitude. Was it ever made a ground of reproof to dissenters or their delegates, that they took measures to express their opinions on particular bills, in which they were interested, during their passage through that House? As for the present plan, which was intended to satisfy Dissenters, what security had they that it would do so? — that they would not next year demand to be relieved from the payment of tithe—or claim a share in the lands of the church as being public property?

Mr. Baines defended the proposition of ministers, and ascribed the clamour that had been raised against it altogether to misrepresentation. He read several statements of the comparative numbers of churchmen and dissenters, and gave it as his opinion, that they were pretty equally divided. In the county of Lancaster the dissenters and catholics considerably preponderated, if we were to judge by the greater number of their chapels. There was a great

distinction between church rates and tithes. The dissenters acknowledged, that they had bought their estates subject to the payment of tithes, and that, therefore, only nine-tenths of the produce belonged to them; accordingly, last year, when the tithe question was under discussion, not a single petition was presented from any body of dissenters, praying for a different appropriation of them.

Lord Stanley's position in respect of this question was rendered rather embarrassing by the recollection of the leading part he had taken in proposing and carrying the measure for extinguishing the church cess in Ireland, by the application of a portion of the church temporalities in that kingdom; a political service, of which, as might be expected, many of his former friends had been careful to remind him on this occasion. The noble lord defended himself against these taunts, particularly one from the Attorney-General, with his usual spirit and vigour. He asked, "who is he that taunts me with inconsistency? Have I ever shrunk since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, from manfully and frankly stating my opinions, whomsoever they pleased or displeased? I call upon any man to shew whenever I have blinked any question. I call upon any man to shew, if at any time I have held one language out of the House, and a different language in it. I ask, where a main question was depending which was displeasing to those with whom I held office, whether I have ever avoided expressing my opinion, or sheltered myself under neutrality, by a convenient absence. And, finally, I ask of the king's attorney-general, and every member of this House, whether it is not in their knowledge, that when I did differ from my colleagues, I *abandoned office to maintain my principles*. And, Sir, whenever the attorney-general shall think fit to answer these questions with respect to himself as I have answered them, I will, and not till then, place myself on the level to discuss the question of consistency with him."

Lord Stanley then went on with equal vehemence to contend, that there was no inconsistency in his having introduced the Irish measure, and his standing up in determined opposition to this; but we cannot say, that he at all succeeded in making out this part of his case. On the contrary, it is impossible to deny, that the measure for abolishing the vestry cess in Ireland, by the confiscation of the revenues of ten bishoprics, was one of infinitely more violence to every principle of the establishment than anything contained in the present proposition of the government. We will even go further, and affirm, that, as the author of the former act, Lord Stanley had fairly made himself responsible for the present one.

There was one point well put by Lord Stanley on this occasion. He asked, to whom the surplus fund, which it was expected to realise from the improved administration of church lands, belonged? If to the church, then it was an abstraction of church property. If to the state, then the dissenters have an interest in it; and they would be as much contributing to our establishment as if the money were paid out of the consolidated fund. The Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to meet this dilemma of Lord Stanley, but

could only do so by quoting against him his own words on a former occasion. In the course of his speech Mr. Rice challenged one and all the lawyers opposite to be so kind as to produce one single case since the Reformation in which a rate having been refused by a vestry, it had been made by the compulsion of a higher authority. If no such instance can be shewn, his case, he said, was complete. It was evident, from the tone in which he made the challenge, that the right hon. gentleman had no apprehension it could be taken up. Dr. Nicholl, however, rose, and referred to a case in 1799, in which a vestry having refused to make a rate, the churchwarden made one on his own authority. A parishioner refused to pay it; he was sued in the court of Peterborough, when the party was held liable to the rate; and upon appeal being made to the court of Arches, the dean of the Arches (Sir W. Wynn, a great authority upon all ecclesiastical law) affirmed the sentence, with costs.

Mr. Rice had little to allege against the authority of this case, except that it was the only one on the books; but it does not seem to have occurred to him, that the want of cases told equally against his side of the question; and, that if more instances of the enforcement of a rate on a parish did not appear, it was, apparently, because it had never occurred to a vestry to resort to that extremity in resistance to a reasonable proposition of charge for the repair of the church. There is no doubt but that the amount of expenditure is, in a great degree, a matter of discretion with the parish; but it is unfair to argue from thence, that it rests with them to refuse any rate at all, even where indispensable to keep the fabric from ruin.

It was with some difficulty that the House escaped another night's debate on the question. The committee divided at the end of the third, when there were found for the resolution 273; against it 250; a small majority, when it is remembered, that in point of fact the question then involved little more than the taking of the plan into consideration.

CHAPTER VII.

Question of Church-Rates continued—Westminster Politics—Resignation of his Seat by Sir Francis Burdett—His Letter to his Constituents—Mr. Leader opposes his Re-election and is defeated—Exultation of the Conservatives—Debate on Second Reading of the Resolutions for the Abolition of Church Rates—Mr. Johnstone's Amendment—Speeches of Mr. Baines, Mr. Borthwick, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Horace Twiss—Sir Francis Burdett opposes the Measures—Mr. Sheil's Reply to him—Second Night of the Debate—Speech of Mr. Charles Buller—Details on the question of Church Accommodation—Speeches of Sir James Graham, Mr. Spring Rice, and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. Johnstone withdraws his Amendment—Virtual Defeat of the Measure—Lord John Russell's Motion for a Committee to inquire into the disposal of Church Lands—His Speech on the subject; it is strongly opposed by Mr. Goulburn—Mr. Whittle Harvey's Statement of the Expenses incurred by Dissenters for the support of Religious Worship—The several Divisions that took place at the close of the Debate—Church of Scotland—Report of Commission of Inquiry as to her Want of Means of Accommodation—Sir William Rae's Motion on the Subject—Opposed by Lord John Russell—Speech of Mr. Horsman—Motion rejected.

THE ministers felt, from the first week of the proposition of their measures for the abolition of the existing system of church rates, that it would prove a failure. The friends of the church throughout the country, even that portion of them which took no interest in politics, regarded it with alarm and suspicion; and they easily responded to the call which was made upon them, to express these feelings in numerous petitions to both Houses of Parliament. Then came the unanimous opposition to the measure announced by the bench of bishops, including even those members of it who owed their promotion to the favour of the present government; a fact that of itself was decisive of its fate in the House of Lords. And even in the popular branch of the legislature, the smallness of the majority in the first division on the resolutions, the question being merely to take them into consideration, left it almost doubtful what would be the conclusion of the House on the more obnoxious clauses of the bill.

Before we further pursue the story of its progress and fate, it may be as well to make mention of a political incident which occurred at this time, and derived some importance from the interest it excited at the moment, and the sort of indication it affords of the state of public opinion. The liberal party among the electors of Westminster had been for some time past dissatisfied with the inefficient state of the representation of their city; and not without reason. Colonel Evans had now been for two sessions absent from his post, in command of the British legion in Spain; and during the same period his distinguished colleague, Sir Francis Burdett, had scarcely given a vote in his place in parliament. The state of the hon. Baronet's health was alleged in excuse for his absence; and his former friends would, probably, have made less difficulty in admitting the apology, had they been perfectly assured that such was the whole reason; but a growing distrust of the whigs, and coldness to the cause of the "movement," was suspected to enter much into the motives of his appearance.

Accordingly, a meeting of the electors took place on the 24th of April; resolutions were passed expressive of their dissatisfaction with the state of the representation of the city, and measures were taken to call upon the present members to resign their seats. On the same occasion Mr. Leader, the member for Bridgewater, came forward as a candidate to fill one of the expected vacancies; and in the expectation of a contest, the conservative party were taking measures to secure the return of Sir George Murray.

Sir Francis lost no time in answering the call which was then made upon him. He addressed a letter to the electors of Westminster, in which he declared he would apply at once for the Chiltern Hundreds, and "then call upon the electors of Westminster to declare themselves for or against him. He should offer himself again for the suffrage, as the supporter of the laws and institutions of the country; and, as a resolute opposer of all the new-fangled notions, shallow doctrines, and crude projects now afloat. He denied, that he had changed his politics; it was they who made this assertion who had changed, and not he. The constitution had ever been the inscription on his banner; and, under the same, he called upon the electors to struggle with him against 'an unnatural alliance, an odious, yet ludicrous, combination of Irish agitators, popish priests, and paid patriots, operating upon a well-intentioned, he believed, but a weak and vacillating administration."

Nothing could be less undisguised than this declaration of hostility to the parties with whom he had hitherto acted; whether the fault of the change lay with him, or with them, it was immediately so understood on both sides. Sir George Murray at once gave up his pretensions in favour of Sir Francis Burdett; and Mr. Leader vacated his seat at Bridgewater to oppose his return. The whigs and the radicals were more than sanguine of the success of their candidate. He, himself, when on the hustings, professed to entertain no doubt of it, and congratulated his friends on the issue of the struggle almost before it commenced. But in this they miscalculated their strength. The elec-

tors returned their former member by a majority of five hundred and fifteen.

The disappointment of the liberal party, as may be supposed, was extreme. They could not disguise from themselves the completeness of their defeat, or the witness which it bore to their retrogression in public opinion. Sir Francis Burdett had openly fought his battle on conservative principles, and had won it by tory support. He made no reserve whatever of his antipathy to the present reformers; and, indeed, expressed his opposition to further changes in our institutions, in a manner more unqualified than it is probable any conservative leader would think it necessary to do on a public hustings. Much of his success, no doubt, was owing to the influence of personal feelings towards one who had so long and faithfully represented them; and something, perhaps, to the gallantry of the manner in which the baronet threw himself at once on the suffrages of the electors. But, after making every allowance for the operation of these circumstances, there was still in the fact of the return of a tory for Westminster, what could not be explained, except on the supposition of a considerable change in the tone of public opinion.

It is, perhaps, hardly worth while to occupy any space in these pages with the question of the consistency of Sir Francis Burdett himself in the line of conduct he has recently pursued. He denied himself that his principles had undergone any change; it was true, that in 1818 he had supported universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot; but he had since given up that plan of reform for another which had conciliated more general approbation; and he said he held himself bound by the sort of mutual concession which was then made by the reformers of all parties. We confess, however, we do not feel the force of his reasoning upon this subject; nor understand what fruit the reform bill has yet produced, which any supporter of its enactment ought not to have been fully prepared for as a necessary, if not a desirable consequence of the measure. Still less has there seemed any such subsequent acceleration of the *movement* as should deter the assistance of any reformer who had hitherto contributed to its progress.

Ministers were not so satisfied with the reception of their measure of church rates, as to urge the prosecution of it in the legislature with any peculiar alacrity. Nearly two months elapsed from the committal of the resolutions, before the subject was again brought under the discussion of the House of Commons. This delay was made a matter of reproach to the government by some of its supporters without doors, as implying an acknowledgment of failure on the part of the authors of the scheme.

The second reading of the resolutions was not moved till the 22nd of May. The debate was opened on that day by Mr. A. Johnstone, the member for St. Andrew's, who, though a general supporter of the government, expressed his regret that, on this occasion, he felt obliged to move an amendment on their resolutions. It was to the effect, "that it is the opinion of this House, that funds may be derived from an improved mode of management of church lands; and that these funds should be applied to religious instruction within the established church, where the same

may be found deficient in proportion to the existing population."

Mr. Johnstone remarked, upon the impolicy of making a sacrifice of the church to two millions of dissenters, at the expense of ten or twelve millions, who were attached to the church. It had been estimated, that not above a tenth of the church rates were paid by dissenters. Was it fair, for their sakes, to abandon the other nine portions? And, after all, would the concession satisfy the dissenters? Or did they themselves pretend, that anything else would do so, short of the entire separation of the church from the state? In Scotland, two-thirds of the landholders were episcopalian dissenters, and they paid the church rates without a murmur, because they considered they were under great obligations to the church.

Mr. Baines denied, that it was generally the object of the dissenters to separate the church from the state. Some among them might have that wish; but some months back he had been present at a meeting of 700 deputies from different parts of the kingdom, representing the dissenters in as efficient a manner as could be conceived; when this very proposition was brought forward by a dissenter, and was met by a general disclaimer on the part of the meeting, of any intention to interfere with the connexion of church and state.

Mr. Hardy observed, that the dissenters rested their opposition to church rates on the ground that they were obliged to contribute to the support of their own ministers. On the same principle, might not a man urge that he ought to be relieved from the payment of poor rates because he contributed privately to the relief of a number of the poor? Every man was bound to contribute his proper share to those funds which went to defray the public burthens of the country.

Mr. Borthwick, too, referred to the objection which was urged on the plea of conscience, on the part of the dissenters, and observed, that it would equally apply to relief from every kind of taxation whatever. He asked, would the chancellor of the exchequer exempt him from taxation because a portion of the public revenues were applied to the support of the war in Spain, to which he was strongly opposed? Would he, on the same principle, exempt the quakers from their share of public contribution? The objection, in fact, recognised the principle that a few might refuse to be bound by the will of the majority, and so strike at the root of every form of government whatever.

Mr. Horace Twiss likewise said, he would never recognise the principle that the conscience of one party could be set up as a limit to the rights of another. All tenements in this country were let, liable to church rates; and let at a lesser rate because of that liability. He could see no distinction between tithes and church rates. All the arguments founded on a conscientious scruple, applied as strongly to the one as the other. The rate was fixed before the memory of man; and there was no more right to take it away without compensation than to take away the funds for the payment of the interest of the national debt. The plan of equivalent was a mere quibble. By repealing the restrictive statutes regulating the letting of church lands, they acquired no new value; they were merely permitted to rise

to their natural level. Formerly, the complaint was, that the establishment refused to tolerate the dissenters; now, it seems the dissenters refused to tolerate the establishment. If food, or shelter, or any bodily want was to be provided for, men would make an effort to procure it for themselves; but it happened in spiritual matters, that where the provision was most wanted, it was least looked for. The voluntary principle might do for the rich, who could make provision for themselves; but would not answer for the poor who had not the necessary means for so doing.

The Solicitor-general spoke in answer to Mr. Twiss; and dwelling chiefly on the legal view of the question, contended, in common with his learned colleague, sir John Campbell, that there existed no power of compelling a parish to raise a church rate.

Sir Francis Burdett, on rising from the Opposition side of the House was greeted with vehement applause from his new friends; which was answered by cheers of another character from the opposite benches. He said, that if it be true as the crown lawyers, contended, that there existed an immemorial and imprescriptible right with no power to enforce it, it was an absurdity which the king's bench was bound to find a remedy for. The hon. Baronet's speech on this occasion, was less remarkable for any force or novelty of argument than for the open vehemence with which he impugned both the measure itself and the authors of it. He expressed his strong regret at finding himself compelled to act against his former associates in politics. It was a great sacrifice, but his whole life had been one sacrifice for the good of his country.

Mr. Sheil replied, to the member for Westminster; or rather endeavoured to make the hon. Baronet refute himself, by copious quotations from his former speeches, on the same subject; and so far had little difficulty in making out a case of apparent inconsistency against him. He spoke, however, of the hon. Baronet in terms of personal respect, as "a venerable relic of a temple dedicated to freedom, though ill-omened birds now built their nests and found shelter in that once noble edifice."

On the second night of the debate, Mr. Brotherton, the member for Salford supported the measure as one likely to benefit the church as much as it relieved dissenters. He objected to the plan of laying the burthen of church rates upon the consolidated fund, as manifestly unjust. The people of Lancashire who now only pay one fortieth part of the sum levied for church rates, would then be obliged to contribute one twelfth. He said he knew there was a strong feeling in the country in favour of the church; and he was persuaded, that if the people were allowed to share in the choice of their own ministers, there would be no want of funds for the erection of new churches.

The ministerial project received, too, the advocacy of a very acute and ingenious speech from Mr. Charles Buller. He ridiculed the reproach of spoliation which had been applied to it. The increased value given to church property was to be applied strictly to church purposes. It was a robbery without any one being robbed; a case of injury like that of the cyclops in the Odyssey, with the differ-

ence of *Outis* in this instance being the injured party.

But the money, it was said, might be better applied to the necessities of the church. Mr. Buller denied it. He questioned that there was any want of new churches. In London, one half the church room was not occupied. A large proportion of the population of this city, never set foot in the walls of a church ; not because they could not find room, but because they prefer the gin shop. He observed that one reason for the small attendance at church was the decrease in the population of London, in consequence of the practice which had become so usual, of the London merchants living out of town. The population of the city had fallen to one third of what it was at the beginning of the century ; leaving the sixty-seven churches within the walls almost useless. In Manchester, the same custom was beginning to prevail ; and this afforded a strong argument against the multiplication of new churches in populous districts ; which may hardly be finished before some change in the habits of the neighbourhood may render them no longer wanted.

Mr. Buller then went on to show that the existing means of public worship might be rendered far more efficient by a better economy of space and time. He suggested the possibility of making some of the surplus churches of the city, supply the wants of different, but not very distant parishes ; of sparing the room now wasted in fitting up of luxurious pews for the rich, so as to leave hardly standing room in the church which is audaciously called the poor man's church ; above all, of multiplying the services in the course of the day. Why not have service going on all day long, as they do in the catholic churches abroad ? You might thus quadruple your church room with no other expense than of some additional curates, whose usefulness would not, like that of the building itself, be confined to one day in the seven.

Mr. Buller further contended, that there was as little want of more clergymen as of more churches. The alleged deficiency of ministers in other districts, was far more than balanced by the superfluity of them in others ; and was it not hard that the church should stretch forth her hand for additional funds in order to pay an additional number of really hard-working clergymen, while a vast portion of her funds go to pay clergymen who really do hardly any work at all ?

There was, no doubt, a good deal of truth in much of Mr. Buller's reasonings on this subject ; no one defends the present disposition of church property, or circumscription of ecclesiastical districts, as the most convenient and desirable in itself ; but it is obviously impossible to rectify the existing anomalies without a disorganization of the whole establishment. The single circumstance, that a vast proportion of the patronage of the church, is private property, of itself affords an insuperable difficulty in the way of any general change. The habits of the country with respect to the times of attendance on public worship, and the manner of accommodation in the churches, make it doubtful how far the other suggestions of the learned member for increasing the efficiency of existing means, would in fact be practicable.

Sir James Graham strongly opposed the measure proposed by ministers. He quoted the report of the ecclesiastical commission, signed by the highest law authorities,* in proof that church rates are a legal burthen, affecting the parishioners; and that if they wholly declined to impose a rate upon themselves for the repair of the body of the church and the proper performance of Divine service, the churchwardens had the power to make such an assessment as should be necessary for those purposes. He reprobated, in warm terms, the conduct of ministers, who, while they admitted the legality of the impost, yet declared, that no party or minister would dare to enforce it. Such language on the part of a government was an implicit encouragement of resistance.

Mr. Spring Rice declared himself to be a warm friend of the church, and that he supported the present measure peculiarly as favourable to her welfare. The alarm which had been created among the people as to its probable effects, he said, was, in a great degree, based upon delusion. People were told, that the object of ministers was to take away all means for keeping up their churches; whereas the effect of the bill would be to secure to them much surer funds than they at present possess. It had been said, that the petitions against the measure were much more numerous than those in favour of it; the former being 2,740 in number; the latter 1,629. But the signatures to the petitions for the abolition of church rates were nearly double those which called for the maintenance of them. As for the present state of the law on the subject, he had never said it should not be enforced; but how would gentlemen opposite enforce it? Would they, as had been suggested, give the churchwardens the power to make the rate? thusenabling a single parochial officer to impose or levy a tax without the will and consent of those who had to pay it? He doubted if any friend of the church would venture such a proposition.

Sir Robert Peel said, that however ministers might seek to disguise it, the real principle of the measure was to relieve the landed gentleman from a tax, and find an equivalent for it in the property of the church. Now, suppose this principle established in England, what would they do with the dissenters in Scotland, where the land was charged with the maintenance of the establishment? The case of Ireland was urged as a precedent. Sir Robert maintained, that, on the contrary, that case afforded the strongest grounds for avoiding it. The abettors of the Irish measure always urged, that it would be one of exception—that the circumstances of Ireland were peculiar, and called for separate legislation—and yet the very same party now turned round, and relied on that which was granted on the ground of peculiarity, as a reason why the principle should, *a fortiori*, be extended to England. What security had they, if they gave up church rates, that the concession would not soon be pleaded as a reason for abandoning tithes? What security, that it would not shortly be contended,

* Lord Tenterden, Sir Nicholas Tindal, Sir John Nichol, Doctor Lushington, and the Judge-Advocate, Mr. C. Ferguson.

that in yielding church rates we had abandoned the principle of a church establishment? Sir Robert said, his chief objection to the measure was, that it dissolved the connexion between church and state. It was proposed to make the bishops annuitants on a commission appointed by the state, the majority of which were to be laymen, removable at the pleasure of the crown; and the heads of the church, instead of being proprietors, were to receive a fixed stipend, payable every quarter!

Sir Robert Peel, in common with many other speakers, who had opposed the measure of government, felt a difficulty in supporting the amendment of Mr. Johnstone, at the same time that they expressed the highest respect for his motives in moving it. Sir Robert observed, that the hon. gentleman had proposed an abstract proposition, without stating what his intentions were if it were adopted. Now, he had a great objection to vote for an abstract proposition on any subject, unless it were to be the foundation of a measure. Moreover, he was not prepared, with respect to the interests either of the bishops or lessees, to pledge himself to a proposition which might seriously affect the interests of both. He believed, it was possible to effect an improvement in the value of church lands consistently both with the independent character of the bishops as proprietors, and with the rights and interests of the lessees; and in that case he was ready to allow, that the surplus ought to be applied to the purposes which Mr. Johnstone had pointed out. In the meanwhile he rejoiced, that the amendment had come from such a quarter—from a member of the church of Scotland. It shewed the sense of a common interest between the established churches of the empire, and that the members were disposed cordially to unite for the protection of both.

Lord John Russell's concluding reply was occupied chiefly in repelling and revenging the personalities, of which the ministers had been the object, on the part of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir James Graham. Mr. Johnstone then withdrew his amendment; and the House divided on the original resolution, when there were found in favour of it 287; against it, 282, leaving the ministers in a majority of not more than five.

This division was a death-blow to the bill; ministers did not attempt to urge it further even in the House of Commons. As the measure may be said to have been their leading one for the session, their opponents took pains to tell them, that it would be nothing more than becoming in them to resign on its failure. But they shewed no disposition to profit by the intimation. Things are changed since the time when no minister would have ventured to carry on the government unless he could calculate on an average majority of little less than an hundred. A change of ministers has now become a question of actual force; nothing less than a direct vote of dismission on the part of the House is of power to effect it. Ministers, however, in abandoning all immediate prosecution of their measure for the abolition of church rates, were still disposed to follow up the inquiries which had been suggested into the present method of holding and leasing the property belonging to the bishops and chapters.

On the 13th of June, Lord John

Russell moved a committee to inquire into this subject, "with the view to ascertain the probable amount of any increased value which might be obtained by an improved management, with a due consideration of the interests of the established church and of the present lessees of such property." The noble Lord, in his prefatory speech, expressed his conviction, that if the majority in favour of his measure on church rates had not been greater, it was only because it was misunderstood. Further inquiry would remove many of the seeming objections against it; and he was certain it would be proved, that the present mode of dealing with church lands was for the interest neither of the church, the lessees, or the public. He dwelt much on the uncertainty and frequent injustice both to the lessors and lessees, and their families, resulting from the present system; and remarked especially on the hardship which it might entail on many of the bishops, who, by a recent act, would have to deliver a regular sum to the ecclesiastical commissioners, while their own income was contingent on the falling in of leases and the death of tenants. Since 1790, the period of the land-tax redemption act, 3,659 sales had taken place, the sum received being 1,460,000*l*. These sales might have been advantageous to the church, but it would be well to ascertain that such was the fact. Therefore, however any surplus arising from improved management should be disposed of, all parties, he thought, should concur in a motion for bringing it about.

The motion was strongly objected to by the church party. Mr. Goulburn insisted, that any measure of this kind ought to be brought forward on the sole responsibility of government. There was now an ecclesiastical commission in existence able to give the ministers all the information they required. The agitation of this question had already considerably affected the stability of church property. Tenants hesitated to renew their leases; and those who had advanced money were anxious to recover their loans. The inquiry would be of the most complicated and difficult nature. The committee would have to inquire into the private affairs of the lessees, to see how far they had improved the property, or of what further improvement it was susceptible. How was all this to be effected, when the object in view was known to be adverse to the pecuniary interests of the parties themselves?

Lord John Russell here explained, that it was not in the power of government to refer the matter to the church commission; as the members of it, both lay and clerical, not belonging to the administration, had declined to take any share in the government project for the abolition of church rates; to the principles of which they were wholly opposed; though they consented to continue to act as commissioners under the act of last session.

On the part of the dissenters, Mr. Harvey declared himself to be little satisfied with Lord John Russell's advocacy of their claims. Even the reports of the church commissioners, he said, proved that the church of England was the richest in the world. Its net revenue was admitted to be 3,441,156*l*.; but, he had no doubt whatever, that it was really as much as five millions. Mr. Har-

vey gave some interesting details respecting the expenditure of the Protestant dissenters, from a report which had been published under the authority of their leading divines. It appeared, that for the maintenance of their ministers, including the funds given to charities, the amount levied and paid annually was 925,540*l.* That for all the charges connected with the maintenance of their places of religious worship, they expended little less than one million. That their subscriptions to various local religious and charitable institutions, amounted to 162,240*l.*; and that they also subscribed for the theological academies and congregational schools, the sum of 30,000*l.* a-year; making their annual contributions amount to 2,098,240*l.*, besides their liberal contributions to various other societies of a less exclusive nature.

Mr. Harvey objected to lord John Russell's proposition for inquiries, that while these were going on, the question of relief from church rates would be kept in abeyance for three or four years, perhaps. All parties, however, he said, seemed to agree, that they should be abolished; however little they had made up their minds for the substitute; therefore, to give the House an opportunity of binding itself to this extent, he moved, by way of amendment, that there be added to the motion these words: "and, further, that whatever be the result of the proposed inquiry, it is the opinion of this House, that after a time to be fixed, the payment of church rates in England ought wholly to cease."

Colonel Thompson seconded the amendment. He admitted, that, as the rate was levied on the dissenters by force, their consciences could not be concerned in the payment of it. What would be doing them entire justice was, to give them their portion of the property, tithes included, provided by the community for the purposes of religious worship in general; half justice was to give them nothing, and leave them to find themselves; complete injustice was to take their money, and leave them to provide for themselves, notwithstanding.

Sir Robert Peel admitted the plausibility of the Ministers' proposition of a committee; but felt it his duty to oppose it. It was neither more nor less than the formation of an ecclesiastical cabinet to relieve the government from responsibility and trouble. The committee would only end in a commission, and thus those gentlemen who called for a *speedy* settlement of the question, would find themselves farther off from it than ever.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the other hand, quoted precedents for the investigation of such matters by committees. All they asked at present was inquiry. The House was pledged neither to declare there was a surplus, nor to determine on its appropriation, should it be found.

The division that took place at the close of this debate was a matter of some interest, as indicative of the different shades of opinion on church matters prevailing in the House. The first was on Mr. Harvey's amendment for the abolition of church rates at all events; fifty-eight members voted in favour of it, 489 against it. An immense majority, every individual of which must be considered as pledging himself, by this vote at least, to the general principle of maintaining the established church.

The House next divided on the

original motion, when the numbers in favour of it were 319; against it 236. There was thus a majority of eighty-six in favour of inquiry into the existing system of managing ecclesiastical property, with a view to its alteration, if found desirable; a fact, perhaps, not so surprising, as that there should appear so large a body of members opposed to a proposition which, at first sight, it would seem, was peculiarly called for by the interests of the church herself.

But a third division then took place on an addition moved by Mr. Goulburn, which pledged the House to a specific appropriation of any increased revenue derivable from church lands, to the extension of religious instruction by ministers of the establishment. This was to the same effect with the amendment moved by Mr. A. Johnstone on the 22d of May, and which he withdrew on that occasion, at the desire of both sides of the House. On this division the ministerial majority fell from 83 to 26. There being found 265 members in favour of the amendment, and 291 against it. Certainly, the results of all the divisions that have taken place on this question have been such as strongly to assure the friends of the church of her substantial stability. And more, perhaps, is not desirable. Protection against *reform* is not her interest.

We hardly know whether it be a matter of congratulation or otherwise, that church affairs engross so considerable a share of parliamentary and public discussion, as recently they appear to have done. If the circumstance tends, on the one hand, to keep alive the public interest in religious subjects, on the other, it has a manifest tendency to pervert them by the admixture of party and political motives. Upon the whole, however, we trust, the fact is an auspicious one, both as a sign of the wholesome tendency of public opinion, and a means of keeping it in the same direction.

The church of Scotland, in the present session, came in for a portion of that political discussion which has, of late, been so lavished on the concerns of her sister establishments of England and Ireland. It will be recollected, then, on the opening of the first session of this parliament, Sir Robert Peel made the deficient means of pastoral superintendence in that church, the matter of a recommendation from the crown to the attention of parliament. The ministers did not remain long enough in power to carry into effect their own recommendations; and their successors were believed to feel, by no means, the same anxiety to do so; as the dissenting interest, which proved their chief support in Scotland, were known to be strongly opposed to any further grant to the establishment on the part of the state. However, when pressed on the subject, they consented to the appointment of a commission, which should make inquiry into the whole of it, and report the result to parliament. The first report was not made till February of the present year; and the information it contained was confined to the city of Edinburgh. It stated, that the population of that city and its suburbs amounted to162, 292 persons; of whom, after deducting persons belonging to religious denominations other than the established church, there remained 91,021; and that the total number of sittings in the churches belonging to that establishment amounted to 36,001.

It further appeared, from the report, that the number of persons capable of attending religious worship, who habitually absent themselves from such worship, could not be less than from 40,000 to 50,000 persons.

As the government appeared to take no notice of this report, the late lord advocate, Sir William Rae, thought it necessary to bring it under the view of parliament. On the 5th of May, he moved a resolution, that "the report should be taken into immediate consideration, for the purpose of remedying the evils acknowledged to exist within the districts to which it refers, by extending the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence furnished by the established church of Scotland, and rendering them available to all classes of the community." Sir William observed, in his speech on this occasion, that the members of the church of Scotland had raised above 160,000*l.* by voluntary subscription, for the building new churches, and all they asked of government was, the small grant of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* annually for the purpose of endowing them.

The motion evidently occasioned considerable embarrassment to the government. The demand was so reasonable an one, that it was difficult to find a pretext for refusing it; at the same time, they felt that, by granting it, they would mortally disgust the greater body of their dissenting friends in Scotland. If they opposed the motion from a motive of party interest, they did not give their opponents credit for any higher principle in bringing it on. Lord John Russell observed, that the general assembly of the Scottish church was about to assemble within a few days; and, no doubt, it was desired that they should have the Ministers' refusal to consent to this motion, to allege, as a presumption of their indifference to the interests of the establishment. He asked, how it happened that the gentlemen opposite had never, during the long years of their place and power, moved a step upon this subject? The noble lord, however, said, he objected to the motion only on the ground, that they had not yet sufficient information on the subject to enable them to deal with it satisfactorily.

It was opposed on more general grounds by Mr. Gillon and Mr. Horsman. They denied that there was the deficiency of church room in Edinburgh which was asserted. At the very time this demand for additional churches was made, there was not less, they said, than 21,154 seats, both of the established church and dissenting congregations unoccupied. They questioned, too, the statement of the report, that there were between forty and fifty thousand persons in Edinburgh not in the habit of attending religious worship. The proper number of attendances in proportion to the population was 72,132; the seats that were let were 56,504; leaving a residue of not more than 15,628. Mr. Horsman strongly expressed his regret, that the Reform Bill, by giving the franchise to the Scottish clergy, had introduced among them a spirit of political partisanship, from which hitherto they had been quite free; and which was anything but favourable to the graces of the pastoral character. Previous to 1832 "the church-in-danger" cry had never been heard in Scotland. The mention of the Scottish church, in the speech from the

throne, in 1835, was an excellent claptrap on the part of the tories. It answered a double purpose. There was no danger in the promise, for the tories knew their tenure of office would be too short to allow it to be performed; and it furnished a capital handle of agitation against their successors. At the Peel banquet at Glasgow no less than forty-five clergymen of the establishment attended. The religious people of Scotland beheld that exhibition with sorrow and alarm. They knew, that nothing could be so injurious to the church as the right hon. baronet's political protection. They want not for it the officious patronage of any party; they spurn, therefore, the alliance, or rather the political subserviency which is offered them, and behold with dismay the attempt made to tack their church as a political appendage to the skirts of Sir Robert Peel. They know, that if their ministers once prostitute themselves as the tools of selfish politicians, and allow their church to be degraded into the stalking horse of party ambition, then indeed will it be in danger; and with its purity impaired, its usefulness extinguished, it will fall, as it will deserve to fall, the victim of its own misconduct.

It might have occurred to Mr. Horsman, that if the clergy, both of Scotland and England, have since the Reform Bill taken more interest in political discussions than formerly they were wont to do; or than perhaps is abstractedly desirable in itself; the reason is to be found in the additional power which that measure has put in the hands of parties who are avowedly the enemies of both establishments. It has been stated, that twenty years ago there were not more than two dissenters in the House of Commons; their number at present, including the Roman Catholic members, certainly exceeds an hundred; and the sense of their augmented strength has naturally encouraged them to the declaration of pretensions and claims, which, if entertained, were hardly heard of at the former period. That the clergy, whether of England or Scotland, when thus openly menaced in their property or privileges, should feel it necessary to exert themselves in the defence of them, should as little excite surprise as it calls for reproof.

On a division, there were found in favour of the order of the day, which was moved by Lord John Russell, 217; against it 176. Sir William Rae's resolutions therefore were negatived by a majority of forty-one.

CHAPTER VIII.

Notices of Motions for Organic or Constitutional Changes—Mr. Grote renews his Motion for the Adoption of the Ballot, in the Election of Members of Parliament—His Speech on the Subject—Consideration of some of his Arguments—Choice of Moral or Political Dissimulation—Effect of the Ballot on the practice of Bribery—Question of the Responsibility of the Voter—Statement of the Legitimate Exercise of the influence of Property—Speeches of Mr. Poulter and Mr. Vernon Smith, in Opposition to the Motion—Lord Howick's argument against it, from the power it would place in the hands of Returning Officers—Mr. C. Buller's Defence of the Ballot, as favourable to the expression of moderate Opinions—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Grote's Reply—Silence of the Conservatives in the Discussion—Mr. Horsman's Motion for a Committee on the Creation of Fictitious Votes in Scotland—Sir William Molesworth moves the Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members—Mr. Lushington's Motion on the Spiritual Peers—Lord John Russell's Speech in opposition to it—Mr. Buller's Reply—Mr. Duncombe moves the Abolition of Voters by Proxy in the House of Peers—Motion for the Abolition of the Rate-paying Clauses of the Reform Bill—Motion by Mr. Tennyson for the Repeal of the Septennial Act. opposed by Lord John Russell—Speech of Mr. Roebuck—Mr. Ewart's Motion on the Subject of Primogeniture.

AFTER the demonstrations which the Radical section of politicians had made at public meetings in different parts of the country, it was to be expected, that they would lose no time in executing some of their threatened movements, as soon as the opening of Parliament gave them a more legitimate field of exertion. Accordingly, within the first week of the session, the notice book of the House of Commons presented the announcement of motions for various "organic changes," as they called in our institutions.

Mr. Grote gave notice of his usual yearly proposition for the introduction of vote by ballot; Sir William Molesworth announced his intention of moving for a committee, on peerage reform; Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt promised to introduce a bill for the repeal of the Septennial Act; and Mr. Hume another for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to all householders. Besides, these we

may mention a notice from Mr. Duncombe of a motion for the repeal of the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Bill; from Mr. Ewart one of an address to the crown for the appointment of a minister of education; Mr. Roebuck announced a bill for the establishment of a system of national education; Mr. Clay a motion for the repeal of the corn laws.

It will be seen, that several of these notices came to nothing. It is not in the production of an act of parliament as in many other affairs, in which it is said, that the first step is the most difficult. Nothing is easier than to give notice of a motion, and so far to gain a certain degree of credit for liberal views and good intentions; whereas to carry even the simplest legislative measure into law requires a degree of management, watchfulness, industry, and skill which is by no means given to every man. In the present instances, indeed, all that the authors of the motions looked to was probably little more than a hearing of them; but in the complication and accumulation of our parliamentary business even this is not always attainable without difficulty.

The motion for the ballot took place on the 7th of March. It must be admitted, to the credit of Mr. Grote's argumentative powers, that in so frequently going over the same ground he seldom treads in his former foot-steps. His speech on this occasion was equally well-reasoned with those which he had previously delivered on the same subject; and contained little actual repetition of the matter of them. He began by observing, that many as were the objections made on various grounds to the ballot, no one disputed the fact, that it would infallibly bring about fair and free election. But if so, he said, the case was proved; for in an inquiry relating simply to the best method of taking votes, whatever best conduces to the main purpose of election is incontestibly right to be chosen. All the objections refer only to certain collateral consequences, which even if they could be shewn to be just and probable would yet not affect the essential merits of the case.

Mr. Grote then adverted to that which no doubt is the fundamental difficulty in the way of the ballot; its alleged tendency to multiply false promises and false declarations. The voter, it is said, will promise to vote for one man and then afterwards vote for another: after having given his vote under favour of secrecy, he will declare, that he has voted in a way contrary to the real fact. Mr. Grote admitted this was possible; but he asked, was it intended, that there should be no matters discussed privately and confidentially because false statements may be made respecting them, the falsehood remaining undiscovered? Are we to have no such thing as sealed correspondence by the post, because a person may state one thing in writing to one person, while he communicates the direct contrary by word of mouth to the other? What would be thought of the impudence of any private individual who should claim a right to unseal his neighbour's correspondence, under pretence of taking security, that no untrue assertions should be made to him about the contents of it. When a man says, "I have a right to know how my neighbour votes, and if he is allowed to vote secretly he may deceive me," I contend, answered

Mr. Grote, you have no right to know your neighbour's vote at all against his will and consent; he may disclose it to you, if he pleases, but you must take your chance of his giving you false information in a matter where he is fully intitled to withhold information altogether. You would have no right to fish out your neighbour's vote against his wish, even if your motive were nothing worse than an innocent curiosity; how much less right have you to do so, when your motive is one of malignity and oppression. "I do not stand here, Sir," added the hon. member, "as the defender of falsehood; but I will not shrink from saying, nevertheless, that if I am reduced to choose between the two evils—successful tyranny on the one side, and the success of falsehood as a defence against tyranny on the other—the last is by far the least evil of the two."

It does not appear to us that Mr. Grote here argued the question on its exact ground. The objection is not, that the secrecy of the ballot, like that of the post, or any contrivance of confidential intercourse, may be abused to the purposes of falsehood; but that, in the case of the ballot, the facility or impunity of the falsehood is the *only* use of the system. The direct object of the ballot is to enable the voter to tell a lie. It presents, otherwise, no possible advantage. No one, in voting for a member of parliament, would subject himself to the restraint of silence and secrecy, except for the purpose of deceiving some one as to the manner in which he has given his suffrage. The transactions of our private affairs, whether orally or by post, is a matter in which others have no right to inquire. Neither do we say, that they strictly have a right to know our political preferences or opinions; but these are, at least, a natural matter of mutual question and communication, and a man can seldom have an honest motive for concealing them. Where no one cares for or questions our vote, the ballot is of no service; its use begins precisely from the moment we have a motive to mislead some one as to the way in which we have really given it.

In illustration and enforcement of this part of his argument, Mr. Grote referred to the concealment or dissimulation of opinion to which men had often been driven under the stress of religious persecution. Some few resolute and heroic spirits, he observed, have endured martyrdom rather than submit, even in appearance, to a creed which their conscience repudiated; but the greater number of the persecuted sect have evaded the tyranny of the oppressor, by rendering outward homage to the worship thrust upon them by force, while they reserved their own sincere devotion to be offered in secret. And is there, he asked, any historian so bigoted as to revile these oppressed men for carrying on their own worship secretly, when they were prevented by violence from following it openly? Or is there any one whose wrath, in such a case, will not turn against the persecutor, rather than against the man who is compelled to dissemble to avoid persecution. Now substitute the political for the religious conscience, and you have the precise case of the dependent elector voting by ballot—of the tenant who, to avoid ejectment and ruin, profesess acquiescence in the unjust dictates of his landlord,

while he avails himself of the ballot to vote agreeably to his own real sentiments."

The distinction between the two cases put here by Mr. Grote is as palpable as it is decisive. The religious persecutor interferes, by a threat of personal violence, which a man has the same right to evade by dissimulation, as he has to avert, in like manner, the assault or spoliation of a robber. In the case of the exercise of our parliamentary suffrage, the alternative is merely the loss of some worldly advantage or convenience, to which we have no right, but by the favour of another; and the *single* use of the ballot is to enable us to continue to enjoy that favour, by deceiving the person who grants it. Where death, or exile, or imprisonment, or confiscation, are the penalties of an open profession of our religious opinions, no one ventures severely to blame the suppression of them. But if the motive of such dissimulation were merely to secure the participation or continuance of some adventitious advantage, we suspect it would excite anything but sympathy in a generous bosom. If a Roman Catholic landlord were to declare, that he would have none but Roman Catholic tenants on his estate, or that he would deal with tradesmen only of his own persuasion; whatever opinion we might form of the liberality of such a principle of conduct, we should hardly call it persecution; and, on the other hand, there surely would be but one voice as to the wickedness of the Protestant, who, with the view of securing the custom or patronage of his landlord, should consent to go to mass.

A sacrifice of *political* opinion, in such case, may not be strictly defensible; but it is no more than has been frequently done by men of the highest sense of honour in their ordinary transactions. It does not necessarily involve any commission of falsehood; the essence of that consists in intentional deceit; whereas, in this instance, nobody cognizant of the vote, may really mistake the motive for which it is given. The only person really injured is that very abstract, though manyh-eaded one, called the public. Now, we have no wish to make light of the moral obligations under which we individually stand to that entity; but, it is certain, that a large portion of the people have little sense of them at all; and the effect of influence, as exercised on them, is often only to neutralize the operation of motives just as questionable. Where a man has a distinct preference for a candidate on public grounds, it is, undoubtedly, his duty to vote accordingly; but, let it be remembered, that duty, if it did not involve some sacrifice, would hardly deserve the name; and no one has a right to ask of the legislature to screen him from the inconveniencies consequent on the performance of a political duty, by enabling him, with safety, to violate a moral one.

Gentlemen tell me, continued Mr. Grote, that the ballot makes hypocrites. I tell them that open voting makes hypocrites — hypocrites, at least, as many in number, and much worse in kind. For what is an elector who votes against his conscience but an hypocrite? A man now may speak truly, while he votes dishonestly. Under the ballot he might speak falsely, but he would vote honestly. He now plays the hypocrite to his country; he would then cheat only the intimidator who tried to suborn him. The ballot, then, creates no

new hypocrisy; the falsehood which it introduces is far more pardonable and less mischievous than that which it supplants.'

We here must express our total difference with Mr. Grote. It is an abuse of words to put the two kinds of falsehood here spoken of on the same level. As we have said before, in the one case, nobody is deceived; an elector, by voting against his own political persuasion in favour of a friend or landlord, or relative or benefactor, misleads no one as to the motive of his suffrage. Commonly, he is quite ready to avow it; and it is really nothing less than absurd to make a comparison between the moral error of such prevarication, and the baseness of the man who avails himself of the shelter of the ballot to vote against the candidate whose favours he is, at the same time receiving on the pledge of returning to him his political support. This last is a degree of baseness which we really think would not often take place; but then except as affording the means of committing it, the ballot would cease to be of use. It is to be recollected, that in by far the greater number of cases, *intimidation* implies nothing more than the withdrawal of advantages which it is perfectly at the giver's discretion to withhold or bestow. No one gives his vote against his choice for nothing. Therefore, the man who under the ballot should choose to vote contrary to his promise, would commonly be more than a liar or hypocrite; he would be a *cheat*, as obtaining benefits under false pretences.

Mr. Grote, indeed, contends that the motive to falsehood of either kind, would cease after the introduction of the ballot; for that, no one would attempt to intimidate when he could no longer know the result. "What man," he asked, "would be insane enough to waste his fire on a mark out of sight and out of reach? When the process of intimidation is forbidden to be consummated it will no longer be begun. A gentleman will no more think of trying to coerce his tenant, than he now thinks of coercing any neighbouring gentleman; when the ballot shall have rendered the vote of the one as independent as the vote of the other."

Now, here, it is apposite to observe, that the only reason why the candidate or canvasser should not as well exact a promise under the ballot, as without it, is his doubt whether it will be performed. And this, we admit, is a sufficient reason why he should not take the trouble of making the application to persons in whose truth or honesty he can place no confidence. But while the ballot, as is admitted, affords an effectual shelter to this class of voters, it plainly affords none whatever to persons of a more scrupulous kind; and who will, therefore, be pressed to engage themselves with more importunity than ever. A man under the system of secret voting may escape the necessity of telling a lie; but it can be only because of the general conviction of his readiness to do it. And the country will thus have the benefit of the unbiassed suffrages of that class of electors whether canvassed or not; but we question, whether it will be much the better for them.

On this account, we concede that there is considerably more force in that part of Mr. Grote's argument in which he considered the manner in which the ballot would

affect bribery. "I do not," he said, "believe there is a single voter accustomed to take bribes who will not feel that his market is struck from under him, when he is directed to vote in secret. His vote is at once reduced from a certainty to a contingency—a contingency of which he can by no ingenuity convey any evidence; and this is but a sorry piece of merchandise, when its value comes to be measured in money. Then, besides, the ballot insures absolute ignorance of the state of the poll, from the beginning to the end of it. The candidate neither knows how many votes he has got, nor how many he will get; and he, consequently, has no means whatever of determining how many votes must be bought in order to secure a majority. If bribery be continued at all under the ballot, it must, at least, be done in an uncertain and circuitous manner; by promising a certain present to every voter who may apply for it, (since friends will not be distinguishable from opponents) in the event of such-or-such a candidate being elected. Now collective bribery like this is not possible in a constituency of tolerable magnitude; and even in a smaller one, it is a practice fraught with danger and difficulty, presenting much less temptation to the voter who receives, and a great increase of hazard to the candidate who pays."

We agree with Mr. Grote, that the adoption of the ballot, if it did not abolish direct bribery altogether, would restrain it in much narrower limits. But why is this, except that the class of electors who are capable of taking money for the promise of their votes, could not generally be depended upon as fulfilling their bargain? We suspect that a considerable number of this order of voters would not take the trouble of giving their suffrage at all, when neither cash nor credit were to be got by doing so; but supposing they did come to the poll, we must ask again, is the public much interested in securing the exercise of the *conscientious* choice of men like these?

Looking merely to their operation on the composition of the House of Commons, it is not, perhaps easy to see the importance of the laws against bribery themselves. If an elector is capable of selling his vote for money, it might almost be said, that he had better do so; at least, you so secure his choice of a man of property; and in the absence of such a motive for his vote, little dependence could be placed as the operation of any higher or better one.

We admit we do not see much weight in the objection which Mr. Grote next came to consider, viz. that the voter holds his franchise as a trust, for the due exercise of which he must be held responsible to the public. He observed, that the due exercise of the franchise could only mean the expression of the voter's sincere and conscientious opinion. To make him responsible to the public, therefore, for the due exercise of his franchise, was to make him responsible for voting in conformity to his own conscientious opinion and not otherwise—and for this end what is required is impunity to the innocent voter; loss and sacrifice to the guilty one and to him only—Now does publicity of suffrage ensure one or other of these ends? Is not its real effect to counteract the purpose of responsibility, and to create a factitious inducement against honest voting?

Mr. Grote said, "he would go farther and contend that you cannot get any such responsibility, and you do not want it. You may punish the voter for receiving any reward; but you cannot carry responsibility any further. You cannot make the voter responsible for voting ill. The standard of good or bad voting is in an elector's own bosom. Voting is the business of the people, directly and personally; not of agents delegated by the people."

This is true; and, therefore, in the strict and the common sense of the term, the elector cannot be said to be responsible for his vote, otherwise than as every man should be ready to answer to the tribunal of public opinion for the exercise of rights the most incontestably legitimate and individual. It has been contended, indeed, that this reasoning would be just, if every man in the community were a voter; but that there is a vast number of persons not allowed to vote at all, and that they would be deprived of all influence and left without any security if the qualified electors voted in secret.

There was something equally acute, and forcible in Mr. Grote's reasoning upon this point. "It is very true," said he, "that there are a vast multitude of persons who are not allowed to vote at all, but upon what grounds is this exclusion defended? When the adoption of universal suffrage is advocated, is it not objected, that the great body of the poor are debarred by indigence and excessive toil from all capacity of forming a judgment of public affairs, or public men; or that they entertained sentiments hostile to the principle of property? I do not adopt these arguments, but they are clearly the only ones on which universal suffrage can be resisted; for if you once admit, that the unrepresented classes are capable of making a good choice of candidates to exclude them from the electoral suffrage is a wanton insult. Now, assuming that upon these principles you are justified in disfranchising the non-electors, I affirm, that all coercive interference on their part with the votes of electors, can produce nothing but an unmixed evil. Do you really believe, that the persons who stand without your electoral circle are competent to control or amend the voters of those within it? Then, in common justice, admit them within it at once, for on that supposition, they are the superior party of the two. In short, by whatever line of argument you prove to me, that the control of the non-electors over the electors is good; I engage by the same to show, that universal suffrage is still better."

In conclusion, Mr. Grote maintained again, that the ballot would not deprive the rich man of one grain of influence which he has a fair title to enjoy—it would not lessen in the remotest degree the influence which he exercises, in so far as it is consistent with the free agency, and spontaneous obedience of those who look up to him; "and I cannot," said he, "for an instant admit, that beyond this he is entitled to a particle of influence. I confess, Sir, I think, it is a valuable improvement, that the influence of property at elections should be made to depend less upon its positive amount, and more upon the means in which it is expended. And I know no method so likely to induce men of property to turn their leisure to generous and dignified purposes; I know no method so effec-

tual to make them thirst for the esteem and respect of those around them, as by rendering that esteem the indispensable condition of their political influence."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Hodges. It was opposed by Mr. Poulter, who observed, that the analogy suggested by Mr. Grote between the ballot and sealed letters, did not at all hold good. No man was called upon to declare publicly the contents of his correspondence; whereas, in the case of an election, it was difficult for him to avoid saying in favour of whom he had voted. It was plain, that the ballot would not preclude canvassing for Parliamentary elections, any more than it was found to do in other ones. In fact, so long as the moral obligation of a promise was found to affect the human mind, so long would canvassing continue. Moreover, it was his persuasion, that however, Englishmen might vote secretly, oral declaration would render there doing so useless. A man who should refuse to make an oral declaration, would equally betray himself as if he did so.

Mr. Vernon Smith, too, contended, that to make the ballot useful as a protection, the expression of public opinion must be suffocated. How was an elector to form his opinions upon great public questions—opinions which alone made his vote valuable; but by attending public meetings and discussions upon subjects interesting to the whole community; and would not the active agents of the landlords of the district, follow the tenants to such meetings,and thence be enabled to judge of the bias and tenour of their political sentiments? So, also, the registration courts opened the same field for information. The votes of individuals were supported, or opposed by agents representing both sides of politics, according to the views or opinions of the voter. In times of peace and tranquillity, the ballot would lead to apathy on the part of the people; in times of violence and convulsion, it would afford a secret vent for bad feelings. How would a member of that House, elected under the silent system, know by whom he was elected? How ascertain who were his constituents, or take their sentiments upon any particular question?

This last objection Dr. Lushington contended, was the most absurd he had ever heard. Suppose his hon. Friend had no contest for his seat, how was he then to know the sentiments of his constituents under the present system? When once elected member for any place, he should consider himself member for the whole of it, and bound to the utmost, to respect the opinions and interests of all.

Lord Howick suggested a practical difficulty in the way of the adoption of the ballot which seems of weight. It referred to the enormous power of abuse which it would place in the hands of the returning officer for borough towns. As the law at present stood, if a candidate were defeated by any improper practice a committee of the House of Commons could give him redress, by striking off the bad votes which had been given against him, or adding the good which had been tendered in his favour. But how could this be done under the new system? At the last general election, there were many complaints of gross partiality against returning officers; and the ballot would increase their power of abuse far beyond what now ex-

isted. As for the exercise of intimidation, it was, perhaps, impossible altogether to put an end to it; but the best check upon it would be the increasing influence of public opinion. There was no constituency in the kingdom that could be wholly controlled by intimidation; and if public opinion were once decidedly pronounced against such practices; if the really independent electors set their faces against them, and parties found they lost more than they gained, by resorting to such means; there would be a practical security against the abuse which would go far to extirpate it altogether.

Lord Howick dwelt, too, on the ill-effect of the ballot on that vivifying spirit of discussion, and communication of opinion which preserved alive the body politic. It was true, that sacrifices were at present often imposed on the independent voter. But was there no public benefit to be derived even from them in the fostering of an independent spirit, and in the sympathy they awakened in others? Under the ballot, it would be impossible for men fairly to discuss their views; and therefore no sound or healthful state of public opinion could then exist.

Mr. Charles Buller professed he could see no great advantage in giving the poor elector the opportunity of these sacrifices. It was commonly held to be among the advantages derived from a good government, that it diminished the opportunities for the display of great heroism. Moreover, he thought, it a strong argument in favour of the ballot, that the vote being secret, it could not be questioned, after it had been given. It seemed to him exceedingly desirable that the vote, if it were disputed at all, should be disputed before the individual had polled; and, therefore, before he had declared himself a partisan. As for public opinion, it was assuredly a very good thing; but its operation was slow. Public opinion alone, had not prevented the perpetration of gross acts of tyranny. The noble Lord said, they must trust to the vivifying spirit to keep the body politic warm; he hoped they would, in addition to the vivifying spirit, have recourse to a great coat.

The real ground of the opposition made to the ballot, by moderate politicians, was obviously the fear that it would too completely destroy the influence of men of property and intelligence; and give an impulse to the progress of certain dangerous doctrines among the uninstructed portion of the electoral body. Mr. Buller said, he saw no ground for this apprehension. He wished to see the people invested with a full power of choosing their leaders; because he was sure, they would exercise that choice in favour of the best of those whom fortune had endowed with leisure and independence. He had little doubt, that such an aristocracy might long continue to hold power on a democratic tenure. The Roman patrician, when deprived of his peculiar privileges, descended into the open arena of political emulation with his plebeian competitors. Nor did that noble strife fail to call forth his noblest energies; and from the days of the Fabricii, down to those of the Cæsars, Rome found in the families of her ancient nobles, the worthiest candidates for the offices, to which all might aspire. "I see nothing," said Mr. Buller, "that is to prevent the gentry

of England from occupying a similar pre-eminence, and wielding a similar power — nothing, save the mad attempt to substitute the brute force of property for the mild influence of station and character —nothing but the continuance of a system which brings every man of wealth and rank into incessant collision with the independence and consciences of his countrymen."

There was some weight as well as novelty in Mr. Buller's remarks upon the effect he conceived the ballot would have in preventing excitement, and giving influence to electors and candidates of moderate opinions. The present system, he said, seemed as if it was contrived to make constant excitement a necessity, and to destroy the influence of moderate men. The wealthy candidate is supported, not only by the influence of his own money, but by all which his wealthy supporters can bring to bear upon their tenants and customers; and by that interest which a portion of his partisans feel in the maintenance of profitable abuses. In order to counteract these great advantages, the candidate of opinions the most directly the reverse, appeals to the passions of the mass; humouring their prejudices; and frequently by the force of that enthusiasm which marks the holders of extreme opinions, or by the intimidation of a mob, triumphs over the vast power with which he has to contend. Generally, there exists a moderate party which is averse to both excesses. But moderate men, whose judgment is peculiarly valuable, on account of its calmness, are precisely those who always feel the least enthusiasm. They are just the men, whose convictions are not so decided as to induce them to sacrifice themselves and their families to their opinions. They are always coerced by the one party or the other. A candidate finds it useless to rely on their support, and has always to earn by the expression of extreme opinions, the support of one of the extreme parties.

Mr. Buller illustrated these positions of his by a reference to the working of the Reform Bill. It was worked, he said, entirely at the expence of moderate men;— that is, at the expense, above all, of the whig party. The Tory has succeeded by dint of aristocratic influence; the Radicals through the force of popular enthusiasm; but the Whig has been excluded by both. At the last election, the Whigs have lost not only all that the Tories, but all that the Radicals have gained. Mr. Buller said, he would not insult the king's ministers, by directing this argument to their personal interests; but they might honestly regard it as a great defect in our present system, that it threatens the destruction of the party, to which they from conviction, are attached.

Notwithstanding the force of this appeal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who followed Mr. Buller in the debate, expressed himself in opposition to the motion. The right hon. Gentleman admitted, that he had as much right as any man to complain of the effects of undue influence and intimidation in his election at Cambridge; but he still doubted whether the ballot was the fit remedy for the evil. He did not believe it was in the power of any Act of Parliament to reach it. They could not arrive at moral results by mechanical means. The only way was to let in public opinion upon the acts and conduct of

the individuals so abusing their power.

Mr. Grote closed the debate in a short reply, in which he congratulated the House on the altered tone in which the ministers expressed their opposition to the bill; inferring from the speeches of Lord Howick and Mr. Rice, that their objection to it was rather on the ground of time than of principle. This remark, however, called forth a specific disclaimer of the construction from both those ministers. On a division, there were found in favour of the ballot 155 votes; against it, 267; the motion, therefore, was lost by a majority of 112. This shews a small increase of the positive supporters of the measure since the session of 1835; when the numbers in favour of it were 146; and it was opposed by no less than 319 members.

It is to be remarked, that, with the unimportant exception of a short speech from Mr. Borthwick, the conservative party took no share whatever in the debate. The matter was left altogether to be contested by the ministers and their friends, the radicals. They gave the measure, however, the full opposition of their votes. Of the 267 members composing the majority, 200, at least, were regular conservatives.

A matter, not unconnected with the exercise of the parliamentary franchise, had already been brought before the House (Feb. 3rd.) by Mr. Horsman, who moved for a committee to inquire into the system of creating fictitious votes in Scotland. The hon. Gentleman's speech, on this occasion, contained some curious facts relative to the formation of the new constituencies in Scotland. He declared, that the *bonâ fide* electors in the counties there, were in danger of being entirely swamped by the creation of multitudes of fictitious votes. In the three Lothians, and the counties of Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Perth, nominal franchises had been created by one or two hundred at a time. Land was conveyed to persons, who gave a note of hand for the amount, but never touched or looked at the pretended purchase. The note balanced the land, and the right of voting was the profit. Another mode of effecting the same object was by the multiplication of joint tenantcies. A body of partizans is formed in Edinburgh, who provide themselves with qualifications of this kind in five or six of the adjoining counties, and manage, at the time of a general election, to vote at them all in the course of the two days. The effect of this shameful system was most injurious to the real and independent electors. They were too firm to be bullied—too honest to be bribed—but they were not too numerous to be swamped. Mr. Horsman spoke highly of the manner in which his countrymen had made use of their recently acquired franchise. Wherever popular contests have taken place, they have been conducted with peace, and order, and decorum. Wherever popular candidates have been chosen, they have been men of experience, of ability, and of character. The people of Scotland now contemplate, with joy, the prospect, that, through their instrumentality, the real character of their countrymen will be understood. It was with a pang of shame and humiliation, that they had hitherto submitted to be judged of by the samples of a begging aristocracy, though their former representatives, like the oligarchy which

elected them, had been venal, and subservient, and corrupt, the great body of the nation, despised and disregarded as they were, were always intelligent in mind, educated by habit, highly moral and religious in feeling, and nobly independent in character; and as soon as the power was given them, these were the qualities they sought in their members.

No one objected to the motion, or defended the practices which Mr. Horsman had impugned. It was contended, however, that they were, by no means, confined to one party. Mr. Shaw claimed, that "in justice to Ireland," the inquiries should be extended to that country: A committee was afterwards appointed for that special purpose, but no legislative enactment was grounded on the result of their labours during the course of this session.

Another motion (Feb. 14th) referring to the exercise or regulation of the parliamentary franchise was that of Sir William Molesworth, for leave to bring in a bill to abolish the property qualification of members of parliament. The hon. baronet said, he desired to repeal the statutes of the 9th of Anne and 53rd of George 2nd, which imposed this qualification, more on account of their being vicious in principle, than because they produced very pernicious consequences; though, undoubtedly, they were sometimes the cause of great individual hardship. Nothing was easier than to obtain a fictitious qualification. Any gentleman, who has a sufficient sum at his bankers, can obtain from him a rent-charge as a mere matter of business, for most of the large London bankers possess landed property. Or, if the candidate does not possess a sufficient sum at his immediate disposal, he then applies to an attorney, who finds a person of landed property willing to grant the qualification; a deed is drawn up conveying the rent-charge required, which deed never goes out of the attorney's hands; and in the presence of two witnesses unacquainted with the nature of the transaction, a seeming payment is made of the sum of money which would be required to make the transaction a real one. Any respectable attorney will, for a very trifling consideration, procure a fictitious qualification for one of his clients.

Sir William then proceeded to contend, that easy as it was to evade the law, it had much better be repealed altogether. The free choice of an intelligent body of electors, he said, was a fitter proof of the qualification of the member than any test which can be specified by law. The notion that the possession of wealth was likely to confer peculiar fitness for the office of legislation was unfounded. On the contrary, riches rather tended to prevent the acquirement of knowledge, which could only be obtained by labour. He utterly denied, that property was a security for the honesty of anybody. It was true, the needy were commonly dishonest; but neediness did not depend upon the amount of a man's property, but upon the proportion that existed between his desires and his means. The rich were supposed to have leisure, and the poor to want it; but if only men of leisure were admitted to Parliament, bankers, lawyers, and merchants would be excluded, and only country gentlemen left, a consummation which, Sir William said, he did not think de-

voutly to be wished, though Providence had kindly placed him in that favoured class. As for leisure, a few minutes of the sagacity of one man is worth centuries of the dullness of another; of this difference, the only test is the judgment of rational beings.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Leader. He gave a sketch of the history of the qualification acts, shewing, that the object of them had been to secure a preponderance, or rather a monopoly of power to the landed interest. He instanced the exception of the members for Scotland from the operation of those acts, as a proof how unnecessary they were for the purpose of securing the return of fit and proper persons to Parliament. That exemption had been grounded on the smallness of estates in that country; that is, on the poverty of the land; yet, it has been remarkable of the Scotch members, that they not only possess every other qualification in an eminent degree, but that there has scarcely been one of them who is not a man of ample, or, at least, of independent private fortune.

Many members, on this occasion, objected to the absolute repeal of the qualification, but expressed themselves willing that it should be changed from 300*l.* a-year in landed property, to the same amount in property of any kind. This was the opinion of Mr. Warburton, lord Ebrington, and lord John Russell. Mr. Charles Buller urged his friend, Sir William Molesworth, to alter his motion to that effect; though, for himself, he was better pleased with it in its present form. It was a great mistake, he added, to think that a member's honesty had anything to do with his property. Some of the richest men in Parliament had been the dirtiest and shabbiest fellows in politics he had ever known.

Sir William Molesworth, however, declined to act on his friend's suggestion; on a division there were found, for leave to bring in the bill 104; against it, 133; the motion was lost, therefore, by a majority of 29 votes.

The other notice which Sir William Molesworth had given for a committee on peerage reform does not seem to have been followed up. The only motion relating to this subject was that which Mr. Charles Lushington brought forward on the 16th of February, for the exclusion of bishops from the House of Peers. It was expressed in the form of a resolution, stating it to be the opinion of that House, that the sitting of bishops in parliament is unfavourable in its operation to the general interests of the Christian religion in this country, and tends to alienate the affections of the people from the Established Church. Mr. Lushington said, that he had paid little attention to the records of that House in preparing himself for the discussion of this question. He looked merely to the effect which the existence of spiritual peers had upon the people. He looked, too, to the Bible, where he saw no trace of an authority for the frequent desertion of their spiritual duties, of which bishops in their attendance in parliament were necessarily guilty. His object was to relieve them from duties incompatible with those high and holy functions which they had solemnly vowed to observe. It had long been a prevalent opinion, that in a political assembly bishops were in a false position. They would be better in their dioceses,

removed from the conflicts and dissipations of the metropolis, and employed in promoting piety, diffusing education and exhorting their clergy.

The motion was decidedly opposed by the minister, Lord John Russell, as introducing a change into one of the most ancient portions of the British constitution. It was a motion not to amend, but to destroy, a part of our institutions; and where would such changes stop? The bishops sat in the House of Lords as the representatives of the church; and if excluded thence, how could they refuse the admission of clergymen to the House of Commons. The hierarchy was, that portion of the clergy which could sit in parliament, with the least disturbance of their spiritual duties, as much of them could be transacted when absent from their dioceses. As for dissenting ministers, Lord John said, he knew many for whom he had a high respect, as attending sedulously to the interests of the church to which they belonged; but if he were asked of those whom he most respected, whether they separated religious from political functions, he said, he was happy to say that they did not do so. Ever since he had taken a part in politics he had always found dissenting ministers the warmest friends of political liberty, and the readiest to come forward whenever the rights of their fellow-subjects were in danger; and he gave them credit for it. He admitted, that the bishops generally voted with the minister who had appointed them; and it was natural to suppose, that the minister would select those of similar opinions with himself. But it would be found generally, that bishops voted with their party, and did not turn round and vote with every minister for the time being.

Mr. Charles Buller congratulated Lord John Russell in his chivalry on behalf of the bishops, after his own experience of the effect of the political agitation of the church in Devonshire; the number of parsons who voted against the noble lord in that county was said to have been 600; and that was precisely the amount of the majority against him. The stock argument against all reforms was the question—"How far will you go?" Here the limit, said Mr. Buller, is plain enough. He would just shew the bishops to the door of the House of Lords, and push them out, and let them go where they pleased. Mr. Buller added, at the same time, that he had a great respect for bishops; and when this declaration excited the mirth of the House, he repeated, that, indeed, he spoke sincerely; but he could not see why, because the government of the church was episcopal, that, therefore, the bishops should sit in the House of Lords. When had the bishops done anything in that House for liberal or good government? It had always been considered, that the judicial office should be separated from all political functions. How much more strongly did the argument apply to spiritual dignitaries?

Upon this, as upon other motions for measures of organic change, the conservative party seemed content to leave the question, to be debated between the two parties of their opponents. Mr. Buller remarked on this silence on their part, and construed it as a disposition to leave the unpopularity of defending the bishops to the minister.

This allusion called up Sir Robert Peel, who declared, that if any unpopularity attended resistance to the motion, he begged to put in a distinct claim to his share of it; and though he feared he should not benefit Lord John Russell by *his* compliments, he would say, that he never heard a speech delivered in a more manly tone than the noble lord's, or one that did more credit to his judgment and abilities.

On a division, 92 members divided in favour of the motion and 197 against it.

Another motion connected with the reform of the House of Peers was that which was brought forward on the 9th of May by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, for the abolition of their lordships' right of voting by proxy. Mr. Duncombe moved, by way of resolution, "That the practice of any deliberative assembly deciding by proxy upon the rejection or adoption of legislative enactments, is so incompatible with every principle of justice and reason, that its continuance is daily becoming a source of serious and well-founded complaint among all classes of his majesty's subjects." And he observed, that after the House should have affirmed that resolution, as he doubted not it would (for he could not believe, that they would so far stultify themselves as to reject so reasonable a proposition), he would move, "That a message be sent to the Lords, requesting a conference, at which the foregoing resolution might be communicated. Mr. Duncombe's resolution itself, as here given, contains so full a statement of the grounds of it, that we think it the less necessary to indulge in any copious extract from his speech on the occasion. It appeared, that the custom of peers and prelates appointing proxies, dated as far back as the reign of Edward I.; but, till the time of Henry VIII. these proxies were not members of the House, but men of lesser rank, who appeared in person to represent them. From the time of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I., a new and worse system prevailed, by which any peer was allowed to represent any number of peers. This grew to such a head in the last-mentioned reign, when the Duke of Buckingham, at one time, held fourteen proxies, that it was found necessary to order, that thenceforth no peer could hold more than two proxies —a rule which was still strictly observed. Mr. Duncombe's objection against the practice was generally, that it was contrary to common sense; and, moreover, seriously inconvenient to the march of good legislation.

Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel met Mr. Duncombe's arguments by endeavouring to shew, that if voting by proxy was absurd, the custom of pairing off in the House of Commons, or of coming in to vote at the division, without having heard the debate, was open to much the same kind of objection. Sir Robert even parodied Mr. Duncombe's resolution by drawing up a similar one against the practice of pairing, and concluded by recommending, that they should take the beam out of their own eye before they attempt to extract the mote ou of that of another — a very good piece of counsel on the part of the right hon. baronet; though we are not sure that in this case it was very applicable. The right of voting by

proxy, whether defensible, or not, is conferred on the peers by positive regulation, and could, therefore, easily be dealt with as such. The case is different with respect to the practice of *pairing*, which is a matter of private arrangement among members, and clearly could not be reached by a regulation less stringent than that which would compel every member to be present at each debate from the beginning to the end of it. On a division, the numbers were, for the previous question, 129; against it, 81; majority against the motion, 48.

Mr. Thomas Duncombe's promised motion on the subject of the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill was still more shortly disposed of. On the 9th of March, without any prefatory observations, he moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of those clauses; when the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that on so grave a motion, which proposed no less than a repeal of an important part of the Reform Bill, he thought it much better that argument should precede rather than follow the introduction of the bill.

Upon this Mr. Duncombe proceeded to state shortly what his argument was in favour of the measure. It was his conviction, that the clauses in question operated materially to diminish the number of voters throughout the country. It was promised, that the Reform Act should add half a million to the amount of electors; whereas it had not given above three hundred thousand. An increase of ninety-five thousand had been anticipated in the metropolis; —the actual increase was exactly half that number, though the householders amounted to 160,000. The great reason for this was their want of punctuality in the payment of their rates and taxes; and the partiality evinced by collectors. He only wanted to put the borough electors on the same footing as the county electors, and in that proposition he saw nothing unreasonable or unconstitutional.

The chancellor of the exchequer briefly replied, that the principle on which the clause was founded was one of the oldest in the constitution; namely, that no man should enjoy civil rights who did not discharge his civil obligations. If there was any unfairness in the conduct of collectors, it should be inquired into; they were not appointed by the crown. It was a strange argument to urge the neglect and carelessness of borough voters in observing the provisions of the law as a reason why the provisions themselves should be repealed.

Mr. Wakley contended, that the repeal of these clauses would only give fuller effects to the principle of the Reform Act which was, that ten pound householders should be entitled to vote for members of parliament. Mr. Pease, on the other hand, opposed it, on the ground, that till the ballot was given, a voter ought to have the power of disfranchising himself without giving offence. The house was very thin; and, on a division, the ministers, or rather the chancellor of the exchequer, for lord John Russell was absent, found himself in a minority, the number in favour of the motion being 49; against it 38.

The second reading of the bill did not come on till the 10th of May; when lord John Russell moved the postponement of it for

six months. Little debate followed; Mr. Duncombe defended his measure, which, however, was rejected on a division by 166 votes to 73.

The ministers, however, did make an attempt to give some satisfaction to their friends on this head, by a relaxation in respect to the period up to which it was necessary that the householders' rates and taxes should be paid in order to enable him to give his vote. An occasion for this was offered by a motion made by Mr. William Williams for a repeal of the stamp duty of one pound, now levied on the admission of freemen to corporations. As the whig strength in cities and boroughs did not lie among this class of voters, the ministers, in the first instance, opposed the proposition; but they afterwards (April 2) suggested the addition of a clause in favour of the householders, which would defer the limit of time for the payment of their rates and taxes from April to October; and with this amendment they expressed themselves willing to admit the bill. The addition, however, did not by any means recommend the measure to the conservatives, who contended, that there was no sort of connection between it, and the original object of the bill itself. Nothing was concluded on the subject before the end of the session; and the rights both of freemen and householders remained as they were.

The shortening of the legal duration of parliaments, it is known is another favourite measure of the radical reformers. Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt brought forward a motion for that purpose on the 8th of May; the terms of which were confined to a repeal of the Septennial Act, without specifying any particular period to be substituted for the present one. There was little point or argument in the hon. member's speech on this occasion. Mr. Hume supported the motion on the ground, that seven years was too long a tenancy of a political trust. What man, he asked, would trust his private affairs to the management of another during seven years, without calling him to account? Annual parliaments, he thought, would hardly allow time for members to learn their business. Three years were, therefore, a better term, and one with which, he believed, reformers in general would be content.

Lord John Russell opposed the motion with much ability. He observed, that in private affairs one would be no more disposed to trust your interests to another, without taking account, for three years, than for seven; a consideration which might shew to Mr. Hume that his analogy did not hold good. As for the Septennial Act, at the time of its passing, it had been considered essential for the security of the Hanoverian succession; but the preamble of the measure sufficiently shewed, that it was not intended merely for a temporary purpose; for that stated the object to be to diminish the heavy expenses of frequent elections, and to put an end to heats and animosities.

The noble lord proceeded to argue, that among other good effects of the House of Commons not being a body subject to continual fluctuation and change, a greater degree of weight and consideration was attached to their deliberations. On this ground the House of Lords would have an

advantage over the House of Commons; and perhaps it was on the same that Milton in his speculation of a Commonwealth proposed, that the members of his legislative assembly should be elected for life. Lord John added, it was observable, that from the Revolution to the passing of the Septennial Act, the persons who had the chief weight and leading authority in the country were peers. Even Harley and St. John when they came into power were ambitious of sitting in the Upper House of Parliament, as the best sphere of political power. On the other hand, since the passing of the Septennial Act, almost every person who has possessed a leading influence in parliament has sat in the House of Commons. He conceived, that the superiority of weight and authority now enjoyed by the popular branch of the constitution might be attributed to that act.

Mr. Roebuck said, he desired a bill of this description, not because it would lessen, but because he thought it would increase, the stability of the government, particularly if coupled with the provision that parliament should sit for three years, neither more nor less. Mr. Roebuck said, a system like this existed in the United States, and produced the best effects; but either he had forgotten, that the United States is not a monarchy; or he was desirous that the British government should cease to be one. Certainly he could not propose a shorter method of completing that change, than by taking from the crown the single important regal prerogative of which it yet retains the independent exercise.

The motion was rejected by a majority only of nine, there being found 87 votes in favour of it, on a division, and 91 against it. It will be observed, that on all these divisions on constitutional questions, the ministers were altogether dependent upon the tories for the stand they were enabled to make against their more liberal allies. On the present occasion, the number of whigs and reformers who voted with lord John Russell did not exceed 29, including persons in office, the remainder of their majority was gathered altogether from the benches of opposition. It will be said, that the government ought to feel very much obliged to their opponents for such efficient and consistent support; but the obligation, we think, is at least reciprocal, the conservatives are not less indebted to the whigs for taking on themselves what was more peculiarly their own office, in resisting the adoption of measures of this popular though dangerous character.

We may here add the mention of another proposition which was emphatically of a radical character, though it was brought forward chiefly on the ground of the civil hardship and injustice which it professed to remedy. On the 4th of April, Mr. Ewart renewed the motion which he had made in the previous session for leave to bring in a bill providing, that in cases of intestacy, or in the absence of any settlement to the contrary, landed property be equally divided among the children or nearest relatives of the deceased. The hon. member quoted Adam Smith and Gibbon, Filangieri and Bentham in favour of an equal partition of property among the children; and insisted, that the system of primogeniture tended only to foster all the harsh

and selfish passions of the human heart.

The attorney-general opposed the motion: he observed, that Mr. Ewart's arguments, if they went for any thing, would bring us to the system of equal distribution prevailing in France; which, however, he could not think a desirable consummation. The change proposed would create the greatest possible confusion in our law. By the present law of England the distinction between real and personal property was universal; and if destroyed, volumes of fresh statutes would be required to meet the cases, and provide for the consequences of such an alteration, and where was the demand for the change? Not a petition had been presented on the subject; not a public meeting called to discuss it. On a division the ayes were 21; the noes 54; the motion was lost by a majority of 33.

CHAPTER IX.

The new system of Poor-Law—Remarks on its Principle—Progressive Extension of its Operation over England—Popular Agitation in opposition to it—Report of the Commissioners—Operation of the New System under the severity of the preceding winter—Reduction of Rates—Motion for a Committee of Inquiry on the Subject in the House of Commons—Speeches of Mr. Walter, and Mr. Fielden—Lord John Russell moves an Amendment on the Motion—Speech of Mr. Harvey, in favour of Original Motion—Contrasted with that of Mr. Hume against it—Various objections urged by Mr. Brotherton, Colonel Sibthorp, and Mr. Robinson—Committee appointed—Mr. Harvey's Complaint of its Proceedings—Report of the Committee—Lord John Russell's Resolutions on the Publication of Unreported Evidence by Mr. Harvey—Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners—Operation of the New System in the Manufacturing Districts—Instances of Stoke upon Trent, and Nottingham—Introduction of into the Northernmost Counties; and into Wales—Medical Treatment—Relief to the Aged and Infirm—Attendance on Public Worship—Bishop of Exeter's appeal to the House of Lords on this last point—Suppression of Mendicity—Question of the right of Publication of libellous matter in Parliamentary Documents—Action at Law against Messrs. Hansards—Lord Denman's Direction to the Jury—Resolutions of the House of Commons thereon.

THE great achievement of the Whigs since their accession to the government, is the passing of the act for the amendment of the English Poor-laws. This is their true Reform Bill; and if the measure more distinctively so called, possesses any real value, it is chiefly as having paved the way for the passing of the other. We doubt whether, under the old system of representation, Parliament would have felt itself strong enough in its hold on public opinion, to venture to deal with a social disorder so wide spread and inveterate. It may be questioned, too, whether any party but that which has habitually assumed to itself the advocacy and vindication of popular rights could safely have brought forward a measure so open to misrepresentation in its apparent interference with them. Perhaps, too, had there been at the time any other than a *conservative* op-

position, the progress of the bill would not have been so easy; if it could even have taken place at all.

In speaking of the new Poor-law as a measure of extensive national benefit, we look first, and chiefly to the interests of those who are more immediately the subjects of its operation. It is its tendency to raise the sentiments, and better the condition of the labouring class, that gives it its principal value in our view. The diminution of the burdens which the former system imposed on the resources of the class of landholders and farmers, though, of course, an important, is comparatively a very subordinate consideration. The sanction of property itself exists only for the general good; and if it could be clearly shown, that a different distribution of it would better promote that object; the private interests of any particular class of persons should surely not be allowed to stand in the way of it. But all general reasoning, as well as all actual experience, evinces that the former system of Poor-law administration in its ultimate effects only aggravated and extended the wants which it was its object to relieve. Its tendency was progressively to absorb, not merely the resources of charity, but the funds of productive industry; and if pushed to its extreme consequences, the ruin of the proprietor and capitalist, would only consummate the general misery of the labouring classes themselves.

All great social changes, however demonstratively beneficial in their consequences, entail much individual suffering. Therefore, it was no sufficient argument against the adoption of the new system of Poor-laws, that it could not be effected without the infliction of considerable hardship upon the generation that had been brought up under the old one; but assuredly, this consideration afforded the strongest motive for taking every possible precaution for lightening the necessary pressure of the change; whether this has been done to the degree in which it was desirable, may be made a matter of serious question. The alteration was certainly as sudden as it was entire. No doubt, some considerable inconveniences would have resulted from the adoption of a more gradual and distinguishing method of proceeding; but it has not been made clear to us, that some such ought not to have been resorted to. Had an exception to the rigid application of the new law been made in favour of those who had married under the old one, the provision would, perhaps, have been no more than what justice required.

In the meanwhile, the new system has been steadily extending itself over England; and with less obstruction from local interests and prejudices, than could well have been anticipated. It appears from the last report of the Commissioners, that up to July 1837, of 13,433 parishes, or townships in England, no less than 12,132 containing a population of above ten millions and a half, had been united under the provisions of the act; the number of those not yet included, amount therefore to not more than thirteen hundred, with a population of about two millions and a half. In Wales, of 1,049 parishes, only twenty-eight remained not yet united. Those which were not yet brought under

the new system, consisted generally of certain extensive and populous parishes, administering relief to the poor under local acts; of a few others united for rating and settlement; a more numerous class included in the unions established under Gilbert's Act, and a certain number of townships and parishes so intermixed with these unions, as to be incapable of being united with any other.

It was observed in the report, that this progress had taken place in the face of much resistance, and under the pressure of very difficult circumstances. But it appeared from the report, that these obstacles had not been so considerable as might be supposed. The opponents of the law had acted on the principle of agitation; and availing themselves of the effect of public meetings, they had appeared to those who had not the opportunity of knowing the real facts, both to outnumber and outweigh the body of its supporters. This, however, would seem not to have been really the case; over a large part of England into which the law had been introduced, the great majority of the persons interested in its operation, entertained opinions decidedly favourable to the principles of it; and even in the districts where opposition had been loudest, the educated classes had, for the most, been in favour of it, though intimidated from the public expression of their real opinions.

The account which the report afforded of the practical operation of the law in the habits of the poor, was quite as favourable as could have been expected. The rural unions throughout the country, had been tried by circumstances of a very unpropitious nature. The heavy and continued fall of rain during the autumn, was not less injurious to the labourer than the period of snow which followed in December. Yet notwithstanding the pressure of these circumstances it was thought necessary to carry out the principles of the new measure, in steadily refusing relief to able-bodied applicants, except as inmates of the workhouse; and the number of those who consented to become such, continued to be very inconsiderable.

Some instances of the operation of this test, we shall select from the report of the commissioners. On the fifth day, after the setting in of the snow in December, no less than 149 applications for relief were made to the board of guardians for the union of Cuckfield in Sussex: to a few of these, as cases of urgent necessity, a trifling relief was given in flour; but the workhouse was offered to 118, of whom only six accepted it. On the following board day, the applications were sixty; to all of these, the workhouse was proffered; five only consented to come in; of these, three, on being set to work on the corn mill, left on the second day. The total number of able-bodied men in the Cuckfield workhouse during the snow, was twenty; and fifteen of them had left it by the middle of January.

Many unions in Sussex, however, did apply for permission to suspend, under the unusual severity of the season, the prohibition of out-door relief. The commissioners in general, felt it necessary to refuse their sanction to such relaxation. They urged, that the adherence to the workhouse system, under such circumstances, was essentially

protective of the real interests, and happiness of the labouring classes themselves. They pointed out that in the districts in which happily the number of labourers does not exceed the demand, and where consequently the wages of a labourer employed for broken and uncertain periods, are sufficiently high to maintain him through such part of the year as does not afford constant occupation, the practice of giving an able-bodied labourer relief out of the workhouse, was a direct bounty on extravagance. The certainty of parish support at his home, would extinguish in his mind all motive to provide for the winter, by husbanding his summer earnings.

Accordingly, the system of confining the relief of the able-bodied to those only who would submit to the discipline of the workhouse, was, for the most part, strictly adhered to, and, in general, with little complaint on the part of the pauper, and no apparent aggravation of their privations.

It was clear, indeed, that the new system had so far operated on the practices of the farmers themselves, that permanent employment was given to a much greater extent than formerly. The very decided diminution of charge which it presented over the old one, of itself enabled them to afford this. Nothing can be more striking than the result of the change in this point of view. It appears, from a table drawn up by the commissioners, that, including returns from 4,082 parishes, with a population of 2,722,349 souls, the average annual expenditure in these, on account of the support of the poor, had been reduced from 2,189,810*l.*, to 1,187,346*l.*; or about forty-six per cent. on the whole.

Important as is this result, it would afford little matter for congratulation were there reason to suppose it had been accomplished at the expense of the privation and sufferings of the poor. Upon this subject, of course, much difference of conclusion, and considerable contradiction of statement would exist. With a view of enabling our readers to form some opinion of this controversy, we shall subjoin an abstract of the debates which took place in the House of Commons on Mr. Walter's motion for a committee to inquire into the operation of the act. We may here remark, that this gentleman was by far the most formidable of the opponents of the new law. He is the proprietor of the Times newspaper; and the whole energies of that powerful publication, have, from the first passing of the bill, been unremittingly devoted to the task of exciting the public mind against it. It is, perhaps, the strongest presumption of the substantial wisdom of the provisions of that law, that so potent an engine of attack has been able so little to shake the general conviction in its favour.

Mr. Walter's speech on this occasion was of great length, but neither very clear in its statements or forcible in its conclusions. He brought forward a good many cases of individual hardship, of many of these the details were much disputed; but admitting the accuracy of the statements themselves, of course we can, from instances of this kind, infer little against a system so sweeping and comprehensive as that which they were adduced to condemn.

The origin of the evils which

the new poor law had been more immediately put in action to repress, Mr. Walter dated from the year 1795, when the practice of apportioning wages according to the numbers of the labourer's family, and of paying the deficiencies out of the poor's rates, first began. The demoralising effect of this process was obvious; but the remedy for it was equally so in the return to the former practice; which Mr. Walter thought might surely have been effected without the mechanism of an entire new system of parochial relief. The evils of that system, he said, were of two kinds. The confinement was intolerable; and they who were unable to bear it were thrown out upon the wide world. Hence arose the encouragement to emigration; and all the artifices resorted to to induce the poor to emigrate. The whole number of persons thus driven from their country, under the management of the commissioners, amounted last year to 5,140. A friend of his, Mr. Walter said, saw 217 of them packed in a single waggon. Nor did it appear, upon the commissioners' own shewing, that this emigration was necessary. They themselves contended, that there was no superabundance of labour in the country.

The greater part of Mr. Walter's speech on this occasion was made up of private reports and letters which he had received from various parts of the country, detailinginstances of the oppressive operation of the bill, and he said, he should fatigue the House if he should state the half of the cases of cruelty and hardship which had come to his knowledge. He knew of some guardians, who, from humane feelings, were induced, with great difficulty, to retain their situations. One of the heavy evils of the system, was the great size of the unions. Originally they were not intended to comprise more than five or six parishes each. Such an arrangement might have allowed to the helpless inmates the hope of occasionally seeing their friends. But now that they were extended to thirty, forty, or even fifty parishes, it became a day's journey for a son to visit an imprisoned mother.

Great stress had been laid upon the improvement in wages, which it was expected, would be consequent in the change in the system of relief; but Mr. Walter observed, that little effect of this kind would appear to have followed upon it. In two counties he knew that the chairman of the quarter sessions had been obliged to address the grand juries in the way of complaint upon this subject.

Long as was Mr. Walter's speech upon this occasion, it was difficult to discover what was the precise object he aimed at by his motion. He disclaimed any intention to repeal the bill, though most of his accusations were directed against the provisions which constituted all that was efficient in its operations. The speech of the seconder of the motion, Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham, was much more intelligible in this respect. He distinctly declared, that his end was, the total defeat of the obnoxious measure; he had voted against it on every division at the time it was passing; he had attended meetings of the people preparatory to resistance of its introduction into the county of Lancashire; and, in particular, he openly declared, that if it were

attempted to establish its operation in his own peaceable valley of Todmorden, where he had all his life resided, it would be met with open opposition; and that he himself was prepared, whatever might be the consequences, to take the lead in it.

Mr. Walter's motion was, "that a select committee be appointed, to inquire into the operation of the Poor-law amendment act, and to report their opinion to the House." Lord John Russell objected, that such an inquiry, if it were not intended to propose a repeal of the whole act, would be vague and desultory; and he moved as an amendment, which he conceived would much better meet all the objects which the hon. mover professed to have in view, viz.: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the administration of the relief of the poor, under the orders and regulations issued by the commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Poor-law amendment act." In his answer to the statements of the mover and seconder of the original motion, Lord John Russell said, that his only difficulty was, to compress within any moderate compass, the voluminous mass of evidence with which he was furnished from persons of all classes—from persons of the highest and the lowest ranks —from noblemen and landholders; and clergymen, and farmers and labourers — all tending, in the strongest manner, to shew the great advantages that had resulted from the measure. With respect to the employment of the workhouse system as a test of destitution, Lord John Russell declared, that the most incontestible benefits had resulted from it. In East Kent, formerly one of the most pauperized districts, out of 160,000 inhabitants, fifty-five had been the maximum of able-bodied labourers in the workhouses at the same time, But it was said to be cruel, to force the disabled and infirm into the workhouse. The degree and manner in which this had been done was, no doubt, a very proper subject for inquiry with the committee. In the meanwhile, however, he could refer to returns which had been received from eighty-eight unions, shewing, that the number of in-doors paupers was 8,850; while the number of out-doors paupers was 54,417. In these eighty-eight unions, nine-tenths of the disabled and infirm received out-door relief. This, then, was the working of that cruel system, which was represented as driving every disabled poor person into prison. Lord John, however, did not dissemble his belief, that when the new system was brought into full operation, out-door relief would be entirely abolished, with the exception of cases of sickness; it ought not, he thought, to constitute a permanent part of the system.

A question had been raised with regard to the kind of relief afforded in the workhouses. Upon this point, Lord John Russell quoted the return from the Eastry Union, from which it appeared, that, whereas, the amount of annual payments for bastardy was formerly 300*l*., there was now no instance of a charge on that account; and though the amount of poor-rates collected in the twenty-six parishes for the year ending March, 1835, was 16,900*l*., the amount so collected for the year ending December, 1836, was 8,965*l*. The report then went on to state, that the diet of the inmates

of the workhouse was ample, wholesome, and substantial; the medical attendance prompt, and considerate; the clothing suitable, and the moral and religious improvement duly attended to. The children of both sexes, it was added, were reared and trained in a manner far surpassing that enjoyed by the children of independent labourers.

Of the debate which followed, we shall give only the heads; indeed, though it was extended to two nights, it presented as little of interest as of animation. The fact we take to be, that all parties were pretty well agreed in their persuasion, not only of the general expediency of the measure, but even of the prudence of its administration in the hands of the commissioners; but many members were so situated with respect to their constituents, as to find it necessary to deal out some degree of animadversion upon the details of the bill; and even those who professed the least distrust of its expediency in any point of view, did not choose to incur the unpopularity of resisting inquiry. Probably, they rather courted it, in the conviction that the result of investigation would tend only to confirm their view of the general wisdom and beneficial tendency of the law.

We do not intend these remarks to apply to all the individual members who spoke against the bill. The hon. mover and seconder of the motion, on this occasion, were, no doubt, exceptions; and, if we are to judge by the violence of his language, Mr. Harvey, the member for Southwark, might still more fairly claim the benefit of the same admission. He stigmatised the measure at once as one of the most cruel, heartless, relentless, and selfish bills that was ever passed into law. "No doubt," he said, "the operation of this bill had been highly favourable to the rate-paying class; it had reduced the poor-rates from six millions to four; and that was quite sufficient to insure its acceptance with that same class, both in that House and without it. But the question was, had it operated with equal, or with any advantage to the other party—to those who were to be the objects of parochial relief? The noble lord had said, that the act not only worked well for proprietors, but that it kindled a spirit of independence and self-satisfaction in the industrious poor. But, it might be asked, from whence came that great saving of two millions in six? It must have produced a great effect somewhere. Such a sum formed no small item in the income of the poor, and from them was it wrung by this cruel and arbitrary law. The noble lord had laid it down as a rule, that destitution—the most complete destitution—must be considered as the sole and exclusive ground of relief. It had been said, indeed, that a greater number of persons were at this moment receiving relief out of the workhouses than within them; but this, it should be recollected, resulted not from any dictate of humanity or Christian feeling, but from the fact, that these *bastiles*, as they had been properly called, were not as yet sufficiently numerous or capacious to receive the poor. Why were those who happened to be destitute to be objects of degradation and punishment? For punishment the present system, undoubtedly, was. What were the usual punishments for crime at the present moment? They were, that

delinquents should be sent to prison for seven, fourteen, or twenty-one days; when the crime was of a deep character, that they should be placed in solitude, and have bread and water for their provision. But how did they serve the poor, the aged, the patriarchs of the land? Let the House look at some of the provisions which this fourth estate of the realm, the poor-law commissioners, had promulgated, and which were as binding as any statute which had received the sanction of the three estates. Those rules positively enacted, that there should be no relief given, but under circumstances of the extremest urgency; that none should be administered, even under such circumstances, out of the walls of the prison, and that it should be of such a character, that it could not be made worse, if we were dispensing it to a criminal. Another rule enacted, that they should give no relief within the walls of a workhouse which should have any reference to the merits, the delinquences, or even the vices, of the parties. They were to give to the most profligate all they were to mete out to the most meritorious. In short, they were confounding all the rules of justice, all distinctions of moral desert; and yet, they were told, that all this was acceptable to the people, and likely to establish a feeling of independence. The people of this country, said Mr. Harvey, would deserve to be called anything but independent, if they were tamely to submit to such a system. There might be a feeling, at present, of tacit acquiescence, arising from circumstances of passing prosperity; but when they had introduced the system, to act on great masses, and with all its contemplated severity, they might depend that as well in the rural as in the manufacturing districts; in fact, wherever humanity had a heart to bleed, the principle of it would be universally and indignantly repudiated. Now was the time when inquiry should be made in the most searching spirit. But for this purpose, the noble lord's amendment was not sufficient. As he read the words of it, Mr. Harvey said, it seemed to point only to an inquiry into the administration of the funds by the commissioners; that was to say, that the rules, the orders, the laws, were to be taken as incontrovertible, and the scrutiny was only to extend to the mode and manner of the distribution of the funds. There was no need for an inquiry of that kind. They all knew how that part of the system had been administered—with the most barbarous and heartless severity. He only wished that some of the hon. supporters of the bill could be thrown for a season into one of these buildings; it would, perhaps, moderate them into decency, and render them fit representatives for that, if not for any other place. For his own part, he believed, if the House occupied seven days and seven nights with this discussion, they could not bestow on it a consideration adequate to its importance. Upwards of two millions of their fellow-subjects were deeply and personally interested in it. It was due to them —it was due to their petitions—to their prejudices — to their ignorance, if they pleased so to call it, that the most ample and searching inquiry into it should take place.

This speech of Mr. Harvey affords a tolerable specimen of the

tone and topics which were popularly employed by the adversaries of the measure; and if command of language, and happiness of expression and illustration, could give them effect, they would have received it from him. Perhaps no speaker in the House of Commons, in these respects, excels the hon. member for Southwark; and the House, therefore, are always glad to listen to him, though his weight there, and with the public generally, is not at all in proportion to his admitted talents. If eloquence is to be rated by its persuasive power, Mr. Harvey must, in that respect, be placed much below many speakers, who are both intellectually and rhetorically, far his inferiors. One great reason of his inefficiency in this point of view, is, that he does not seem to speak from conviction himself, which, however, is the most indispensable requisite for convincing others. This is the impression which is made by the speech of which we have just given an abstract; notwithstanding the vehemence of its tone and language; and the distrust we allude to, may seem, in some degree, justified by the confession, which, in the course of it, Mr. Harvey was compelled to make, that he had himself voted for the measure, the principle and operation of which he was thus violently reprobating. This, he accounted for, by saying, that he had not, at the time, given the subject the attention it deserved, a plea which no one has less right to use than Mr. Harvey; the very quickness and acuteness of mind which he so habitually displays, disables his recourse to it.

Mr. Hume and Mr. Harvey commonly vote on the same side of a question; but perhaps no two men in the House possess minds more differently constituted. The impression which he gives of sincerity is the chief merit of the oratory of the member for Middlesex, and stands him instead of almost every other. In the present instance he did not hesitate to express his total difference from the views taken of the subject by his hon. friend. He had voted like him for the measure, not because he had not attended to its provisions, but because he had found, that the poorer classes of the community were, in consequence of the abuses of the former system, sinking rapidly in the scale of society. It was not fair to quote instances of hardship and cruelty as arguments against the new system, when it was notorious, that under the old one acts of oppression of the same kind might have been brought forward every week of the year. His hon. friend had inquired, who was it that had lost the two millions which the landholder and farmer were said to have gained. Mr. Hume said, he believed the gin shop and the beer shop used to obtain the larger portion of the funds so disposed of. If the testimony could be believed which was afforded by the different unions in favour of the bill, the reduction which had taken place in the pecuniary allowances instead of producing that general distress which was spoken of, had been attended with a very great improvement, both in the physical and moral condition of the poor. He believed the act was as much calculated to benefit the poor man as the rich. It cherished the distinction which ought always to be made between industry and idleness. Moreover it protected those who occupied a station in society

just above the poor man, from being obliged to pay money for the support of the dissolute and the idle. Every means had been resorted to to excite opposition to this bill. The alarm had been sounded by the *Times* a month before it passed; and ever since, that and other journals had continued the same rancorous endeavours to write it down. They had prophesied, that they would be able to write it down, and with that hope kept retailing every story that could injure it, however improbable, and no doubt inventing some. He had himself seen stories which had been contradicted from authority, repeated again and again.

The second night's debate offered still less of interest than the first. The actual point of difference between the original motion and the amendment, was little more than nominal; for Mr. Walter had disclaimed any hostility to the general principles of the bill, and the ministers were quite willing, that the inquiry should extend to any of its particular provisions. However, the discussion, if such it may be called, nevertheless went on; chiefly, we believe, as affording an opportunity for sundry members to express their want of entire satisfaction with the measure. Thus Colonel Wood, though he said he was generally favourable to it, questioned the necessity of introducing it into the north of England, or into Wales. The workhouse system was almost entirely unknown in the principality, and was quite uncongenial with the habits of the people.

Mr. Brotherton particularly adverted to that part of the law which prevented the guardians from granting relief while any little property remained to the applicant (a provision, we may observe, which belongs to the old system, and formed no part of the new bill); and generally, he remarked, that the principle which was said to be that of the bill, of throwing the people on their own resources, might be a just principle in some cases, but not as generally applied. If men became destitute by their own misconduct, it was right that they should suffer the consequences of it. But in a commercial and manufacturing population, evils arose from no fault of the individuals. They flowed from the vicissitudes of trade, from the fluctuations of the monetary system, and from the operation of bad laws, made too often with a view rather to private interest, than to the benefit of the community.

One of Colonel Sibthorp's principal objections to the measure seems to have been the number of commissioners which it employed. The gallant member said there was something in the very name of commissioners so discordant and horrible to his ears, that the hope of being able to get rid of such a host of them, and of the charge of 39,000*l.* which they imposed, would alone with him be a motive for inquiry.

Mr. Robinson's objections were more material. He protested against the compulsory confinement of persons in the workhouse in seasons of temporary difficulty, when a little assistance out of doors, together with the aid of their friends and relations, might enable them to return to the means of obtaining a livelihood. He protested, too, against much of the discipline of the workhouse system, the separation of husband and wife, or of parents and children, under any

circumstances; and the restriction from attending places of worship on the Sunday. Above all, he expressed a sense of horror and disgust at the bastardy clause; and he added, that unless the committee were to be at liberty to inquire into all these matters, he could see no use or object in its researches at all.

Sir Robert Peel observed, that the whole question then before the House turned upon the choice of the two modes of inquiry proposed to them; and this again must be decided by the consideration of the impression either would make on the public. He was himself most favourable to the principle of the law, and therefore anxious to avoid any step which might seem to throw doubt on its permanency; on this ground he did not hesitate to give his vote for the amendment, because at the same time that it admitted extensive inquiry into the details of the bill, it was calculated to maintain the principle of it.

Sir James Graham took the same view of the question. The inquiry, as proposed by the ministers, was to him perfectly satisfactory. He observed, that in the county which he represented an idea prevailed, that no good would result from the extension of the measure to that district. But he differed from his constituents in that respect, and was convinced, that the effect of an inquiry would be to satisfy them, that the measure would prove most salutary there, as well as in other places.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer here said, that the intention of government in proposing the amendment was not to exclude any one topic of inquiry which was not directly opposed to the principle of the bill. This intimation appeared to satisfy Mr. Walter, who said, that if it had been given before it would have spared the House much of this discussion. He therefore consented to withdraw his motion. The amendment was then carried unanimously and the committee appointed.

The committee began its inquiries immediately, and continued them almost daily; but such was the minuteness of examination to which the witnesses were subjected, and the mass of conflicting evidence brought forward on both sides, that the progress of the inquiry was but slow. The case of the Petworth union, in Sussex, was the first gone into, and it occupied the committee for nearly a month. The unions of West Hampnet and Droxford were next cases of investigation, and they were hardly finished by the close of the session. Almost from the beginning Mr. Walter expressed himself dissatisfied with the conduct of the inquiries, as well on account of the tardiness of its progress, as from the unfairness with which he declared it to be carried on by the committee. With a view of balancing the adverse feelings which he conceived to predominate in the committee, Mr. Walter moved in the House, that six other gentlemen of his own suggestion should be added to those originally composing it; but this was objected to as unusual. Mr. Harvey appears to have been the principal ally and coadjutor of the member for Berkshire in the inquiry, and he early adopted the course of printing the evidence, even before it was reported, in a paper called the *True Sun*, of which it seems he is the proprietor and editor, by way of appealing to the judgment

of the public against the prepossessions of his colleagues in the committee. It was found necessary to put a stop to this practice by an appeal to the authority of the House; but the committee were afterwards prevailed upon to report the evidence from day to day, so that it might be published immediately. This Mr. Walter and his friends declared to be absolutely necessary, inasmuch as the poor-law commissioners being always present in the committee, either by themselves or their agents, were able on every occasion to despatch their emissaries and get up evidence to invalidate whatever made against them.

Whether it was the manner in which the inquiry was conducted, or the manifest tendency of the evidence itself, which occasioned Mr. Walter's disgust, it at length grew to that height, that on the 16th of June, he announced in the House of Commons, his resolution of withdrawing from further attendance on the committee, as soon as the case of the particular union, then under examination, should have been concluded. This, he said, had long been in the contemplation, both of Mr. Harvey and himself. The committee had as yet gone through only two of the cases he had brought forward, and the occasion of the delay was this; the moment he alleged any case of cruelty, or mal-administration, he was overwhelmed with a host of Poor-law commissioners or chairmen of boards, or clerks, or guardians, or relieving officers, who poured in numberless general documents, which it was difficult for him, either to estimate, or to enter upon. In fact, every thing that had occurred, only justified his original dissatisfaction with the constitution of the committee; composed, as it was, of a vast majority of gentlemen opposed to the object of it; including two ministers, who were themselves among the authors of the new Poor-law; beside an ex-Poor-law commissioner. and seven or eight chairmen of boards of guardians against several of whom he had received complaints.

Mr. Harvey, it appears, had already retired from the committee, which he said was all a delusion, in its consequences, at least, if not in its intention. There were upwards of four hundred unions in the kingdom; yet they had consumed three months in putting seventeen thousand questions in the cases of three unions. Who were the parties in this inquiry? On one side, there was the class, which boasted of having saved two or three millions a year out of the aggregate poor-rate; but what power or means had the poor from whom that money was taken of protecting their interests on the other?

Mr. Walter's motion, on this occasion, was, that the committee be instructed to report their opinion on the evidence already given, as soon as the West-Hampnet case should be closed. This was opposed by Mr. Fazakerly, the chairman of the committee, and by Lord John Russell, on the ground, that their inquiries hitherto having referred only to agricultural districts, it was desirable that the case of a manufacturing union should be investigated before any opinion was given on the general operation of the law; and for that purpose it had been determined to proceed next to call evidence as to its administration, and effects in the union of

Bradford. Mr. Walter took the sense of the House on his motion, which was rejected by 119 votes to thirty.

Of the justice of these complaints, against the conduct of the committee, we shall give no opinion; in fact, without going regularly and minutely through the published evidence, it would be difficult to form one. The presumption, of course, is, that much of the bitterness, expressed both by Mr. Walter and Mr. Harvey on this occasion, is attributable to the ill-humour that commonly attends the advocacy of an unsuccessful cause. That a large majority of the committee were so far unfavourable to the object for which Mr. Walter had moved its formation, that they were desirous that the new Poor-law should be proved not to have been productive of the hardship and cruelty which had been ascribed to its operation, may be well believed; for such was certainly the disposition of a still larger majority of both houses of Parliament, and of the intelligent and educated classes in the country generally.

The committee pursued its labours to the end of the session, notwithstanding the loss of the assistance of the members for Berkshire and Southwark; and shortly before the prorogation they made their report. The document begins with a statement of the course they had adopted in the conduct of the inquiry. Many complaints having been made in Parliament, of particular instances of severity and abuse, either in the provisions of the law, or its administration; they thought it best to begin by taking these cases into consideration. They proceeded therefore, at Mr. Walter's suggestion, to inquire into the management of the Petworth union, by examining the rector of Petworth; many members of the boards of guardians, and several of the labourers.

The result of these examinations, the committee stated, was the belief, that the introduction of the new law had been attended with a considerable improvement in the character and condition of the poor. The aged and infirm are relieved, whenever they prefer it, at their own houses, or at the houses of the friends and relations with whom they live; and by the general testimony of the witnesses, their condition has been improved by an increase of pay. The employment of agricultural labour is said to be greater; the morals and conduct of the labourers themselves to be bettered; they have become more provident, and more anxious to get and keep their places.

On the other hand, it was admitted, that labourers with large families under an age fit for work, were said to feel severely the loss of the allowance which they formerly received in proportion to the number of their children, and of the payment of a great part of the rent of their cottages. Wages had been, in some degree, raised, but not more than in proportion to the increased price of provisions. The rent of cottages, also, appeared to have fallen, in some instances, but not generally, or to a great extent. Thus one man, a pauper, said, he still paid eight pounds a year for his house; an expense which no ordinary rate of wages could supply. With a view of meeting these difficulties, the board of guardians seemed generally inclined to take into the house a

certain number of the children of labourers married before the passing the new law. This had been done in particular instances with the permission of the Poor-law commissioners.

The results in Droxford union were nearly the same; wages had risen, and the amount of employment confessedly, and by the admission of adverse witnesses, had increased. In this, as in all the other unions which had come before the committee, the aged poor did not appear to have been materially affected by the order issued for the regulation of their relief. In no instance had they been compelled to reside in the workhouse; if they are found there, it is only for the want of friends or relatives without, with whom to reside. The same parties would, before the change of the law, have been found in the parish poor-house. They generally received their pay at the places where they lived; and the amount, upon the whole, seemed rather to have increased than diminished.

The prohibition of out-door relief, it was admitted, occasioned great distress in some cases, particularly those of men with large families, and widows with young children. Some witnesses had expressed an opinion, that mendicancy had increased; and others, that the labourers were more in debt.

Upon the whole, the committee expressed their distinct opinion, that the operation of the new poor-law was satisfactory, and ought to be maintained: they entertained no doubt of the general wisdom and efficiency of its provisions. They thought, too, that the administration of the system had been in the main judicious. The boards of guardians appeared to be most attentive to their duties, and to be generally very sensible of the great improvement resulting from the change. The committee observed, that it was obvious, that boards so constituted, must bring to the consideration of cases connected with the circumstances and character of the poor, a degree of experience and intelligence which, except in very few instances, was utterly unknown under the old system. They were of opinion, too, that as far as they had the means of observing it, the authority of the poor-law commissioners had been exercised with great discretion. A more difficult task, they remarked, could hardly have been imposed on any department of government.

In conclusion, the committee recommended the resumption of the inquiry in the next session of Parliament, and suggested certain points more particularly, as the subjects of it. These were the situations of widows with several children too young to work; that of able bodied labourers, married before the change of the law, with large families under the age fit for work, and in districts where employment could not readily be obtained. The circumstances by which the size of the unions should be determined; the state of medical relief; and lastly, the propriety of rating the owners, rather than the occupants, of cottages under a certain value.

We may here observe, that the conduct of Mr. Harvey in publishing the minutes of evidence given before the committee, without their authority, and previous to its being reported to the house,

was made a question of breach of privilege; and as such brought before the house on the 21st of April by lord John Russell. It would appear, that Mr. Harvey had persisted in this practice, notwithstanding that the Speaker himself had informed him, that it was a violation of the privileges of the house, and the chairman of the committee had given him due warning, that unless he desisted from such proceedings, it should be reported. Lord John Russell, on this occasion, pointed out the obvious injury to the public which would result from allowing such a discretion to every member of a committee. He gave the instances of a committee on Canada, in which it had been necessary to examine the duke of Wellington as to the military defence of our colonies and dependencies; of another on the bank charter, in which Mr. Rothschild had to enter into much of his own private transactions; in both of which cases the evidence had not been reported to the House.

Mr. Harvey defended his conduct in this instance upon grounds peculiar to the object of the poor-law committee? Who were the parties, he asked, composing that committee? On the one hand, there was all the property of the country in every variety and form, aggregated to support a measure peculiarly framed for its interest and protection. Who was the other party? All that was pitiable and miserable in the land, sunken alike by ignorance and destitution. How, again, were the respective causes of these parties conducted? On the one side was one of the most active and vigilant bodies of men, the poor-law commissioners and their assistants; but who was there on the other to advocate the rights of the unprotected and oppressed millions? How was the working man, chained as he was to the soil upon which he dragged out a miserable being, to become acquainted with what took place, except through the newspapers? Such publicity was the more necessary when it was recollected, that the advocates of the law, in the committee, were as a majority of 22 to 4.

Mr. Harvey's reasoning and declamation would have been perfectly in its place in a motion that the evidence before this particular committee be reported and published day by day; and such we have seen was, in fact, the course afterwards adopted by the committee. But there could be no doubt that it rested only with the committee, or with the House itself, to determine that point. Lord John Russell's motion was merely declaratory of the privileges of the House in this matter. A motion for adjourning the debate upon it to that day six months was supported by eighteen members to an hundred and thirty-one; after which the resolution was carried without a divis[illegible]

The usual annual [illegible] of the poor-law commissioners, we have seen, was not made this year till the 17th of July. It had been the wish of the commissioners that it should be got ready to be laid before parliament early in the session, but this had been prevented, partly by the sudden change which had taken place in the manufacturing districts, and which made the commissioners desirous of reporting some information as to the working of the system under the new and untried circumstances to which it had become exposed; and

partly, by the inquiry into the administration of it which had been carried on before a committee of the House of Commons.

We have already extracted a portion of the information contained in this report; more particularly as it illustrates the operation of the new law in the rural districts; and under the privations occasioned by the unusual severity of the last winter. Another important part of their statement of results applies to the progress of the administration of relief in the populous manufacturing districts in the centre and north of England. With this view the first instance chosen was that of the town of Stoke upon Trent; which had been placed under a board of guardians by an order dated 31st of March, 1836. It appears that, very shortly after its establishment, the proceedings of the guardians were greatly embarrassed by a strike on the part of the operatives for an increase of wages. Of course, persons who voluntarily throw themselves out of employment can have no claim upon public relief; but in these cases there are usually a large class of persons, who though willing to work are prevented from doing so, partly by threats of their fellows, and partly from the cessation occasioned in the works of other branches of the manufacture.

The stoppage took place in September. The workmen of fourteen manufactories in the parish desisted from their business, and the payment of above ten thousand pounds in weekly wages was suspended in the manufactories alone. It is stated, that about thirty thousand persons were deprived of their usual mode of subsistence during ten weeks; and, at least, seven thousand of these for twice that period. Above five thousand of the operatives were maintained from their common funds; the remainder were not known to possess any other resource but the poor-rates. Great numbers of the workmen were thrown out of employment against their consent; however willing to work they could not, because, from the peculiar nature of the manufacture, every branch of it must go on simultaneously.

The instructions of the commissioners, when applied to by the guardians of the parish for directions how to act in this emergency, were as usual to confine relief for the able-bodied as much as possible to inmates in the workhouse; and when the building could receive no more, to dispense it, at least three-fourths, in kind. As this was the first manufacturing town in which the act had been put in force, and the strike was the most extensive which had yet occurred under its operations, the commissioners thought it right to submit an account of its results, as given in an address signed by the guardians and chief tradesmen of the town. They stated, that "Although this act has only been in operation for little more than six months, the affairs of the parish have been brought into a state of order long desired, but hitherto unknown; the business has been conducted with becoming regularity,—the officers, for the first time responsible, attentive to their duties,—the rates better collected, the poor-house reformed, and made a place of instruction, of industry, and of reformation,—the out-door poor examined in detail,—impositions detected—and the cases of real distress relieved, partly in

money and partly in bread. Thus an improved system of management has been brought about with little difficulty; advantageous contracts made; the moneys duly paid into the bank; the tradesmen's accounts promptly discharged; a considerable amount of old debts paid off; and all this with two rates up to this date; whereas, at the corresponding period of last year, the fourth was in a train of collection. Such results have given a new and pleasing aspect to the affairs of the parish, and we only discharge a duty in saying that we are indebted to the Poor-law Amendment Act for the principal part of these advantages." They further express their conviction of its salutary influence at the particular juncture, when thousands of the work-people, associated in trades' unions, had left their employment. The instructions given by the commissioners, of which a copy is inserted in the Appendix, had enabled the guardians "to protect the parish under these peculiar circumstances, and at the same sime to extend labour and relief in kind to the industrious poor thrown out of employment by these means; and, generally speaking, to lighten the pressure of distress consequent on so fearful a visitation." They consider that they only discharge their duty in stating, that the Poor-law Amendment Act has worked most beneficially in this manufacturing district; and that "it has enabled the guardians to meet a crisis and pursue a course both humane to the destitute, and preservative of the rights of property; and thus rendered a seasonable and invaluable service to the parish."

Another instance selected by the commissioners was that of the town of Nottingham. The three parishes constituting it, and which contain an aggregate of fifty thousand inhabitants, had been formed into an union in July of the last year; and the rule was issued, at once prohibiting out-door relief to able-bodied male paupers. In the early part of the present spring the interruption of the American trade produced a cessation in the demand for labour, as sudden as it was extensive. Accommodation was provided in the workhouse for above seven hundred persons; but this was soon found to be insufficient for the number of applicants; and the guardians were then authorised to suspend the rule against giving out-door relief; and a subscription of four thousand pounds was raised in the town for the temporary relief of the more destitute operatives. The mode of dispensing this, was by finding them labour. A new road was constructed through some property belonging to the corporation. The persons employed on it were paid by the piece, and vigilantly superintended. The effect of this plan, hitherto, had been perfectly satisfactory; and the commissioners were persuaded, that by resorting to a similar one, in like circumstances, almost any conceivable amount of pressure might be met and adequately provided for. They observed, that though the in-door relief was more certain, simple, and easy of application, the out-door labour test was the same in principle. In both cases a man's time is taken in exchange for his maintenance; and he must be withdrawn from other modes of gaining a subsistence, in order to test the reality of his present destitution. Nor is any doubt en-

tertained on the part of those best informed on the subject, that work of this kind may always be found on the recurrence of similar emergencies.

It will have been seen, from our account of the parliamentary debates on the subject, that if much doubt existed of the possibility of bringing the new system into operation in the populous manufacturing counties, equal question was made of the necessity of introducing it into the more thinly-peopled districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and of the principality of Wales. The information afforded by commissioners with respect to this last objection would seem to shew, that it was founded in mistake. It was stated, that in the two northern counties referred to, most of the more crying abuses of the old system were in habitual operation. Rents were commonly paid from the poor's rates; bastards supported by the parish, and relief conceded, without inquiry to all applicants who were aged and infirm, whether they were resident, or not. Accordingly, the introduction of the new law in those counties, had effected a saving of twenty-five per cent. on the rates generally, without any reduction of pensions to the impotent poor.

The same account applies to Wales, which had been commonly asserted to be almost entirely free from the abuses connected with the former administration of the poor laws. It is true, the system of roundsmen and of labour-rate was unknown there; but able-bodied pauperism prevailed in many forms and to a great extent. In North Wales the payment of rents out of rates was almost universal. In many parishes it extended to nearly all the married labourers. In fact, the average expenditure on account of the poor in a great many unions was considerably above that of English parishes generally. The commissioners, therefore, entertained no doubt of the expediency of introducing into the principality, the two essential elements of the new system; that is, a board of guardians for the administration of relief to the poor, and the establishment of a well-regulated workhouse for testing the applications for such relief. This last was necessary, moreover, to check the charges for bastards, which, it seems, press peculiarly heavy on the rates in Wales. It resulted from the census of 1831, that in one county in the principality, one in every fifty-nine persons is a bastard, supported by its parish; and that, while in England the proportion of illegitimate children thus maintained is one in 215 of the population, in Wales it is not less than one in 139.

It has been seen, that with respect to the reduction of charge effected by the introduction of the new system, the results of the last year are equally favourable with those of the former one. Nor could it now be said, as had been alleged in the first instance, that the diminution arose from the reduced prices of provisions and the commercial prosperity of the country; since within the last twelve months the new system of administration had passed through the ordeal of an extremely hard winter, and of a general rise in the price of provisions; and latterly, moreover, had to struggle through a period of severe embarrassment in trade.

In aggravation of these difficulties, the influenza, or epidemic

malady, which followed upon the inclemency of the winter, had severely tried the medical arrangements of the new unions. The commissioners stated, that they had made anxious inquiries as to the adequacy of their provisions upon this point, and that all the answers had been satisfactory. The general opinion was, that medical relief was now much more efficient than formerly it had been. At present, neglect on the part of the medical officer was much less likely to escape detection. The warmth and cleanliness and wholesomeness of the workhouses could not fail to be favourable to the health of the infirm and aged inmates; and it was said, that the number of deaths within them had been less than that of persons of the like age and class living without.

With respect to the impotent poor, the commissioners stated, that they had in all cases paid especial regard to their claims. They considered, that they were the last who should be subjected to any serious inconvenience from the change. Accordingly, the order for the discontinuance of out-door relief referred chiefly to the able-bodied; persons above sixty years of age being specially exempted from the rule.

In the arrangement of the union houses, attention was continued to be paid to the religious instruction and consolation of the inmates. In most of the early unions chaplains had been appointed, whose duty it was, to perform their spiritual ministrations within the walls of the house; and in these cases, the privilege of quitting the house on Sundays, under the pretence of going to a place of religious worship, had been discontinued.

We must here interrupt our abridgement of the report, to refer to the notice which had been taken of this point (June 1st) by the Bishop of Exeter, in the House of Lords. The right rev. prelate, on this occasion, contended, that the rule of confining paupers to public worship as performed within the walls of the workhouse, was "a serious violation of the common rights of liberty belonging to the members of the church of England, as well as a grievous infringement of the principle of toleration to the dissenting inmates, inasmuch as these would be prevented from attending upon their own places of worship. It had been said, indeed, in the report of an assistant commissioner, which was apparently sanctioned by the opinion of the general commissioners, that the only difference between divine service, as performed in a workhouse and in a church, was in the less or greater degree of pomp and circumstance. Their lordships, the bishop said, were well aware, that that was the least part of the difference. The great object why paupers should attend their parish churches was, that they might return thanks with their superiors to their common God and father. It was then, that the pauper's heart swelled not only with gratitude to his Maker, but with contentment, and thanks for that dispensation, which offers to him beyond the grave, it might be a happier lot than would befal the richest and proudest of those he saw around him." The bishop added, that he said it with pain and grief, that it was disgraceful to the reformed population of this country, that there did not prevail so strong an idea of the equality of ranks in the house of God as did exist in Roman Catholic communities. There the highest nobleman in the

land kneeled in prayer by the side of the most destitute pauper. Our "pew system" precluded this practice; and, whatever might be its advantages, was attended with this enormous disadvantage, that it led to a most grievous usurpation of the best rights of the poor. But was this a reason why another step should be taken in the wrong direction, and the poor excluded not only from pews, but from their parish churches, if they were so unfortunate as to require parish relief? The right rev. prelate went on to contend, moreover, that in his opinion the prohibition in question was contrary to the common law of England, and that, therefore, it was not within the competency of the poor law commissioners to set it aside.

It was urged in reply to the right rev. prelate, that, in many cases, it would be impossible, from the distance of his parish church, for the pauper to attend at it on Sundays; and that he would too commonly abuse the liberty given him to do so, by resorting to public houses, or other scenes of idleness and debauchery. This, too, was the defence offered by the poor-law commissioners, of the regulation complained of by the Bishop of Exeter; and they adduced instances to prove, that their apprehensions of such abuse were but too well founded. But to return to their report.

Wherever any practical improvements in the administration of the law had been promoted by any individual or board of guardians, the commissioners had thought it their duty to sanction, and, as far as it appeared expedient, to extend them. They gave as an instance of this the measure which Lord Salisbury had introduced in the Hatfield union for the suppression of mendicity, by the circulation of tickets to the rate-payers, to be given by them to any mendicant asking for alms. These tickets might be taken to the workhouse, where relief would be afforded in return for work, on the prescribed conditions. The same measure had been introduced into the Hertford and other unions, and it was stated to have been in every instance eminently successful.

We make no apology for giving this abstract of the long and detailed report of the commissioners. The subject is of the very highest interest, as relating to the social welfare and improvement of a class by far the largest and therefore the most important of the commmunity; though it be one whose concerns and progress has commonly too little engaged the regards of the general historian.

As we have in this chapter alluded to one instance in which the privileges of the House of Commons in the matter of the publication of their proceedings were concerned, we may here state another and more difficult case, of the same class, which occurred in the course of this session. On the 6th of February a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from Messrs. Hansard, the printers to the House, who stated, that, by certain resolutions of the House, they were authorised to sell all parliamentary reports and papers to the public at a rate below the actual prime cost. In this way it seems they had disposed of a printed report of the commissioners for inquiring into the state of prisons, wherein it was stated, that many of the prisoners were found reading certain obscene works which had been published by J. J.

Stockdale; and that that person had subsequently commenced an action for libel in the Court of King's Bench against them; laying his damages at 20,000*l*. The petitioners stated, that they had, as a bar to such action, pleaded, that the report was printed under the sanction and authority of the House of Commons; but, that the Court of King's Bench had since ordered the plea of justification to be struck off the record. They therefore prayed the protection of the House.

It appeared, from what was afterwards said in the debate, that the conduct of the learned judge (Mr. Justice Littledale) in striking off the plea of justification, involved no question of the privileges of parliament; as the ground of the order was, that the special plea of that privilege was wholly un-necessary, inasmuch as it was competent to the defendant to give that matter in evidence under the plea of the genaral issue.

No doubt was expressed as to the efficacy of the plea of privilege in this case; but it was thought better to postpone any further consideration of the matter, until it should appear whether anything invalidating that plea should take place in the court below.

The trial came on the next day in the Court of King's Bench. The defendants pleaded first, that they were not guilty; secondly, that the alleged libel was true. The Attorney-General was their counsel, and in respect of the first plea, that the publication was not a libel, he said he should rely exclusively upon the circumstances under which it had taken place. The report had been printed for the public service by the order of the House of Commons, and had been published under the same authority.

Upon this the Lord Chief Justice said, that he was not aware that the authority of the House of Commons could justify the publication of a libel. It might be different where the printing was merely for the use of members of the House, inasmuch as such printing would, under the circumstances set forth be a parliamentary and statutory act.

The Attorney-General agued at some length in support of the plea; but, in his charge to the jury, Lord Denman laid down the same doctrine, and in the most distinct manner, "I am not aware," he said, "of the existence in this country of any body whatever, which can privilege any servant of theirs to publish a libel on any individual. Whatever arrangements may be made between the House of Commons and any servants whom they may employ, I am of opinion, that the person who publishes in his shop, and especially for money, that which can be injurious and possibly ruinous to any one of his majesty's subjects, must answer in a court of justice to that subject, if he challenges him for that libel. I wish," added the learned judge, "to say so emphatically and distinctly; because I think, that if on the first opportunity that arose in a court of justice on such a question, that point were to be left unsatisfactorily explained, the judge who sat there might become an accomplice in the destruction of the liberties of his country, and expose every individual who lived in it to a tyranny no man ought to submit to. Therefore," he said to the jury, "my direction to you, subject to question hereafter, is, that the fact of the

House of Commons having authorised Messrs. Hansard to publish all their parliamentary reports and papers, is no justification for them or any bookseller who publishes a parliamentary report containing a libel on any man."

Accordingly the jury, under this direction, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff on the first issue; and for the defendants on the second; declaring, their opinion, that the book referred to was disgusting and obscene.

The House of Commons lost no time in taking up the subject. On the 13th of February it was brought forward by Lord John Russell, who observed, that he could see little difference in point of principle between the new plan of selling the votes and papers of the House, and the old one of distributing them to members, by whom they were invariably sent to every part of the kingdom. And, in fact, there seemed to be but one opinion in the House on the subject. Mr. O'Connell observed, that it was impossible for the publication of matter by that House to be libellous. They represented the people of England; the information given to them was given to the people of England, who had a right to receive it; and it was imperatively the duty of that House to see, that they did receive it. On the 16th Lord John Russell moved a committee to inquire into the subject; and upon the report of that committee certain resolutions were, on the 30th of May, passed by the House, affirming to their full extent the power of the House to order the publication of all such papers as it shall think conducive to the public interests; declaring, that the institution of any action for the purposes of bringing the privileges of parliament into discussion before any tribunal, elsewhere than in parliament, is a high breach of privilege; and further, that for any court or tribunal to assume to decide upon matters of privilege inconsistently with the determination of either House of Parliament thereon, is contrary to the law of parliament, and a breach and contempt of the privileges of parliament.

A series of resolutions to the contrary effect was proposed by Sir Robert Inglis, but supported by little force of argument or authority. Sir Robert Peel gave his vote in favour of the original resolutions, which, on a division, were carried by a large majority.

CHAPTER X.

Affairs of Canada—Subject brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Lord John Russell—History of Canadian discontents—Demands of the Assembly of Lower Canada—Lord John Russell's Resolutions thereupon—Opposition to them on the part of the Radical Section of the House of Commons—Speeches of Mr. Leader, Mr. O'Connell, Sir William Molesworth, and Colonel Thompson—Mr. Roebuck's pleading in favour of the Lower Canadians—Sir George Grey's Reply—Second day's Debate upon the subject—Mr. Hume's Defence of his Letter to Mr. Mackenzie—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, and Lord Stanley in support of the Resolutions—Defence of the Government by Lord Howick—The Resolutions are carried on a Division—Mr. Roebuck's Propositions for the Settlement of the dispute—They are declined by Lord John Russell—Speeches of Mr. Robinson, Mr. Charles Buller, and Sir Robert Peel—Mr. Leader's Proposition for a Postponement of the Question—The Resolutions brought before the House of Peers by Lord Glenelg—Opposed by Lord Brougham—Carried without a Division—Lord Brougham's Protest.

AMONG the important matters to which the king in his speech at the opening of the session had called the attention of parliament, was the state of the government of Lower Canada. Commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the ground of the complaints which of late years had been so violently alleged by the prevailing party in the legislature of that province, and by their friends and agents in the imperial parliament at home. Early in the session their report was laid before both Houses, and on the 6th of March Lord John Russell brought the subject under the consideration of the House of Commons.

The minister's speech on this occasion was marked by the tone of candour and liberal allowance which, apparently upon system, his lordship adopts on every other one. In itself, no doubt, the tone is a good one, and does equal credit to the temper and judgment of the noble lord. The only question can be, as to how far it is universally and equally applicable to every case; and whether circumstances may not arise in which the adoption of such language is liable to be misconstrued as the effect of

weakness or fear. Thus in the present instance: Lord John Russell declared at the outset, that he did not intend to cast any censure upon the conduct of the house of assembly in Lower Canada. He considered their course to be so much the same with that which other popular assemblies had followed in like circumstances, that instead of an act of self-will, or caprice, or presumption, it seemed rather to be the obligation of a general law which affects all these disputes between a popular assembly on the one hand, and the executive government on the other. And, he added, that the course of these controversies seemed to impress this general lesson, that popular assemblies are hardly ever wrong in the beginning, and as seldom right in the conclusion of such struggles. They commonly begin with the assertion of right, and end with the establishment of wrong. We have no quarrel with the philosophy of these remarks; but we are not sure, that they were quite in their place as preparatory to a series of resolutions directly and indirectly incriminating the conduct of the particular assembly in question.

The history of the constitution of Canada is well known. The province came into the possession of the crown by the peace of 1763; and in the first instance, it was attempted to give it an English form of government; but this line of policy was changed at the time of the American war; and care was then taken to separate Canada as much as possible from our other North American colonies, by a sedulous observance of French usages. In 1791, however, Mr. Pitt considered it necessary to give a constitution to these provinces; and it may be doubted, whether he was not misled by his natural desire of following the analogy of the British constitution, to found it upon principles which were really inapplicable to the existing circumstances of the colonies. Thus the new constitution included an upper house of legislature, consisting partly of hereditary members, and partly of members appointed for life by the government; an institution reasonable enough in itself, but for the execution of which the social condition of the provinces hardly afforded the necessary materials.

For a long while, however, the complaints of the Canadian people had no reference to the constitution of the legislature, but referred solely to grievances of mal-administration, connected with the nomination of the judges; the disposal of public money; the prosecution of defaulters; particularly they complained, that by an act of the imperial parliament, in 1774, certain duties were appropriated to the government, and put out of the control of the assembly. In 1831 this act was repealed, simply and unconditionally, although the committee of 1828 had recommended, that this concession should not be made, but on condition, that a provision be made for the judges and other officers of the government. The house of assembly, however, having got possession of the duties, made no such provision; and they tacked to the supply bill conditions respecting salaries and the holding of offices, which made it necessary to reject the bills. In 1834, the well-known ninety-two resolutions were passed. In 1835 commissioners were sent out to investigate

the state of affairs in Canada, and the report of their labours was now before the House.

Lord John Russell stated successively what were the demands of the leading party in the house of assembly. The first was, that the legislative council which had hitherto been appointed by the crown should, for the future, be an elective assembly. The next was, that the executive council should be responsible, in the same way that the cabinet was so in this country. By another it was exacted, that the law of tenures should be changed, without respect to the rights obtained under a British act of parliament; and the fourth demanded, that the land company should be abolished, with a similar disregard of the rights acquired under the same act.

There was no great difficulty in shewing, that the adoption of the two first of these propositions would introduce a state of things altogether incompatible with the necessary relations of a colony to the mother country. Such a constitution would make the legislative council but an echo of the house of assembly; and if the officers of the government were removable at the pleasure of the legislature, there would be an end of all control or power on the part of the crown. The responsibility of ministers to parliament is a part of our constitution which plainly applies to the imperial legislature only: otherwise we should have independent powers existing in every separate colony. And there would be this further anomaly, that not only might measures be adopted in opposition to the views of the king's government at home; but the king's officers and the king's troops in the colony would be employed to carry them into effect.

Having thus stated the difficulties of the case, the noble Lord proceeded to propose his remedies. It was now four years and a half since the judges had received their salaries; it was therefore high time for parliament to interfere on their behalf. It was proposed to apply a certain portion of the revenue of Canada to such payments as in their rejected supply bill of 1833 the assembly had, under certain conditions, agreed to. The total amount of these would be 148,000*l*. In so doing they would simply be applying the revenue of the colony to the purposes of the colony. It was next proposed to adopt the recommendation of the commissioners, and exclude the judges from the legislative council; and to provide, that in future the members of that body should not be chosen so exclusively from persons of English race; but that alternately one of French and one of British stock should be selected. With respect to the executive council, it was proposed, that there should not be more than two or three official persons among its members; and that the rest should be selected by the legislative council and from the house of assembly. The privileges of the North American Land Company, as secured to them by act of parliament, would be maintained inviolate; a provision might easily be framed to prevent any abuse of them. As it seemed admitted, that the complaints made against the Canada tenures act were in some respects founded, it was agreed to repeal that act; care being taken, that the rights of individuals vested

under it should be respected. Complaints had been made, too, of the state of the commercial relations between Lower and Upper Canada. The upper province, by the act of 1791, was allowed no communication with the sea, except on the payment of heavy duties; while the lower province put various impediments in the way of its commerce. It was proposed, therefore, that with the assent of the legislatures of the two provinces a joint committee should sit at Montreal, composed of four members of the legislative council, and eight of the representative assemblies of each, making twenty-four persons in all, who should have power to prepare laws and regulations upon all matters of reciprocal intercourse.

These propositions were embodied in a series of ten resolutions,* of the first of which Lord John Russell then moved the adop-

* The importance of these resolutions, and of the events which followed their adoption, induces us to give them here entire.

"1. That since the 31st day of October, in the year 1832, no provision has been made by the legislature of the province of Lower Canada, for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and for the support of the civil government, within the said province, and that there will, on the 10th day of April now next ensuing, be required for defraying in full the charges aforesaid to that day, the sum of 142,160*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

"2. That at a session of the legislature of Lower Canada, holden at the city of Quebec, in the said province, in the months of September and October, 1836, the governor of the said province, in compliance with his majesty's commands, recommended to the attention of the house of assembly thereof, the estimates for the current year, and also the accounts, showing the arrears due in respect of the civil government, and signified to the said house his majesty's confidence, that they would accede to the application which he had been commanded to renew, for payment of the arrears due on account of the public service, and for the funds necessary to carry on the civil government of the province.

"3. That the said house of assembly, on the 3d day of October, 1836, by an address to the governor of the said province, declined to vote a supply for the purposes aforesaid, and by the said address, after referring to a former address of the said house to the governor of the said province, declared, that the said house persisted, amongst other things, in the demand of an elective legislative council, and in demanding the repeal of a certain act passed by the parliament of the United Kingdom in favour of the North American Land Company; and by the said address, the said house of assembly further adverted to the demand made by that house of the free exercise of its control over all the branches of the executive government; and by the said address, the said house of assembly further declared, that it was incumbent on them, in the present conjuncture, to adjourn their deliberations until his majesty's government should, by its acts, especially by rendering the second branch of the legislature conformable to the wishes and wants of the people, have commenced the great work of justice and reform, and created a confidence, which alone could crown it with success.

"4. That in the existing state of Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to make the legislative council of that province an elective body; but that it is expedient, that measures be adopted for securing to that branch of the legislature a greater degree of public confidence.

"5. That while it is expedient to improve the composition of the executive council in Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the house of assembly of that province.

"6. That the legal title of the North American Land Company to the land holden by the said company, by virtue of a grant from his majesty, under the public seal of the said province, and to the privileges conferred on the said company by the act for that purpose made, in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, ought to be maintained inviolate.

tion. They met with violent opposition on the part of the radical section of the noble Lord's allies. Mr. Leader called the measure a coercion bill. He reminded Lord John of the rule of unlimited concession in government, which he had a few nights before quoted, with the expression of so profound a deference, from Mr. Fox, and desired him to apply it not merely to Ireland, but to Canada. The argument was a good one *ad hominem;* otherwise there was very little in Mr. Leader's speech, who concluded by moving as an amendment on the fourth resolution, "That it is advisable to make the legislative council of Lower Canada an elective council."

Mr. Robinson observed, that the whole of Mr. Leader's argument was founded on the very modest assumption, that the government, and commissioners and legislative council, had been decidedly wrong, and Mr. Papineau and the house of assembly as uniformly right in every thing that had been done on both sides. He observed, too, on the contradiction of deprecating any violation of the act of 1791, at the same time that they brought forward a proposition, involving a most important departure from its provisions. It was avowed by the organs of Mr. Papineau's faction, that the object of the French Canadians was, to preserve what they called their nationality, even at the price of separation from this country; and that, especially, they

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"7. That it is expedient, that so soon as provisions shall have been made by law, to be passed by the legislature of the said province of Lower Canada, for the discharge of lands therein from feudal dues and services, and for removing any doubts as to the incidents of the tenure of land in fee and common soccage in the said province, a certain act made and passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late majesty King George 4th., commonly called 'The Canada Tenures Act,' and so much of another act passed in the third year of his said late majesty's reign, commonly called 'The Canada Trade Act,' as relates to the tenures of land in the said province, should be repealed, saving, nevertheless, to all persons all rights in them vested under or by virtue of the said recited acts.

"8. That for defraying the arrears due on account of the established and customary charges of the administration of justice, and of the civil government of the said province, it is expedient, that after applying for that purpose such balance as shall, on the said 10th day of April, 1837, be in the hands of the receiver-general of the said province, arising from his majesty's hereditary, territorial, and casual revenue, the governor of the said province be empowered to issue from and out of any other part of his majesty's revenues, in the hands of the receiver-general of the said province, such further sums as shall be necessary to effect the payment of the before-mentioned sum of 142,160*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

"9. That it is expedient that his majesty be authorised to place at the disposal of the legislature of the said province, the net proceeds of his majesty's hereditary, territorial, and casual revenue arising within the same, in case the said legislature shall see fit to grant to his majesty a civil list for defraying the necessary charges of the administration of justice, and for the maintenance and unavoidable expenses of certain of the principal officers of the civil government of the said provinces.

"10. That great inconvenience had been sustained by his majesty's subjects inhabiting the provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, from the want of some adequate means for regulating and adjusting questions respecting the trade and commerce of the said provinces, and divers other questions, wherein the said provinces have a common interest; and it is expedient, that the legislature of the said provinces respectively be authorised to make provision for the joint regulation and adjustment of such their common interest."

sought to preclude the immigration of British settlers, lest by the influx of them their own preponderance in the province should eventually be destroyed. That, however, was not a course of policy in which we could concur. This country looked to her North American colonies as an outlet for her surplus population and capital, and as such they must be preserved. Neither the Canadian nor the British parliament would be justified in stopping the supplies, except in an extreme case. That power was given them to guard their rights and privileges from invasion on the part of the crown; and not as a means of exacting changes in the constitution. With respect to the Land Company, any attempt to shake the principles on which it was founded would affect all rights of property in the colony. That company had been productive of the greatest benefits to the province, and had laid the foundation of a system under which its prosperity would, in a few years, be as great as they would have been many years ago, but for the antiquated prejudices of the Canadians themselves.

As might be expected, Mr. O'Connell warmly advocated the cause of the Papineau party; indeed, the close resemblance of his own position to theirs hardly left him any option as to the course he should take in the controversy. Accordingly, he loudly called for "justice to Canada." "Give them," he said, "a legislative council elected by themselves. Place them in possession of all the rights and privileges which as British subjects they could reasonably demand, and then, if they persevered in their opposition to the home government, it would be time enough to think of adopting some such measures as were now proposed." The Canadas, he contended, ought not to be governed with reference merely to British interests. Great Britain did not want the paltry sum that could arise from their revenues.

Sir William Molesworth, too, declared the case of Canada was precisely similar to that of Ireland; subject, as she was, to the domination of a miserable, monopolising minority, which arrogated to itself superiority of place, and treated the rest of the population as aliens in blood. If the noble lord, he said, persevered in attempting to carry out these resolutions, it must become a question of mere force. It was the control of the purse which constituted the essence of freedom; and did they think the Canadian people would permit themselves to be rendered slaves by the resolutions of that House? The Canadians would act, as Englishmen had done, in the like emergency, and strive, by every means in their power, to shake off the yoke. No doubt ministers would, on this occasion, have the sympathy and support of the tories, who wished to have, in the conquest of Canada, a precedent for the re-conquest of Ireland; but the people of England, he was sure, would give no sanction to this unholy crusade against the rights of freemen.

Colonel Thompson urged the same topics; insisting that, far from having any interest in coercing the Canadians, commercially we should gain by getting rid of them. Canada was kept merely as a pen or breeding warren for that part of the population which is not allowed to live at home. The people of England would hardly

think it worth while to struggle for the continuance of such an establishment; still less for the purpose of withholding from the Canadians an elective upper house, when an institution of that kind is what the hearts of a vast majority of ourselves is beating for at this moment.

Mr. Roebuck followed next; and his speech, as might be expected, was longer, and, above all, more violent than any pronounced on that side. Length and vehemence are very equivocal merits in oratory; but they are the only ones we can discover in the hon. and learned gentleman's efforts on this occasion. It may be observed, too, that the effect even of his energy is, in this instance, considerably weakened by the recollection, that it is *paid for*. Mr. Roebuck is the salaried advocate of the cause he supports so warmly. We do not say, that the salary is the motive of his exertions; but the knowledge that he receives it necessarily interferes a good deal with their effect and grace.

Much of Mr. Roebuck's speech was taken up by an historical detail of the grievances of the Canadians; which, however, added few new facts to the general knowledge of the case. His argument resolved itself pretty much into the assertion of the right of the Canadians to exact whatever they thought they wanted; and the inability of Great Britain, in the long run, to prevent their getting it. Like all the other orators on that side, he dwelt much on the example of the American revolution, and on the sympathy and assistance the Canadians, if they resisted, were sure to obtain from their friends in the United States. As a specimen, we give his peroration. "What is the evil, and what is the remedy? You say, great merit exists among the public servants. But do you propose to prevent the recurrence of that difficulty? Not at all: you pay the arrears. But who will pay the servants next year? Do you believe that the House of Assembly will do so? You know as well as I do, that the supplies will again be stopped; the same outcries will be raised; and then, I suppose, we shall have another special commission—another delay of three years—another evasion of the difficulty—another breach of faith: distrust will continue—exasperation will increase—their powers of resistance will increase also; one effort will be made, and you and your shuffling policy, your degraded government, your unworthy peculating and mischievous officials, will be dismissed with ignominy and hatred. I hear eternal talk of the evil consequences of stopping the supplies to these official servants, and hear nothing in reproof of the legislative council, who shut up last year all the primary schools in the country, and left 60,000 children without instruction. All your regards are turned the wrong way. You sought to make out a case of hardship to the servants of the people, but turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the people themselves.

"But," continued the learned gentleman, "I would ask his majesty's ministers, have they well weighed the policy of this measure, and do they know its inevitable results? If not, I will tell them. The direct effect, on the minds of the Canadian population, will be a determination, as soon as possible, to get rid of a dominion which entails on them results so mis-

chievous and degrading. Every year will hereafter strengthen this feeling, and lasting enmity and discord will thus be entailed on the mother country and the colony; discord that will cease only when the colony shall become like the United States, a great, powerful, and independent community. The immediate effects of this feeling will not be seen in open and violent revolt, but in a silent, though effective warfare against your trade. Non-intercourse will become the religion of the people. They will refuse your manufactures, and they will smuggle from the States. The long line of frontier will render all your attempts to prevent this smuggling unavailing. The people will refuse your West India produces, and they will view, with hatred, your shoals of unprotected emigrants. Impatiently will they wait for the moment in which they shall obtain their freedom, and become part of that happy, and for our interests, already too powerful, republic. A war will be waged, through an unrestricted press, upon your government and your people. In America you will be held up as the oppressors of mankind, and millions will daily pray for your signal and immediate defeat. The fatal moment will at length arrive. The standard of independence will be raised. Thousands of Americans will cross the frontier, and the history of Texas will tell the tale of the Canadian revolt. The instant you have passed the resolutions of the noble lord, a wide and impassable gulf will be opened between you and your colony; the time for reconciliation will be gone for ever; and the bitter lesson taught us by the mighty empire we have already lost, will be repeated. We may, then, indeed, repent our folly—but repentance will be vain—our loss will be irreparable—shame, defeat, and ignominy will be our portion; and we shall leave for ever the shores of America, amid the hootings and reviling, and exultation of the many millions of her people whom we have successively injured and insulted."

These passages would deserve attention, were it only as a specimen of the perverting effect of party purposes on a man of respectable talents and decent private character; as well as an instance of the manner in which, in a free country, the liberty of discussion may be abused into the means of a direct encouragement of rebellion. It is true, Mr. Roebuck's violence is not altogether ascribable to party calculations; he was the paid agent of the Canadian Assembly, and so far may be considered as merely acting from his brief. But this fact brings into view another anomaly of our constitutional system, by which a member of the legislature is allowed to receive a retainer from a particular interest, and put himself forward as the avowed advocate of principles which are effectually subversive of our colonial administration.

An able reply was made to Mr. Roebuck's declaration by Sir G. Grey, the colonial under-secretary. He appealed to all the papers on the table, to all the instructions which had been sent out to the local government, and to every act which they had done in pursuance of those institutions; and would ask, if anything had been done of which a free and independent people had the slightest right to complain. Every grievance which had arisen out of former misgovernment had been redressed

to the utmost of our power; and now the House of Assembly took their stand on another ground, and declared, that if the constitution were not altered, they would stop the supplies. The outcry was raised by the House of Assembly of Lower Canada alone. The people of Upper Canada altogether disclaimed any share in it. In the past year New Brunswick sent two deputies to this country to ask concession on all those points in which the people of Lower Canada had stated themselves to be agreed. An arrangement was proposed in consequence, precisely similar in principle, and in most of its details, to that which had been offered to Lower Canada. Sir G. Grey said, he held in his hand the resolutions which the Assembly of New Brunwick had passed on that proposal. The first declared, that it afforded to the House the most entire satisfaction; and the second, that they entertained a deep sense of the obligations they owed to his majesty's government for the promptness with which it had attended to their wishes. Sir William Molesworth had denied the right of the House to interfere in the way proposed. How then had Parliament ventured to strike off the festers of 890,000 slaves in the West Indian colonies?

The debate was adjourned to another day, when it was opened by Mr. Hume, who, in a speech, which lasted above three hours, violently impugned the whole conduct and policy of the government towards Canada. Long as was the hon. member's discourse on this occasion, it presents singularly little to extract, either of fact or argument; and its effect on the house may be judged from the circumstance, that at one time in the course of it, Mr. Roebuck moved, that the number of members be counted; apparently with the view of giving to the Canadians an impression, that their concerns were regarded with indifference by parliament; though the circumstance was, in fact, exclusively ascribable to the character of Mr. Hume's oratory.

The part of his speech which possessed most interest was, that in which he endeavoured to vindicate himself from the charge of disloyalty, which had been grounded on a letter that he had written to Mr. Mackenzie, the agitator of Upper Canada, and extracts from which had lately found their way into the newspapers. In this epistle, the hon. member congratulates his friend upon the fast approach of that crisis which would terminate, he said, "in the independence and freedom of the two Canadas from the baneful domination of the mother country;" he reminded them of "the proceedings in America between 1772 and 1782," and bade them "go on, and success, glorious success, would inevitably crown their joint efforts." This letter had been written in 1834, and had been strongly animadverted upon in the report of a select committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, who spoke of "the indignation and disgust with which the publication of this detestable communication was received throughout the province, and the abhorrence with which his majesty's loyal subjects regarded the idea, that the person who thus insulted them should be supposed by their sovereign or their fellow-subjects in Europe, to be in communication with them, or any way clothed with authority to

speak their sentiments or represent their views."

It may be supposed that we have given this anecdote, not so much from the historical interest we take in any circumstance of Mr. Hume's political career, but as another illustration of the action of parties in the administration of the empire. Mr. Hume, in evidence that his letter had not been received with disapprobation in the colony, quoted a resolution of the town council of Toronto, in which that body bestowed the highest praises upon him, for his sentiments and conduct with respect to Upper Canada. Mr. W. Gladstone, however, who followed Mr. Hume in the debate, enquired whether these same gentlemen still composed the town council of Toronto; or whether it was not a fact, that, in no small degree on account of that very vote, they had, shortly afterwards, been ejected from their seats; and succeeded by gentlemen, who, among their first acts, expunged from their records that very resolution which Mr. Hume had quoted with so much triumph.

The question that lay before them, said Mr. Gladstone, was the support of government and public order on one side, and the absolutism of the popular will, on the other. Not a single practical grievance had been substantiated by the House of Assembly with respect to the alleged undue preference of the English race. It appeared, that during the administration of the last two governors, of eighteen appointments to the legislative council, ten had been given to persons of French origin. This might not seem to represent the proportion of the French population to the British, but it should be remembered that the former did not compose so large a proportion of the upper class, from which the members of the legislative council were of necessity selected.

They were told, that the legislative council was the point upon which were concentrated all the grievances of Lower Canada; Mr. Gladstone justly observed that the legislative council had been only the outwork and defence of the government. In all its essential acts, it had been countenanced by the governor and executive council, who in their turn had been borne out by the government at home; which again had been sanctioned by the imperial parliament. So that the question really was, not between the House of Assembly and the legislative council, but between the house of assembly, and the crown, and parliament of Great Britain.

Mr. Roebuck had spoken of all this quarrel as being chiefly for the interests of 'a howling herd of officials.' Mr. Gladstone observed, that these gentlemen had been serving the public without any requital for five or six years past; it ill became any to speak of them in such insulting terms; least of all, did it become the member for Bath, who, whilst those against whom he railed had been kept in a state of penury, had been in the due receipt of a liberal salary.

One of the grievances alleged, was the creation of the North American Land Company. Nothing, said Mr. Gladstone, surely could be more absurd, than such a ground of complaint. Here was a body of intelligent Englishmen, who undertook to secure to Lower Canada the benefit of emigration; having by their skill, stock, and personal superintendence, succeeded in removing the dangers formerly

attendant on emigration; and who employed their capital on an extensive scale to improve the face of the country, and to increase the means of transit. To say such a body was a grievance to a country was ridiculous.

Mr. Labouchere decidedly but reluctantly supported the resolutions; but differed from other members on the same side, inasmuch as he was inclined to think an elective legislative council would be preferable to the present one. He could not see the constitutional objection to such a principle. At this moment half our American colonies were actually governed by elective legislative councils; and he thought it a matter of regret that that principle had not been introduced into the constitution of 1791. He referred to Louisiana as an instance of a community made up of a large French and a small English population living very happily and harmoniously. We may remark, however, that the constitution of a sovereign state like Louisiana affords little illustration of the mode of government to be adopted in a colonial dependency; and that in the West Indian islands the preponderance of the slave population has hitherto thrown their masters so wholly on the military protection of the mother country, as to dispense with the exercise on her part of other means of control.

Lord Stanley then rose and met the question with characteristic promptness and decision. He warmly supported the object of the resolutions, but at the same time pointed out their weak and inefficient character; and vindicated in a high tone the rights and authority of the mother country. So far, he agreed with Mr. Roebuck, that this was no time for half measures. The season was come, when the legislature must either frankly concede or boldly deny. But whatever objection he might have to the wording of the resolutions, he felt that above all things it was most important that their decision should go forth to Canada, not as that of a small majority, but as the determination of the whole House of Commons. What were the demands of the house of assembly? Two of them were for rights and privileges, which the mother country did not possess herself; and the third, was one which, if conceded, would put an end to her connection with the colony. It was required that both houses of the legislature should be elective. Was this a privilege desired by the mother country? or was it meant as a precedent for her to follow? The next demand was one equally unheard of in this country—that the house of assembly should vote every item of expenditure from first to last. With us, it was found necessary to make a permanent arrangement for the payment of the civil list, so that the princes, the judges, and other officers of state should not be called upon year after year to squabble on questions of a halfpenny about their salaries with the hon. member for Middlesex. And if it was found absolutely necessary that such a permanent provision should be made in this country, was the necessity less in a country divided into local parties like Canada? The entire control of the revenues of Canada, with the exception of the territorial and casual dues belonging to the crown, had been made over by lord Goderich to the house of assembly, on the full understanding that a permanent civil list would have

been voted. This was done at once in Upper Canada: but in the Lower province, the assembly refused to fulfil its part of the contract; and to this day, no civil list has been offered except on terms which would be equivalent to an acknowledgment of the independence of the colony. The third demand was, that the executive council should be rendered directly responsible to the house of assembly. Here again was confounded the wide and manifest distinction between an independent and a subordinate state. The king was subordinate to no one; the king's ministers were responsible for him to the country; but what was the situation of the governor of a colony? He was responsible to the crown and government here; and it was proposed to make him further responsible to the house of assembly; though how he was to act under this double and frequently conflicting responsibility, was not clearly explained.

The question, then, was no longer one of expediency, but of empire. It could not be dealt with by half measures. If it were proposed to give the colony up, let the proposition be openly and plainly stated, and decided upon accordingly. If it were desirable to retain the colony, a project which would at once render nugatory on our part all control over the province, and plunge us into difficulties which could only be escaped from by violence, must not be entertained for a moment. A middle course, so far from conciliating the Canadians, would but the more provoke them. Yet that was exactly the line of conduct adopted by ministers. They tampered with the subject. They showed their teeth; but dared not bite; by their 'waitings a little longer,' and insignificant demonstrations, they only put a premium on the enlarging demands of the assembly. Nay more, one of their number, Mr. Labouchere had even declared himself in favour of an elective legislative council, and the inference from all this was, that after a little 'coy, reluctant, amorous delay,' ministers would yield to the vigorous advances of Mr. Roebuck, and grant all that was asked.

And what would be the consequence? The establishment of a French republic in Lower Canada. Lord Stanley said, he was bigoted enough to retain a certain honor of French republicanism; and could never consent to give over the British settlers in the province, to the tender mercies of such a system. The concession of an elective legislative council would remove the only check to the tyrannical power of the dominant majority—a majority he would remark, in numbers only, for in wealth, in education, in enterprise, it was greatly inferior to the minority of an hundred and fifty thousand settlers of British descent. One thing was certain, that if those settlers found themselves deprived of British protection, they would protect themselves. Measures to that effect would be taken by them within six months after the election of a legislative council. Numerically, they were in the minority; but assistance would not be wanting from their compatriots in the upper province—from New Brunswick, from Nova Scotia—or if need be from the great British family of the United States. Ministers talked in their resolutions of taking measures for securing to the legislative council of the province a greater degree of public confidence.

Lord Stanley said, he wanted some explanation of the nature of these ulterior measures. Should not the House know, what they were before they affirmed the resolutions? They had before them the resolutions of the house of assembly — they knew their determination to persevere unceasingly in their demands till they were granted— what was it that ministers proposed to do on their part? Whatever was their purpose, he would say, let them not go on doing as they had done from the beginning of this commission to the end of it. Let them not raise expectations they never intended to fulfil; or utter vague words and declarations, unsupported by facts. If they were prepared to surrender Lower Canada, let them do it at once; but bearing in mind that with it they surrendered Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and flung off in Lower Canada alone, 150,000 of their British fellow-subjects, who clung to them for protection against a tyrannical majority—who asked only to continue in the undisturbed enjoyment of the laws and liberties conferred on their ancestors,—who claimed but the privilege of exercising under the British crown, the rights of British subjects; and who if thus abandoned to their own resources, were doomed to sink in the wide-spreading democracy of the time.

Lord Stanley's speech on this occasion, made a strong impression by the frank and determinate character of policy, which it advocated. Lord Howick, however, said, he had heard it with much pain. He deeply regretted that language so completely the reverse of conciliatory, and expressive of so arbitrary a spirit, should have been used by one who had deservedly so much weight in the House of Commons. His only consolation was, that it might serve as an antidote to the inflammatory speech of Mr. Roebuck; and prove, that ministers were not the tyrants that gentlemen wished to make them out to be; but that their policy was mild,compared with that of their opponents. Lord Stanley had complained, that the resolutions did not sufficiently explain the ulterior purposes, and policy of the government; but would Lord Stanley explain his own policy? He had intimated, that he would stand by the present constitution of the legislative council, and instead of suspending, would propose the repeal of the Act of 1831, which gave the house of assembly a control over the revenues of the province. But such a measure alone, would only augment the irritation of the people. The house of assembly would still retain the control of a revenue, double that at the disposal of the governor; and would have the power of refusing the renewal of several acts which were about to expire, and the operation of which were absolutely necessary to the administration of the colony. In himself, he was disposed still to try further the effect of a conciliatory policy; he was warned, that it would fail, and no doubt it might do so; but it would be time enough to resort to the employment of more violent measures when they could do nothing better. As for the legislative council, it was clear, that it was not suited to the Canadians. Mr. Pitt himself had declared the institution to be merely an experiment; there was nothing like it in the other American or West Indian colonies; it represented neither the crown nor

the people, and was completely above control. It was, therefore, the intention of government, to introduce a bill for the improvement of the constitution of the legislative council; for he utterly repudiated the policy which dictated a declaration to the Canadian people, that an institution proved to be faulty, should not be altered.

Mr. Leader said, that he thanked Lord Stanley for his speech, violent and insulting as it was. It would, he believed, have the same effect upon the people of Canada, that Lord Lyndhurst's speech had had upon the people of Ireland. The one had insulted the Canadians, as the other had insulted the Irish people. He once more thanked the noble Lord for his speech, and congratulated the ministers upon having such an ally.

It is not easy to comprehend the grounds of the gratitude which Mr. Leader here expresses; unless he really hailed every aggravation of the existing differences between the mother country and her colony as a positive good. We do not say, that was the actual tendency of Lord Stanley's speech; but it was upon that assumption, that Mr. Leader thanked him for it; who must, therefore, be supposed to look forward to the violent disruption of the connexion between the two countries, as to a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

The three first resolutions, being merely declaratory, were agreed to without division. On the fourth being put, "that in the existing state of Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to make the legislative council of that province, an elective body; but that it is expedient that measures be adopted for securing to that branch of the legislature, a greater degree of public confidence," Mr. Leader proposed, as an amendment, that it is advisable to make the legislative council of that province, an elective body. On a division, there were found in favour of the original resolutions 318; against it 56; it was carried, therefore, by the overwhelming majority of 262.

After this decision, ministers expressed their hope, that the opponents of the resolutions would not throw any further obstacle in the march of the government. But delay was evidently the object of the Canadian party; apparently, in the hope of giving time for a demonstration of popular feeling on the other side of the Atlantic. In his speech on this occasion, Lord Stanley had alluded to the evidence which had been given before the committee that had been appointed to inquire into Canadian grievances, at the time he held the seals of the foreign office. It seems Mr. Rice, his successor, had desired, that this evidence might not, at that time, be printed, nor any report made upon it. Mr. Roebuck now availed himself of the allusions which had been made to the important information, collected in this investigation, to demand, that the House should not proceed further with the resolutions, until it were printed —and after some resistance, ministers were fain to consent to an arrangement to that effect.

The committee, therefore, was not resumed till the 14th of April, when the fifth resolution came under its consideration. Upon this occasion, Mr. Roebuck again opposed the propositions of government, and intimated, that the loss of the colony would be the certain eventual consequence of

their adoption. He disclaimed, however, all interest in, or desire to accelerate this consummation; which would probably take place at some time, whatever course we might pursue; but he said, he was anxious that the time of it might not be anticipated; and that when it did arrive, we might separate in peace, and mutual good will. He reminded the House, that our American colonies are in the immediate neighbourhood of, and in constant intercourse with the United States; that the spirit of that great republic naturally pervaded every region of the great continent in which it exists. That as there is an European, so has there been created an American mode of thinking and feeling; and that thus a spirit of democracy has become more or less the political religion of all, whatever be their European descent.

Mr. Roebuck, upon this occasion, broached a plan of his own for the arrangement of the dispute. Since the House would not make the legislative council elective, he proposed to abolish it altogether. The only useful power at present exercised by the legislative council was, that of proposing amendments on the bills passed by the house of assembly. This office, he proposed to transfer to an executive council of twelve persons, to be named by the governor; who might amend any measure sent up from the assembly, but should not have the power of rejecting it; that would rest with the governor alone. Mr. Roebuck avowed, that the great object of his scheme was to concentrate responsibility; and to bring it to bear on known individuals; and the effect, it is plain, would be to bring the executive in constant and direct collision with the popular branch of the legislature, by doing away every intermediate power.

The other principal feature of Mr. Roebuck's scheme was the establishment of a general assembly to sit at Montreal, composed of delegates chosen by the houses of assembly of each of our North American colonies, and clothed with certain judicial and legislative powers. In its judicial capacity it was to constitute the tribunal before which the judges of the various provinces might be impeached; and moreover might act as a court of appeal, and exercise the functions now performed by our privy council. Its legislative offices would relate to all matters of dispute, or communication, between two or more provinces.

Lord John Russell justly observed on these propositions of Mr. Roebuck, that whatever be the merits of them, he had no authority from the colony to make them; and it was therefore impossible, that parliament could assume them as the basis of any measure of pacification. There was, we think, something characteristic in the manner in which the noble lord met Mr. Roebuck's intimations, that the people of Lower Canada might, if their demands were rejected, throw themselves into the arms of their republican neighbours. The noble Lord contented himself with expressing his conviction, that it was not the interest of the Canadians to place themselves under the United States; moreover, he thought, that the United States would not be anxious to seek a quarrel with Great Britain on such a question.

He trusted, therefore, that the assembly, on receiving the resolutions of the House of Commons, would reconsider their position; and appreciating their advantages in living under a mild and free government, subject only to very light taxes, and having the entire disposal of their own revenue for purposes of local improvement; remembering how little real practical grievance they had to complain of, and how much in their former resolutions was ascribable to the existing state of excitement and exasperation; would either altogether abandon their propositions, or state their wishes in a manner which would make it possible for this country to come to a final and satisfactory agreement with them.

This was certainly a singular tone and manner for the minister of a great empire to adopt in meeting the menace of rebellion on the part of one of its provinces. It would have been still more extraordinary if an appeal like this had charmed away the purposes of the Canadian leaders. It is impossible, of course, to suppose anything of insidious intention on the part of the government; but we must say, that had it been the object of the ministers to entice the Canadians into acts of open revolt by an ostentation of pusillanimity and weakness on their own part, they could not have affected a more piteous tone or language. And on this account, not less than on that of the direct encouragement and excitement so loudly given them by their radical friends in parliament, we think great allowance ought to be made for the subsequent conduct of the Canadians.

Mr. Ward opposed the resolutions generally; though he disagreed with his friend Mr. Roebuck in thinking, that the control over the waste lands of the province should be vested not in the crown, but in the house of assembly. As for the change required in the constitution of the legislative council, there was nothing new involved in it. Before the American revolution, out of the thirteen American colonies, not less than eleven possessed the right of appointing the executive council. Could anything be more loyal than the conduct of those colonies before the attempt was made to deprive them of their privileges? and they would have been unworthy of those privileges if they had not resisted that attempt.

On the subject of the waste lands, Mr. Robinson, too, remarked, that the discovery of the right of the assembly to the disposal of them was a very recent affair. In 1796 the king, in a message to the assembly, formally asserted his right to dispose of them, and the claim was admitted without difficulty. On what ground was it disputed now? The simple fact was, that the French party in Lower Canada, seeing the happy effects of the operations of the Canada Company, were apprehensive, that the extension of emigration would so swell the British population, as effectually to destroy all pretence for the ridiculous notion of nationality now cherished by the French party. At the same time Mr. Robinson readily admitted, that the house of assembly was entitled to a control over the revenue arising from the sale of these lands. With respect to the legislative council, the members of which Mr. Roebuck had taken on himself to designate as a set of "hungry officials," he

begged to tell the learned gentleman, that it included many members who would think themselves very far from highly honoured by a comparison with certain members of that house.

Mr. Charles Buller, nevertheless, remarked, that it was quite clear, that the colony did not afford materials for an aristocracy; and therefore not for a legislative council. The real aristocracy of Canada consisted in the transient Scotch and English merchants. One of the most distinguished members of the class, of which the Howards and Russells were here the representatives, was an ironmonger; an individual eminent in ten-penny nails. Another was a substantial pig merchant, celebrated for sausages, and great in curing hams. This being so, it did seem to him, that the legislative council might be altered without affecting the dignity, or shaking the foundation of the House of Lords in this country.

Mr. Roebuck again spoke in reply; and complained of Lord John Russell, that he was doing all he could to insult and vilify the people of Canada. This was certainly a strange matter of imputation against the noble lord. The Canadians might not approve of his resolutions; but anything more opposite to insult than the tone and manner in which they had been brought forward could not well be conceived. Mr. Roebuck went on to say, that he doubted, if Sir Robert Peel were in power, that with his wary prudence and caution he would carry out these resolutions. He observed the right hon. baronet and his friends were very silent on certain questions. They never risked an opinion on liberal measures if they could possibly avoid it; and they acted so, no doubt, that they might come into office with clean hands.

These remarks seem to have called up Sir Robert Peel, who had not spoken on the former debate, and apparently did not intend to do so on this, but who disclaimed any desire or purpose to withhold his sentiments on the subject of it. Alluding to the taunts and reproaches of Mr. Roebuck, he said, he would not suffer himself to be betrayed by them into any tone of exasperation against the French Canadians. He sincerely wished them well, believing them to be a loyal and excellent people, though open to be deceived, and disposed to view with distrust the measures of government.

Sir Robert took the same view of the policy of the government that had been expressed by Lord Stanley; but there was something singularly characteristic in the different tone and spirit of his speech on this occasion. He observed, that if no other interests but those of the French Canadians were involved in the question; and if the continuance of British connexion were unpalatable to them, he would say, "God forbid that we should force it upon them." In that case, indeed, he should think it more for our interest than for theirs, that the connexion should be dissolved. When he recollected the duties which that connexion imposed on us—the danger of collision with their powerful neighbours to which it exposed us—and that we might at any time be called upon to defend the province from all comers, not on account of any local interests of our own, but as a point of honour, as being its avowed protector—he

must say, that if it were a mere Canadian question, he should have no objection to see the connexion dissolved, and Lower Canada either establishing a government of her own, or seeking an amicable alliance with some other power. He doubted, however, if we were to make them the offer at this moment, that they would be disposed to accept it; and at any rate the question could not be considered in reference only to the French Canadians. There was a British population in the province which had a right to look up to this country for a continuance of the connexion and protection on the faith of which they had established themselves in it.

"Look, moreover," said Sir Robert, "at the position of Lower Canada, commanding the entrance of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and then ask, if a population of half a million had a right to insist upon a measure which *in the heart of the British colonies in North America would establish a French republic.*" As for the present state of the question, it was a disgrace to the country that its public servants in Canada should remain year after year without remuneration; and if the house of assembly would not make provision for the payment of them without attaching to their grant the demand of a fuudamental change in the constitution of Lower Canada, no alternative remained but that of interposing the authority of the imperial parliament. All he doubted was, whether, if we were to violate a constitutional principle in this respect, it would not be better to adopt the advice of the commissioners in the single point in which they had been unanimous, and suspend at once the act of 1st and 2nd William IV. He could see no good in merely taking from the treasury the arrears of the salaries now due. At the end of another year we should again be in our present position; the exasperation of the house of assembly would have been only increased by our interference. Sir Robert justly observed, that when men made up their minds to the contravention of a great constitutional principle, the question of degree was one of less moment.

The committee divided on the question, "That while it is expedient to improve the executive council in Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the house of assembly in that province;" when there appeared in favour of the resolution 269; against it 46.

On the 21st of April, when the committee on the resolutions was resumed, Mr. Leader moved the postponement of the further consideration of them, in order to give time to the Canadian people to state whether or not they agreed in the plan which had been proposed by Mr. Roebuck for the settlement of the existing differences between the province and the mother country. The minister had objected to that plan that it had no sanction from the house of assembly; give them, then, he said, the opportunity of declaring whether they approve of it or not.

Mr. Roebuck, too, took this occasion to defend his project from the imputation of "absurdity" which had been thrown out against it in the former debate by sir R. Peel; who, in his turn, took pains to prove that it really deserved that character. On a division, the postponement was rejected by 182 members to 29.

The House then went into committee on the 6th resolution, which declared the necessity of maintaining inviolate the privileges conferred by act of parliament on the North American Land Company. Upon this, an amendment was moved by Mr. Roebuck, deferring all resolutions on the subject of the Land Company "until an inquiry shall have been instituted into the circumstances under which the land held by that Company had been obtained."

The company was defended by lord Stanley, Mr. Robinson, and sir George Grey. They affirmed that it had already been productive of great good to the colony. It appeared from the report of the commissioners, that the number of families located in the country districts during that year, amounted to two hundred; and in the township to five thousand. Instead of having been smuggled through the house, as it was said, the bill was brought in on the 24th of March, 1834; and received the royal assent on the 12th of May; and during that time no objection had been made to it by the people of Canada, nor by Mr. Roebuck; who, if not their paid agent, was, at least, a member of the house.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Grote and others of the radical section declined to support the amendment; which on a division was affirmed only by six votes, against 166. This closed the discussion of the subject in the House of Commons; and on the 1st of May, the resolutions were communicated to the House of Lords, in a conference.

On the 9th of the same month, lord Glenelg brought the subject under the consideration of the House. His speech on this occasion, was of considerable length; but as he necessarily travelled over the same topics, which had been so frequently dwelt upon in the debates of the Commons, the abstract of it will not detain us long. He had little difficulty in justifying the resolutions sent up from the Commons; the only serious question could be whether they went far enough. He might be told, he said, that this measure was feeble and inadequate, and that if they did interfere, they should interfere effectually—that they should repeal the act of 1831. Lord Glenelg observed, that the proposal of drawing on the resources of the colony, was a clear and simple proceeding. It did what it professed, and no more. A repeal of the act of 1831, would either involve a sacrifice of the good faith of the country, or it must be justified on the ground that the assembly had not performed their part of the contract. Now, Lord Glenelg said, he did not consider that the assembly were open to the charge of breach of faith. But, at any rate, the period had elapsed during which that plea could be urged as ground for repealing the act of 1831. That act was passed in September, and it contained a provision that it should not come into operation until the July following; the object of which no doubt was to afford an interval, during which the assembly might express its opinion on the measure, and parliament might again take it into consideration. That time had been suffered to elapse; and parliament having neglected its duty in that respect, had no right, now, to come and call for its repeal. But it was said, that the measure was inadequate. How so? If it were meant so to describe it because it

did not altogether deprive the assembly of all power of interference with the executive council — or make the government wholly independent of the popular branch of the constitution—that inadequacy seemed to him the best recommendation of the measure. But what, he would ask, was the meaning of the word adequate as applied to the repeal of the act of 1831? That proposal went beyond the necessity of the case inasmuch as it secured to the government a large permanent fund; but in another point of view, it did not meet that necessity; inasmuch as, after the repeal the assembly would still have the means of carrying on a war of annoyance, as 100,000*l.* a year would remain in their hands to be voted in annual supplies.

We may here remark a slight inconsistency in the noble lord's argument; since, if the assembly retained these resources of obstruction, it could not be objected to the proposal for the repeal of the act of 1831, that it would deprive them of all power of influencing the conduct of the executive.

Lord Ripon supported the resolutions, but hardly referred at all in his speech to the point upon which he could have given the best information—the motive of the unconditional surrender of the revenues by the act of 1831; a measure for which his lordship was directly responsible, and which was the immediate occasion of the existing difficulties between the mother country and her province. Lord Ripon objected to the wording of the fourth resolution, in which it was declared, that "in the existing state" of Lower Canada, it was not advisable to introduce the elective principle into the formation of the legislative council. The inference from this mode of expression was, that a state of things might arise when it would be considered advisable to do so; but he declared, that he could not acquiesce in the principle under any circumstances.

We may observe, indeed, that if it had been intended so to word the resolution, that while it denied the claim of the house of assembly it encouraged the principle upon which it was founded; the object could hardly have been more happily attained than by the form of expression here adopted. Unless some such purpose were really entertained, nothing could be more gratuitous than the restriction of the refusal to "existing circumstances;" nor was it possible that the Canadians could rest satisfied with a vague allusion like this as a ground for waving the enforcement of pretensions, the general justice of which appeared to be admitted.

The only opposition to the resotions came from Lord Brougham, who objected to them entirely, as well to the principles as to the policy of them. His speech on this occasion, however, though very long, contains unusually little of novelty; the subdued tone of opposition which he adopted towards the ministers is one little favourable to the developement of the more characteristic excellencies of his style of oratory.

What Lord Brougham chiefly dwelt upon, of course, was the violating of the Canadian constitution by the advances of monies, without the consent of the house of assembly. It was intended, under the eighth resolution, to replace the 30,000*l.* advanced out of the military chest, to provide the means of defraying colonial expenses; and

Lord Aberdeen remarked, that Lord Brougham, who seemed so shocked at the idea of interfering with the rights of the house of assembly, had himself been a member of that government which made this advance; which the house of assembly had designated as a monstrous and unconstitutional interference, and had prayed, that an impeachment might be instituted against the noble and learned lord and his late colleagues for committing it.

The resolutions were agreed to without a division, Lord Brougham alone saying "not content." The noble and learned lord afterwards recorded the grounds of his dissent under seven heads, in an elaborate protest, which he inscribed on the journals of the house. The account of the effects of these resolutions in the colony whose administration they more immediately concern, belongs to another department of our history.

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Banking System—Spirit of Speculation in last Year—Multiplication of Joint-Stock Banks—Excess of Issues—Controversy as to the Conduct of the Bank of England at this Crisis—Increase of the Rate of Discount—Drain of Bullion—Assistance afforded to the Northern and Central Bank—Attention of Parliament directed to the System of Joint-Stock Banks—Committee's Report—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion for Renewal of the Committee—Mr. Hume moves an Amendment for more enlarged Inquiry—His Explanation of the Causes of the recent Commercial Difficulties—Speech of Mr. Williams—Defence of Joint-Stock Banks by Mr. Gisborne—Speeches of Mr. Villiers, Mr. Warburton, and Mr. O'Connell—Sir Robert Peel supports the Motion; Mr. Hume's Amendment is rejected—Crisis in the American Trade—New System which had lately grown up in carrying on the Commercial Transactions of the two Countries—Dangers resulting from it—Assistance afforded by the Bank.

OF all departments of public administration, the most arduous and delicate would seem to be that which regulates the amount and distribution of the currency. On this account, we have often been tempted to think that the directors of the Bank of England occupy a more difficult and responsible situation than any other functionaries of the state. Their difficulties, in this respect, are singularly complicated by the double capacity in which they act, as regulators of the circulating medium, and managers of a great bank of deposit and discount. Their legitimate offices in these two respects are often not merely not coincident, but absolutely contradictory, to each other. The same state of circumstances, which by their operation on the foreign exchanges, impose on them the necessity of contracting their issues; by the general pressure in the commercial world, tend to increase the calls for private accommodation; and these calls, on strictly public grounds, it is often almost impossible for them to refuse. In this way by one part of her operations, the Bank is often counteracting the effect of another. She is called upon to increase her issues, in the way of discount, at the very moment when every legitimate indication would signify the necessity of contracting them.

The spirit of speculation which took so extravagant a range in the past year, had, by the close of it,

brought about a crisis in the commercial world, which tasked to the utmost the prudence and management of the Bank to deal with it safely, either for herself, or for the public. Among the various ways in which it spent itself, one was of a nature that peculiarly tended to aggravate the general difficulties of the time. The law which forbids the formation, in England and Wales, of any banking association having more than six members, was repealed in 1826. The convulsions of that period for a long while abated the spirit of enterprise throughout the country; and accordingly no undue advantage seems, for some years, to have been taken of the change. According to an official return, dated July 1833, about seven years after the act of 1826, thirty-four joint-stock banks had been established in different parts of England and Wales. Within less than the three *following years*, the number was about doubled; for by the 31st of December 1835, it amounted to sixty; so that the average for the first ten years of the permission for their institution would give about six a year. At this time, however, a new scene was opened. The establishment of joint-stock banks became one of the favourite speculations of the day; and it would appear, that from the commencement of the year 1836, to the end of November, not less than forty-two additional establishments of this kind were set on foot. Indeed, if we reckon, as strictly we may, the various ramifications belonging to these concerns, as constituting so many new ones; the total number of them will not much fall short of two hundred.*

More than three-fourths of these were banks of issue; that their operations, therefore, should most seriously affect the amount and value of the circulating medium, was to be expected. Accordingly it appears, from returns laid before parliament, that between the 26th of Dec. 1835, and the 31st of

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* The following table of the number of joint-stock banks, and of the times of their establishment from the year 1826, is taken from returns furnished by the Stamp-office:—

In 1826 were established	3
1827	4
1828	nil.
1829	7
1830	1
1831	8
1832	7
1833	10
1834	11
1835	9
1836 from 1st of Jan. to 26th Nov.	42
Total	102

In Ireland:

There were formed prior to 1834	3
In 1835	2
1836	8
Total	13

Dec. 1836, the issues of joint-stock banks had increased from 2,799,551*l.* to 4,258,197*l.*; being an augmentation of nearly a million and a half, or above fifty per cent. on the whole. Nor can the effect of this sudden extension of the system of joint-stock banking be estimated merely by the increase of notes payable on demand, thus poured into the market. The quantity of bills and checks which the ordinary course of their transactions brought into circulation, must also be taken into account.*

It is obvious that this multiplication of banks of issue exceedingly aggravates the difficulties of the business of the Bank of England in the general regulation of the currency. While she is governing her own operations by the strictest view to the public advantage, they may be most seriously disturbed by those of the provincial establishments; which it is natural to expect look chiefly, if not exclusively, to their own immediate or temporary convenience. On this account, it has been ably contended for, and with apparent justice, that it is in vain to hope that our currency can ever be maintained in a sound and safe state until the management of it is confided to one responsible body, in whom alone should reside the power of issue.

The prudence of the conduct of the Bank of England at the period to which we have been referring, has been made a subject of much controversy. In the regulation of the relative amount of their liabilities and assets, the directors do not seem, on the whole, to have materially deviated from the principles laid down for their ordinary action in that respect. On the 1st of October, 1833, on an average of the three preceding months; the balance appears to have stood thus;

Circulation .	£.19,800,000
Deposits . . .	13,000,000
Securities . .	24,200,000
Bullion . . .	10,900,000

Three years after, on the 27th of December, 1836, the bullion upon a similar average had fallen to 4,300,000*l.*, shewing a reduction of not less than 6,600,000*l.* At the same time, the circulation was reduced to 17,300,000*l.*, and the deposits were 9,200,000*l.* Thus the diminution of liabilities amounted to 6,300,000*l.*; and the difference between this sum and that of the reduction in the stock of bullion was more than compensated in the increase of the securities held by the Bank. It appears, likewise, that in all the intermediate quarters, between the two periods here indicated, the reduction of liabilities was almost inva-

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* The average amount of paper money in circulation other than that issued by the Banks of England and Ireland; was, for England and Wales,

On the 29th of March 1834	£.10,200,000
June 1836.....	12,200,000

For Ireland,

In June 1834	£. 1,300,000
June 1836	2,300,000

Indicating for the United Kingdom an increase within that period of not less than three millions or twenty-five per cent.

riably greater than the progressive diminution of bullion strictly demanded.

Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, there would have been no ground to impugn the course pursued by the Bank. They adhered with sufficient strictness to the principles upon which they are understood to manage their affairs. But it has been questioned, whether an adherence to ordinary principles was sufficient under the exigencies of the crisis. Thus, in the quarter ending 5th of April, 1836, it would appear that an increase of about 800,000*l.* took place in the issues of the Bank. At the same time, a nearly corresponding increase, is shown in their stock of bullion. In common times, such an augmentation of circulation would have been perfectly justifiable; but the symptoms in the money market generally, at that period, were such, that it might have been prudent in the Bank rather to contract than expand its previous amount of issue.

A spirit of extravagant speculation was abroad, and was every day extending its perilous operations. Every newspaper teemed with projects of commercial venture of the wildest kind. Above all, new joint-stock banks, at once the favourite offspring of the prevailing spirit, and the most effective instruments for propagating its contagion, were opening in all parts of the country, which they threatened to deluge with their rival floods of issue. Under these circumstances, we cannot but agree with those who have argued that it was the prudent part in the Bank, rather to narrow, than enlarge, her own circulation. The directors, indeed, have reminded their adversaries, that this would have been acting in anticipation of what was apprehended; that the understood principle of action on the part of the Bank, is not to endeavour herself to affect the exchanges, but to allow the public to regulate the currency in the natural manner through the demand for bullion; and that the course before suggested would have involved a palpable violation of this fundamental maxim. The answer is, that no maxim in politics is so fundamental as never to admit of variation or exception according to the pressure of existing exigencies.

Up to the beginning of April, 1836, we have seen the Bank issues continued rather upon the increase. About the end of that month, however, the effect of the issues of the joint-stock banks on the currency, began to make itself felt more sensibly; and a decidedly unfavourable turn took place in the foreign exchanges. The Bank of England now saw the necessity of taking measures for meeting a drain of bullion, by a reduction of issue. For this purpose, it was necessary to check the application for discounts; which necessarily is always greater at times when the demand for bullion on the Bank, has occasioned a scarcity of paper. Accordingly, in June, the rate of interest on discount was raised from four, to four and a half per cent; and the check thus interposed, proving inadequate, a further rise to five per cent took place in the August following.

It was naturally calculated, that the political effect of this alteration, as an indication of the apprehensions entertained as to the state of the money-market, would be not less important than its merely financial operation, in checking the

speculative mania which was abroad. And in London, this consequence seems to have followed upon it. It does not appear, however, that the provincial Joint-stock banks, which had themselves been so mainly instrumental in bringing about the existing difficulties, were by any means equally prepared to take warning by the signal of alarm which their own imprudent management had rendered necessary. Instead of reducing their amount of issue; they continued steadily to expand it. The amount of their notes in circulation, was in the quarter.

March 26, 1836.	£3,094,025
June 25,	3,588,064
Sept. 24,	3,969,121
Dec. 31,	4,258,197

making an increase of 1,164,172*l.*; or not less than thirty-seven per cent in the course of the year. It should be observed, that during four months of this period, from April, to the end of August, there was a heavy and continued drain of bullion from the country. The measures adopted by the Bank, however, at length succeeded in checking it; and by the first of September, it had nearly quite ceased.

It has, however, been made a question, whether the Bank should not have carried still further these measures of repression. In October, its stock of bullion was reduced to about five millions; a sum hardly the half of that which is considered necessary to insure its safe and healthful action in ordinary times. This is a controversy, however, upon which it is hardly possible to come to any satisfactory conclusion, so complicated are the matters involved in its decision. The reaction which had taken place in the metropolis, necessarily shook commercial confidence throughout the kingdom. A general run took place upon the joint-stock banks; and this we may observe, by the way, was the immediate occasion of the extraordinary diminution of bullion, in the coffers of the Bank of England; for none of the provincial establishments being provided with Bank notes, or coin adequate to meet their liabilities, they could only procure it by forced sales of securities in London. In the first instance, the alarm was most vivid in Ireland—one great joint-stock bank, called the Agricultural, which is stated to have numbered not less than thirty branch establishments; was compelled to stop payment; and soon after, it spread itself in the north of England. The great joint-stock bank called "the Northern and Central," which had been established at Manchester in 1834, with a paid up capital of seven hundred thousand pounds, found itself upon the verge of a similar catastrophe. A general panic was now apprehended, the consequences of which were incalculable; and the Bank, instead of further contracting her issues, as, upon the strict principles which have been laid down for the management of her affairs, she would, no doubt, have deemed it right to do; felt herself called upon, rather to enlarge them, in order to avert a general convulsion of commercial credit. By means of the support afforded by the Bank of England, the Northern and Central Bank was enabled to continue its payments; though, at the sacrifice, it has been said, of nearly half its capital. The important private establishment of Messrs. Esdaile in London, was saved from failure by supplies from the same quarter.

We have here a striking instance of the difficulties imposed on the Bank by the conflicting nature of the duties, she has frequently to perform. It has been, indeed, warmly contended, that in these instances, the Bank had a plain path of duty to pursue, in preserving a sound, and wholesome state of the currency; and that this ought to have been paramount to every consideration of a private or subordinate nature. If, however, the Bank had withheld the assistance demanded in these cases; and a general obstruction had paralysed the operations of commerce, in consequence, it may be doubted if such a strict adherence to principle would not have been thought too dearly purchased.

The result of all this complication of circumstances was the general persuasion, that there was something in the present constitution of the joint-stock banks, that imperatively called for legislative interference. Accordingly, this was among the subjects more immediately pressed upon the investigation of Parliament by the speech of the Lords Commissioners at the opening of the session. "The best security against the mismanagement of banking affairs," it was observed, "must always be found in the capacity and integrity of those who are intrusted with the administration of them; and in the prudence and caution of the public; but no legislative regulation should be omitted, which could insure the stability of establishment upon which commercial credit so much depends."

It will be recollected, that in the preceding session, a Select Committee had been appointed upon the motion of Mr. Clay, to consider of the state of the law, in relation to this important subject. It began its inquiries in the month of May, and continued them till the close of the session. A considerable mass of evidence was collected, and printed for the information of the House; but the members of the committee did not feel themselves competent, at that period, to found upon it the recommendation of any specific measure for the adoption of Parliament. They stated, in their report to the House, that they saw so many difficulties in the way of immediate legislation, and so many objections to imperfect legislation, that they would content themselves merely with recommending, that the committee should be revived in the course of the following session.

Accordingly, on the 6th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer made a motion to that effect. He observed, upon this occasion, that he did not mean, in any way, to anticipate the decision of the committee; but, he should be greatly misconceived, if it were supposed, that his motion was made in hostility to the general principle of joint-stock banks. It was well understood, that the act of the 6th George 4th, was considered, at the time of its passing, to be nothing more than an experiment; and that lapse of time was necessary to enable them to form a conclusive opinion of its result. The large majority of the witnesses examined before the committee last session, while they maintained the decided utility of a well-understood system of joint-stock banking, were equally united in the opinion, that the law required amendment for the protection, as well of the banks themselves, as of the credit and currency of the country. It had

been suggested, that the range of inquiry should be extended; but Mr. Rice said, he considered the subjects already before them were sufficiently complicate and difficult, without their embarrassing themselves with other and still more delicate matters of investigation. He should, however, propose the extension of the committee's inquiries to Ireland; and, with that view, would move, the addition to its number of four Irish members; two from each side of the House; though, he admitted, this method of partition was sufficiently superfluous in a matter in which all party feeling was so completely lost sight of.

Mr. Hume expressed himself satisfied, that the source of the difficulty lay, not in the conduct of the joint-stock banks, but in that of the Bank of England; and he was, therefore, anxious, that the inquiries of the committee should be extended to the proceedings of that establishment, and generally to the banking system of the country. He was convinced, there was something in it unsound. How, otherwise, did it happen, that England should be liable to constant revolutions of commercial credit, while France and Holland, and every other country, except America, remained undisturbed?

Mr. Hume then proceeded to give his solution of the causes of the panic which had taken place in the August preceding, and the effects of which were still felt in the commercial world. He ascribed it altogether to the conduct of the Bank, in the management of the loan of fifteen millions, which was raised in 1834. The joint-stock banks, he contended, would perfectly bear comparison with the Bank of England, in respect of the judicious management of their concerns. Their liabilities in 1835 were, in round numbers, ten millions; the present excess above that sum was only thirteen hundred thousand pounds; while the excess, on the part of the Bank of England, was seven millions. And what was the amount of the difficulties under which the joint-stock banks were labouring? Only eight hundred thousand pounds. If this were all their excess of circulation, the danger produced by it was nothing compared to that caused by the Bank. In January, 1837, the liabilities of the Bank amounted to 31,776,000*l.*; which was two millions and a half more than the sum to which they had reduced them in 1835; but if there were a diminution of obligations to the amount of two millions, and an increase of circulation to two millions and a half, it was not possible that gold could remain. The bullion had been reduced from six millions and a quarter to four millions and an eighth. It was said to be a general complaint, that the joint-stock banks had not capital; that the shareholders should have paid up their capital to enable them to meet their issues. But what capital had the Bank of England? Not a shilling that was not lent to the government. Under these circumstances, Mr. Hume contended, that the conduct of the Bank of England should form a principal object of investigation; and he moved, as an amendment, "that there be an inquiry into the state of banking, and the causes for the changes of the circulation since the year 1833."

The amendment was seconded by Mr. W. Williams, who contended, that the Bank had displayed a more reckless disregard of the interests of the country than had ever been

shown by any public body intrusted with the management of its financial resources. On the 28th December, 1833, the issues of the Bank were 32,600,000*l.*; and their stock 10,000,000*l.* On the 28th of March, 1835, being fifteen months afterwards, a reduction appeared on those issues of no less than four millions and a half; nine months afterwards, on the 26th December of the same year, there appeared an increased issue of nearly nine millions, being more than one-fourth of their circulation. What was the consequence? Such an advance in prices, that in September last, the cost of every article of import was raised from forty to an hundred per cent. The consequence was a falling off of our trade. In January last, the circulation of the Bank of England was thirty-one millions; and they had four millions to pay that amount; being very little more than half a crown in the pound to meet their engagements. The directors professed to have discovered that the true principle for regulating their issues was, to keep gold to the amount of one-third of them. In so doing, no doubt, they would be safe; but had they acted upon the principle? At that moment, instead of having one-third, they had only about one-seventh or one-eighth of their issues in gold.

With respect to Mr. Hume's allusion to the seeming superior stability of the commercial credit of France, it was observed by Mr. Robinson, that the fact admitted of a very obvious solution. This country was the general mart of all the commerce of the world; a large portion of the trade of Europe and America centered here. There could be no doubt, that the late derangement of the commercial interests in America had contributed to the difficulties that had been felt here. France had remained, in a great degree, free from any share in these operations, and thus escaped from the inconveniences resulting from them.

Mr. Gisborne defended generally the conduct of the joint-stock banks; and seemed to ascribe much of the blame of the recent embarrassments of the commercial world to the proceedings of the Bank of England. At any rate, he contended, that the conduct of that establishment should be embraced in the proposed inquiry. He did not, however, seem to think that *any* inquiry was, in point of fact, necessary. It would only, he said, lead to expectations, which it was impossible to satisfy. Moreover, it was impossible, by legislation, to enforce prudence or caution in the management of private concerns. In such matters, men must be left to themselves and to the teaching of experience; a very small quantity of the wisdom so learnt, was worth a ton of that which could be taught by act of parliament. Joint-stock banks were, as yet, recent establishments, and some allowance must be made for the freakish dispositions incident to youth. Mr. Gisborne then went on to animadvert on certain suggestions thrown out in the report of the committee. For example, it complained of the amount of nominal, as compared with that of paid-up capital. He said, he should like to know why banks should not exercise their discretion as to the amount of paid-up capital which their business required. The report further complained, that no restriction was made by law on the amount of shares subscribed. He asked, was

it reasonable, that there should be any such? The shareholders ought to be the best judges of their own interest, and it would be most injudicious to interfere with them, unless it could be shown, that the public interest required it.

This last remark of Mr. Gisborne's amounted to little more than what is called a truism. Of course, a regard to the public interest was the only ground upon which the legislature could be supposed to take the slightest interest in the management of these, or any other private establishments. But as long as their conduct affects the currency of the country, it will remain the duty of the government to watch over it with unremitted attention. Mr. Gisborne went on to give his reasons for thinking, that the inquiry could not possibly lead to any useful or practical result; and, in conclusion, he stated his intention of moving the previous question, with the hope of setting it aside altogether.

Mr. Villiers supported Mr. Hume's amendment for enlarged inquiry; which, he thought, might lead, in the end, to the discovery of the true principles on which banks should be established; though the particular application of those principles, when ascertained, he thought, should be left to private management. The more the public were encouraged to lean on parliament for the regulation of their interests, the more careless and incautious would they become. At present, almost every person had his own nostrum for the evils of joint-stock banking, and distrusted his neighbours. His friend, Mr. Clay, had no less than three remedies; viz., paid-up capital, limited liability, and complete publicity. Mr. Villiers said, he had never heard any commercial man *agree* to all these, though many *disapproved* of them all; and he was rather inclined to think with these last. The great evil was thought to proceed from the banks being allowed to issue notes; but their issues not forming above one-fifth of their liabilities, their improper use of this privilege did not amount to more than one-fifth of the evil to be apprehended.

This last observation of Mr. Villiers, seems to be more arithmetically than politically just. As far as the public generally are concerned, the issue of notes payable on demand, might constitute the whole of the evil of which they had a right to complain. Mr. Warburton voted for the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and spoke, as usual, shortly and sensibly in support of it. He did not see the need of the more extended inquiry proposed by his friend Mr. Hume; still less could he agree with his friend Mr. Gisborne, in endeavouring to preclude any inquiry. The evils attributable to joint-stock banks, it appeared to him, were of a very different nature from those which could be laid to the charge of the Bank of England. Among the charges against the managers of joint-stock banks, was a want of integrity; but surely no such imputation had ever been levelled against the directors of the Bank of England. Indeed, no one seemed to agree with Mr. Gisborne in opposing inquiry altogether. Mr. Clay even remarked, that if in so doing, Mr. Gisborne was supposed to represent the opinions of any considerable number of persons concerned in joint-stock banking, he was only affording an additional reason for urging investigations.

Mr. T. Baring remarked, that if the joint-stock establishments were, as Mr. Gisborne pleaded, only yet in a state of infancy, it suggested a reason for subjecting them to that control which the imbecility of their age demanded. Mr. O'Connell, too, was for inquiry, and wished the Bank of England to be included in the range of it, though without meaning any disparagement of the prudence of the directors of that establishment. He gave a painful picture of the situation of those gentlemen. When Dr. Majendie set about dissecting a dog, he began by nailing his nose to a board. The directors of the Bank of England, O'Connell said, were in that position. They were nailed by the nose, by the return to a gold standard. Hon. Members talked of the importance of establishing great principles: but, in many instances, said Mr. O'Connell, nothing tended more than great principles to individual injury. He believed, that the great principle sought to be established in 1819, had caused more private distress than almost any other measure ever brought forward.

This may be true, but surely Mr. O'Connell would not have a government legislate upon any other than great, that is, general principles. No doubt, much individual suffering frequently attends the assertion of them. But that might be made a ground of objection to every turnpike bill that passes the legislature.

Mr. Poulett Thomson, advocated inquiry on behalf of the joint-stock banks, of which he professed himself a friend. All, he said, must be aware, that these banks had borne up well, and gained credit under the trial. Whatever difference of opinion there might be as to the construction of some of these banks, the large number of persons of wealth and respectability, who were engaged in them, undoubtedly found a new feature in the banking system of the country. No doubt, that circumstance created a greater degree of security; and no man could doubt, but that paper had been pushed farther than it had ever been before. But that was an evil which could not be guarded against. No act of Parliament could make people wise.

Sir Robert Peel was for inquiry, and for as early a decision of the question as possible; for it was clear, that the suspense of the public mind on the subject, might lead to great practical inconvenience. With the same view to a speedy determination, he objected to widen the inquiry in the manner proposed by Mr. Hume. Mr. Gisborne had objected to the right of government to interfere in the concerns of the persons engaged in joint-stock banks; but surely Parliament had already interfered with them in various ways. Why were they prohibited from issuing five shillings, or half-a-crown notes? Could any man doubt, that the recent transactions of the Northern and Central Banking Company, justified an inquiry into the nature of them? Where a company had been invested by the legislature, with a power equivalent to that of coinage—a power affecting the interest, not merely of the shareholders, but of those who took their notes; and when that company had been compelled to apply to the Bank of England, with a declaration that they should be ruined, unless they lent them an hundred thousand pounds; surely a case like this was very

different from a speculation in sugar and tobacco. Look at the report of last year, and let any man say, if he could place implicit reliance upon the sagacity of joint-stock bankers. It appeared from the statement of the managers of one of them, that although they had bad debts to the amount of 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.*, they took no account of these in their balance, but divided annually large dividends; and their shares were at ten per cent premium.

The debate was concluded by a reply from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said, he had heard nothing in the course of it, to enduce him to extend the inquiry beyond the limits he had originally proposed for it. With respect to the Bank of England, the contradictory nature of the charges against it, afforded a sufficient answer to them. As for the assistance afforded to the Northern and Central Bank, if the Bank of England had not come forward on that occasion, would it not have been said to be actuated by a petty jealousy to a rival establishment, instead of an enlarged regard to the general interests? And if that bank had failed, with its forty branches, and the failure had been followed by that of other banks connected with it, should they then have heard so much as they had during this discussion, in defence of the system of joint-stock banks?

A division took place on the original motion; which was carried by 121 Ayes, to 42 Noes.

Another emergency in which the Bank of England was called upon to exercise the arduous and delicate office of interference for the purpose of averting a convulsion of the commercial world was occasioned by the crisis that took place this year in the American trade. The detail of the circumstances which brought about that juncture, belongs more immediately to another chapter in our volume. We may observe, however, that generally they are resolvable into two leading facts;—first, the spirit of overtrading, which, during the last two years, had prevailed in the United States; sympathetically as it should seem with the similar excitement which we have described as taking place, during the same period in England: and secondly, the sudden and general check which had been given to all the operations of the American money-market, by the measures adopted by the President, in hostility to the banking system of that country.

The commercial interests of the two great branches of the English race which inhabit the opposite shores of the Atlantic, are so intimately connected together, that any the least derangement in the commercial affairs of the one nation, is immediately and seriously felt by the other. A change, however, had of late taken place in the management of the money transactions between the two countries, which had yet further complicated their mutual relations in this respect. This state of things has been clearly and accurately described in a contemporary publication * to which we are principally indebted for much of the following account. It would seem that of late years, nearly the whole of the foreign trade of America, not merely with Great Britain, but with the East, and even with South America, has been entirely carried

* Edinburgh Review, No. 132.

on by credits obtained in England. Formerly, the export of British goods to America was carried on in the usual way, by the English houses charged with the orders, transmitting the invoices and bills of lading to their correspondents in the United States, and receiving bills on Europe in return. And in the same way, vessels destined for China or India, took with them either specie, or articles, whether of American growth or British manufacture, suitable to the demands of those markets. A very different method of management would appear to have grown up in the course of the last few years. The great importing houses in America have adopted the plan of establishing agents of their own in the principal foreign ports or districts, whether in Europe or the East with which they are connected. These agents are furnished with credits upon some of the principal houses concerned in the American trade, which allow them to draw for the amount of the same by bills for four months. In the first instance, the houses granting the credits were accustomed to require as a security in return, the invoices or bills of lading of the shipments made, and to remit them to their correspondents in America. Latterly, however, this precaution has fallen into disuse. It was thought unnecessary in the instance of some great houses whose credit could not be questioned; and once dispensed with in respect to these, the like indulgence was gradually required by others who had less claim to it—and in the spirit of confidence and competition which is the effect as well as cause of over-trading, it was found difficult to refuse it. In this way many American houses were carrying on commercial operations to a very large extent entirely upon credits obtained in England, for which they had given no collateral security whatever. The precarious nature of such a system in its inevitable tendency to abuse, is obvious. In itself, however, it seemed the more plausible from the circumstance that the bills drawn by the American agents and accepted by the English houses were at four months. Consequently as the goods purchased by them here were commonly sent to America within one month, and sold before the lapse of two, there was ample time, supposing them to be founded on real transactions, for the remission of funds to England to meet the acceptance before it became due. It was, perhaps, principally from this circumstance, that bills of this kind had come to obtain particular favour in the English money market.

We need not stop to point out the evident abuses to which such a system of credit was liable. One, however, should be mentioned, which it is believed was of no unusual resort. As the bills drawn were for four months, it was easy for the less scrupulous American houses to pay off one credit before it became due, by obtaining a similar one on another house; and when once in the market, it was difficult to distinguish the paper thus obtained from that which was issued upon more regular and legitimate transactions. The ramifications of this system, as far as English houses were concerned, though they had struck deep had apparently not extended themselves far. The business of making these advances on American account, is said to have been almost

entirely confined to seven houses; six in London and one at Liverpool; and it has been stated, that the amount of the acceptances of these houses have, at times within the last two years, amounted to no less a sum than fifteen or sixteen millions sterling; while the actual capital in their possession to meet this enormous amount of engagements has been estimated at less than one-sixth of the whole.

That a system thus factitious should terminate in disaster was inevitable; and the catastrophe was likely to be accelerated by the reaction which was already beginning to take place from the spirit of speculation and over-trading which had simultaneously been indulged in England. We have already stated the heavy drain for bullion that began to set in upon the Bank in April 1836, in consequence of the derangement that had taken place in the commercial transactions of this country. In order to check the efflux from her own coffers, the Bank, as we have seen was obliged to raise the interest charged on her discounts above the market rate; a circumstance that compelled her to lend a portion of her funds to the money dealers, who employed them in the discount of good bills. It happened that the paper so purchased consisted, in a great degree, of American bills drawn in the manner we have already described; and it was then, that the Bank directors became first acquainted with the enormous amount of engagements of this kind which were afloat in the market.

The fact naturally alarmed the Bank, and the step which they took with a view to check the further progress of the system, may be said to have given the first shock to its existence. The directors, it seems, sent instructions to the agent of their establishment at Liverpool, to reject the paper of certain American houses. By some unaccountable indiscretion in the parties concerned, the order became known; and the immediate consequence was the general discredit of the houses principally concerned in these transactions. Notwithstanding, however, this untoward circumstance, the houses in question still continued to carry on their operations; and it has been stated, that at the commencement of the present year, the outstanding acceptances of the three leading establishments of Wildes, Wiggins, and Wilson, amounted to no less a sum than the enormous one of five millions and a half sterling. At length, however, the system came to a crisis, and about the beginning of March, the three houses we have named, found it necessary to suspend their payments. The fact, as may be supposed, occasioned the greatest alarm in the commercial world. The engagements of the other American houses, amounted to a sum not less than that which we have specified as incurred by the three already mentioned; the whole has been estimated at little less than twelve millions sterling. A failure to an amount like this might have produced consequences of irreparable injury to commercial credit in all its branches, and under these circumstances, the Bank considered it an act of public duty, to come forward to their assistance. This was done, and so far effectually, that the three London houses before spoken of, were enabled to continue their operations until they had greatly diminished the amount

of their engagements. But a shock was not the less given to the whole system of money transactions in America, which combined with the difficulties that already beset it in consequence of the measures adopted by the government of General Jackson, terminated, as will be seen, in the stoppage of every bank throughout the union.*

* The peculiar importance attaching to the operations of the Bank of England in the present year, induces us to subjoin the following remarks on the comparison of her liabilities and assets during that period. The average of the month ending December 12th, as compared with the average of the month, ending the 10th of January, shows an increase in the circulation of 129,000*l.*, a decrease in the deposits of 6,075,000*l.*, and an increase in the stock of bullion of 1,917,000*l.* Whence, it appears, that the decrease in the liabilities is 5,946,000*l.* and this represents the decrease in the total quantity of money in the month ending the 12th December, as compared with the month ending the 10th of January, in so far as regards the administration of the currency by the Bank of England.

The variations in the stock of bullion seem to have taken place in the following manner and proportions :—

	£
In the month ending the 4th of April, as compared with the month, ending the 10th of January, there is an increase of	69,000
In the month ending the 27th of June, as compared with the month ending the 4th of April, there is an increase of	981,000
In the month ending the 19th of September, as compared with the month ending the 27th of June, there is an increase of ..	1,647,000
And in the month ending the 12th of December, as compared with the month ending the 19th of September, there is an increase of	2,220,000

Being a total increase of 4,917,000*l.*

The changes and fluctuations in the circulation will appear from the following statement :—

	£
In the month ending the 4th of April, as compared with the month, ending the 10th of January, there is an increase of	762,000
In the month ending the 27th of June, as compared with the month ending the 4th of April, there is a decrease of....	651,000
In the month ending the 19th of September, as compared with the month ending the 27th of June, there is an increase of ..	1,056,000
And in the month ending the 12th of December, as compared with the month ending the 19th of September, there is a decrease of	1,038,000

Which leaves upon balance an increase of 129,000*l.*

The following are the changes and fluctuations that have taken place in the deposits :—

	£
In the month ending the 4th of April, as compared with the month ending the 10th of January, there is a decrease of	6,204,000
In the month ending the 27th of June, as compared with the month ending the 4th of April, there is an increase of.....	6,000
In the month ending the 19th of September, as compared with the month ending the 27th of June, there is an increase of ..	264,000
And in the month ending the 12th of December, as compared with the month ending the 19th of September, there is a decrease of	141,000

Which leaves upon balance a decrease of 6,075,000*l.*

The following are the average amounts of the circulation, the deposits, and the stock of bullion during the period from the 10th of January to the 12th of December inclusive :—

	£
Circulation	18,486,500
Deposits.....	10,726,000
Bullion	5,824,000

Upon this return, there is further to be observed, that there being a decrease of 1,179,000*l.* in the liabilities in the month, ending the 12th of December, as compared with the month ending the 19th of September; while upon the same compare there is an increase of 2,220,000*l.* in the stock of bullion; it is visible, that in the intervening period, the Bank of England must have cancelled paper money to the amount of 3,399,000*l.*, and this by means of a diminution of its securities to the same extent.

The same remark applies to the yearly comparison. The decrease in the liabilities in the month ending the 12th December, as compared with the month ending the 10th of January, is 5,946,000*l.*, while upon the same compare there is an increase in the stock of bullion of 4,917,000*l.*, and therefore it is evident, that in the intervening period, the Bank must have cancelled paper money to the amount of 10,863,000*l.* and that its securities have been diminished to the same extent.

CHAPTER XII.

Foreign Policy of England under the Whig Administration—Lord Mahon's Motion on our Relations with Spain—His Speech on the occasion—Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's Reply—Defence of the Suspension of the Foreign Enlistment Act—Speeches of Mr. Gally Knight and Mr. Fector—Lord Francis Egerton impugns the Policy of Ministers—Mr. Grove Price follows on the same side—Defends the Cause and Conduct of Don Carlos—Lord Palmerston's Speech in vindication of his Management of our Foreign Relations—His Statement of the Origin and Principles of the Quadruple Alliance—Defends the Order in Council of the 10th of June—Contrasts the existing State of our Foreign Connexions with that left by the Duke of Wellington's Administration—Sir Robert Peel's Reply—Speech of Mr. O'Connell—Sir Henry Hardinge's Motion on the same subject—Is seconded by Sir Stratford Canning — Opposed by Mr. Charles Wood and Mr. O'Connell—Adjournment of the Debate—Speeches of Sir Robert Inglis in favour of, and of Mr. Ward and Dr. Lushington against, the Motion—It is supported by Mr. Grove Price—Opposed by Mr. Sheil—Second Adjournment of the Debate— Defence of General Evans by Mr. Otway Cave—Speeches of Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, and Sir William Follett—Lord Palmerston's Defence of his Policy—Speeches of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell—Motion rejected on a Division—Lord Alvanley's Motion on the same subject in the House of Lords —General Evans's Resignation of the Command of the Legion—Its subsequent Dissolution—Seizure of the Vixen by the Russian Government —Question on the subject in the House of Commons—Cracow—Texas—Commercial Treaty with the Netherlands.

NO part of the conduct of the whig administration has been made the subject of more incessant and unqualified attack than the system of their foreign policy. Their ordinary defence has been, that at least it has been crowned by the best result, in the preservation of peace. And, no doubt, the argument is *primâ facie* a good one. Peace is the true interest of all states if they would coolly calculate it; but it is eminently and demonstrably the policy of England. It would not be easy to suggest the desirable object of

acquisition which we could obtain by the most triumphant and successful hostilities. Indeed, if the map of the world were laid before him, we know not the town or territory which an English statesman could point out which, if proffered for the asking, would be worth his acceptance.

This is a circumstance that singularly simplifies our foreign policy as far as British interests are concerned. It is in its nature essentially defensive. Our whole object is the preservation of the state of things which was established by the treaties of Vienna, in 1815 and 1816; and our only business to take care, that no one power should so increase at the expense of another as to acquire the means of endangering that state of peace and security, the maintenance of which is the evident and common concern of all. And in this respect it will be admitted, that the whigs have hitherto been upon the whole successful. It cannot be denied, too, that the period at which they undertook the management of our foreign policy, was by far the most critical and arduous that has occurred since the conclusion of the war. That the French and Belgian revolutions, and the insurrection in Poland, should have run their course without bringing on a disruption of the general tranquillity, is certainly a result upon which the ministers who secured it may fairly be allowed to take some credit. That the credit of it is not wholly or merely ascribable to their management, we do not dispute. If there is one individual to whom more particularly it belongs, it is the present king of the French; and generally it would appear, that all the existing governments of Europe have manifested a degree of concern for the preservation of peace, which as a fact is creditable to the increasing good sense of the age.

The part of their foreign policy in which the conduct of the whig government is most open to animadversion, is no doubt that which respects our relation with the Peninsula. Of all the measures which concern our relations to other states, none is of a nature more delicate and responsible than those which involve an interference in their civil or domestic quarrels; and the considerations of right or policy adduced to justify such a step should be of that obvious and imperious nature, as to admit little room for dispute or doubt as to their sufficiency. That there was anything of this necessity in the motives which determined our intervention in the existing contest for the succession in Spain, is hardly pretended by the ministers themselves; and, indeed, we can well believe, that had they anticipated, that the struggle would have assumed its present serious and protracted character, they would have hesitated longer in incurring the responsibility of sharing in it at all.

In the mean time the feelings to which the spectacle of the contest gave rise in this country were of a very painful and conflicting nature; and for the first time probably since the American war many were to be found who could feel no joy or sympathy in the success of the British troops, and the triumph of their own countrymen. Indeed, some Englishmen were actually fighting in the ranks of Don Carlos. And what made such a state of things still more distressing was the cruel and san-

guinary character of the war, and the unexampled atrocities which had been perpetrated on both sides. As might be expected, the ministers were loudly exclaimed against by persons who held very opposite opinions. Some complained, that they should have intermeddled in the war at all, and others, that they had not interfered in a more decided, summary, and efficient manner. They themselves maintained, that they had preserved throughout the strict line of non-intervention; or at the least, that they had in no way compromised the name and dignity of England. In one sentiment, however, their friends, as well as their enemies must have agreed, viz.—that their policy in respect of Spain, however well meant, or wisely determined, had been signally unfortunate in its results, up to this time. It is not necessary here to enter into the merits of the war, but it is only due to Lord Palmerston to admit, that in his desire to preserve peace, on the one hand, and to promote what he considered the liberal cause on the other he had a most difficult part to perform. Nor can it be doubted, that the difficulty of carrying on the Foreign policy of the country has been considerably augmented by the altered tone and character of the House of Commons since the passing of the reform measure. The zeal for economy which makes almost all war obnoxious, where anything short of the integrity of the empire is concerned, and the diminished influence of the Government for the time being, whether Whig or Tory, owing to what Lord Grey termed "the pressure from without," which compels them to regard what is popular and palatable, rather than what is really just and expedient, are both of them striking characteristics of the reformed Parliament, and calculated to throw serious impediments in the way of the ministers in carrying out their own measures. This may be observed more particularly in reference to the Foreign policy, from the greater degree of secrecy and unity of design, as well as promptness and decision in execution, which it requires. It is, therefore, but fair and reasonable, to keep in mind these circumstances, while reviewing the line of policy pursued by Lord Palmerston in Spain.

It was in the midst of the doubts and anxieties which prevailed on the subject, and the pain and regret which was felt at beholding British soldiers fighting without the protection of the British flag, and exposed to all the shame and hardships of a warfare not less disastrous than disgraceful, that Lord Mahon, who had been under-secretary for foreign affairs, during Sir R. Peel's administrations, on the 10th of March, brought the whole subject under the consideration of the House. He began, by expressing his want of all confidence in the King's Government, and especially in Lord Palmerston, in whom the country had too long reposed a confidence to which he was neither entitled by the prudence of his plans, or the success of his exertions. He complained, that the public had been kept in a state of ignorance, whether they were at peace, or at war; and in his opinion, it was a peace without tranquillity, and a war without honor. The object of the quadruple alliance had been to appease the civil dissensions in Portugal, and not to sanction the intervention of France

and England in Spain. To this, he did not object, but he lamented the policy which led to the additional articles signed in 1834, which stipulated for a certain degree of interference. The Duke of Wellington, however, during the four months he had been in office, had acted up to the spirit of those articles as he was bound to do. But Lord Palmerston had thought proper to proceed still farther, in suspending the foreign enlistment act, and allowing 12,000 Englishmen to enlist under the banners of the Queen.

Lord Mahon went on to contrast our position throughout the Peninsular campaign, during which period he reminded Lord Palmerston that he had been secretary-at-war. Then, the great object had been to drive the French out of the Peninsula; an object which had been sanctioned by all our greatest statesmen for more than a century and a half. It had been alike the policy of the Walpoles, and the Chathams; of Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox. Lord Palmerston, on the contrary, had departed from it. Count Mole, the Prime Minister in France, said, in the chamber of deputies, that "Lord Palmerston considered, that circumstances justified the co-operation of France," and in fact, "that in March, 1836, he notified to General Sebastiani, that it was his intention to land a certain force of marines on the coast of Spain, and invited France to join in that co-operation." At the same time, he had offered France the occupation of the port of Passages, and left to her own option, the mode and extent of co-operation. Mr. Thiers had, however, declined the invitation. Next came the revolution of La Granja, and soon after that event, an increased force of marines was sent to the relief of Bilboa. More than 540,000*l.* had already been expended in the war, and all the accounts were not as yet sent in. In Lord Mahon's opinion, the influence of Great Britain in Spain, had not been augmented by these measures, and in proof of it, he quoted a memorial, presented by the British merchants of Alicant, complaining, that their interests had been neglected, and that while England carried off at least three fourths of the produce of Spain, Spain took very little in return. Their applications to the ambassador at Madrid were in vain; and while their petitions were so little heeded, they had the additional mortification to see the wishes of the French and American ministers attended to without delay. To illustrate still further, the decline of our influence with the Court of Madrid, Lord Mahon alluded to a tax imposed on British subjects, "Por Liberacion del Rey," originally levied during the captivity of King Ferdinand. This impost being lucrative, had been kept up, although the king had not only been delivered, but passed from captivity to death. There were other grievances of a similar kind; and the only one which had been redressed, was a tax on military quarters, (Paja y Utensilios), which had been ceded to the English residents. He begged, in the next place, to call Lord Palmerston's attention to the provinces of Biscay and Navarre, which had been deprived of their legal rights and privileges. In a pamphlet, attributed to some person intimately connected with the Government, an attempt had been made to overthrow the arguments in Lord Carnarvon's work, in defence of these

rights and privileges. With that view, the author of the pamphlet endeavoured to show, that the Biscayans were indifferent to them, because most of their generals, as Villareal, and Moreno were not natives of those provinces. After an elaborate argument, in refutation of this pamphlet, his Lordship stated, in conclusion, that he was not actuated by any partiality for the character of Don Carlos, or any desire of advocating his claims on the crown of Spain,

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson then rose, and thanked the noble Lord for his speech, the tone of which, he admitted, was moderate and gentlemanly, at the same time, but he differed in toto from the noble Lord. He defended the alteration which Ferdinand had made in the succession, and which had been approved of by the Cortez, while they looked upon Don Carlos as a mere pretender. The question for the House was, whether this country was not justified in abiding by the terms of the Quadrupartite Treaty. He maintained, that we had done no more, until Don Carlos had published the edict of Durango. After that infamous act, a very important article had been appended to the treaty, stipulating that arms and stores should be supplied for the maintenance of the war; and if necessary, a naval force. The suspension of the foreign enlistment act was still further made necessary by the efforts of the northern powers, to place Don Carlos on the throne. Hitherto the failure of the Spanish generals had impeded the operations of the British troops, and this circumstance could not have been foreseen by the Government. He extolled the gallantry of the English, in the relief of Bilboa, and the generosity of General Espartero in acknowledging their bravery and good conduct on that occasion.

Mr. Gally Knight also dissented from the view taken by Lord Mahon. He thought, the struggle going on in the Peninsula, was not so much between Don Carlos and Queen Isabella, as between the principle of despotism, and the principle of freedom.

Mr. Fector, who had, on a former occasion, professed himself a violent partisan of Don Carlos, expressed his decided disapprobation of the policy of Lord Palmerston.

Lord Francis Egerton next rose to reply to Mr. Fergusson. In his Lordship's opinion, we were not the proper judges of the value of those rights and privileges for which the Basques were contending. If they, themselves, held them dear, every Englishman must feel a sympathy in their cause. Mr. Fergusson had admitted, that could we have foreseen the failure of the Spanish Generals, it would have altered the question, as to the policy of suspending the Foreign Enlistment Act. But were not the ministers culpable for such a want of foresight? Surely, Lord Palmerston and his colleagues might have distinguished between Spain in the 16th century, when her troops were the first in Europe, and led by an Alva and a Cortez, and Spain, as it had shown itself during the late war in the Peninsula.

Had not, he asked, lord Palmerston been in office during the war of independence? And had its records taught him nothing of Spanish generals and Spanish promises? At any rate, a glance at the pages of

Napier, or a word from the duke of Wellington, would have enlightened him on this subject. If it were true, as stated by the member for Nottinghamshire (Mr. Gally Knight), that the Inquisition was ranged on one side, as the inevitable consequence of success, it was, at least evident, that the wildest extravagances of Atheism and Jacobinism were ranged on the other. For his part, he wished to see an end of the contest. If the noble lord could raise up that edifice of national liberty which he gave him credit for really desiring, he might rejoice; but taking the history and condition of Spain into consideration, he doubted the possibility of such a result. The noble lord might, by taking more vigorous measures, obtain a momentary triumph, but he would entail upon his country years of labour, and expense, and disappointment. He (Lord F. Egerton) said, he had held the same doctrine in 1823, when the French invaded Spain. He had condemned that undertaking as dangerous to those who entered upon it. They succeeded, according to his expectations, in the capture of the Trocadero and the occupation of Cadiz, but then their difficulties commenced. He trusted the noble lord would be warned by this example.

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson explained, and Mr. Poulter protested against their doctrine, who stigmatised the conduct of the government as intervention.

Mr. Grove Price, who had before maintained, like Mr. Fector, the unquestionable right of Don Carlos to the throne, rose next to defend the character of that Prince from the aspersions which had been cast upon it. The hon. gentleman did not, however, attempt to contradict or justify the facts that Don Carlos had issued the edict of Durango; and that, in virtue of the same, some English soldiers had been already taken and executed. He quoted, however, the authority of captain Henningsen, who had served in Spain, to show, that the charge brought against Zumalacarregui, the celebrated Carlist general, of slaying women and children who had fallen into his hands, was unfounded. He also described the scene which took place when Don Carlos visited the deathbed of that chief, when he betrayed the greatest degree of feeling and concern; insomuch, that he afterwards ennobled every female member of the gallant general's family, contrary to the most ancient law in Spain.

Mr. Price then proceeded to assure the House, that he did not think at his period of life, to have been so much interested in any question as he was in that before the House. Every feeling and sympathy of his heart was mixed up in the cause; which, however, he had taken up from purely disinterested motives, because he believed it to be just. After a short outline of the merits of the contest, in which Mr. Price overlooked the very important circumstance, that the principle on which the queen founded her pretensions, had been *three* times sanctioned by the Cortes, convened at long intervals from one another, he went on to make some very severe reflections on the questionable morality of troops being hired to embroil themselves in the civil dissensions of another country. He admitted, that the conduct of these auxiliaries had been marked, in many instances, by the spirit of daring and enterprise

which characterised the British soldier; but he confessed, he entertained those old fashioned English notions, which taught that the man who shed blood, not in the cause of his country, or at the command of his king, but from misplaced and ill-directed energy, from the love of gain, from ambition, or a desire of seeing foreign countries, was not a man, but a murderer. He spoke not of those enthusiastic and high-minded spirits who aspired to glory, dazzled by the splendor of military fame, and the lustre of great achievements. Dangerous, he thought, was even their moral position; but the man who heedlessly and without an accurate knowledge of the grounds of the quarrel, rushed into a contest, attracted by anything rather than attachment to the principles of the cause he supported, was little better than an assassin. Mr. G. Price concluded with another tribute to the virtue and magnanimity of Don Carlos, who was, he declared, so far from desiring to re-establish the Inquisition, that his prime minister, the bishop of Leon, had spent his whole life in writing against it, and had obtained from his sovereign a decree for its abolition. This was denied by Mr. O'Connell, whom Mr. Grove Price allowed to be a competent judge, because he was acquainted with the bishop of Leon. If, however, it were supposed, that Don Carlos admitted Mr. O'Connell to his councils, then, said Mr. Grove Price, no English Protestant gentleman would, for a moment, countenance the pretensions of that sovereign.

Lord Palmerston, in a very clear and able speech, defended the policy of the Government. "The hon. Gentleman (Mr. G. Price) was quite right in saying, that he did not write the pamphlet to which so much allusion had been made. It certainly was a very able pamphlet, and he must say, that if he had written it, he should be proud to acknowledge it. The hon. gentleman had gone into a dissertation upon the rights of Don Carlos, and favoured them with a history of the law of succession. The hon. gentleman was right in saying, that the Salique law, strictly so called, did not exist in Spain. By the law introduced by Philip, females were not eligible to succeed, until all the male descendants of Philip had ceased to exist. Now, the hon. gentleman contended, that the recent change in the succession was not legally made: That was the point at issue; and yet, he apprehended, that all the requisite forms had been gone through. The change was made at the will of one king; it was sanctioned by his successor, and it was sanctioned by the Cortes, summoned expressly for the purpose. It was sanctioned also by their constituency, who were directly appealed to for the same object. It had, therefore, every sanction contended for as necessary by the hon. gentleman. The title of Isabella was recognised by the great majority of the Spanish nation, and by the Cortes of Spain. But that was not a question which the House was called upon to determine. It was a question for for Spain to decide, and not Great Britain. The government had acknowledged Isabella as queen, *de facto*, just as the duke of Wellington's government had acknowledged Louis Philippe to be king of France, although Louis Philippe was a king sprung from a revolu-

tion." Lord Palmerston took a more cheerful view of our foreign relations than the preceding speakers had done. He thought Portugal was recovering from the struggle by which it had been convulsed, that Spain would resume its former proud position in the scale of European nations. He thought that the alliance between this country and France would not easily be dissolved. It had been stated last session, that every province in Spain was ready to rise in favour of Don Carlos, but events did not bear out the statement. It had also been stated, that the present government in Spain could not last, but must give way to wild theories, and end in dismemberment and democratic confusion. Now, if there was one thing more than another which could justify the hopes he entertained of Spain, it was the wisdom and moderation of the Cortes; the most prudent, sensible, high-minded assembly that had ever met in Spain. Lord Palmerston denied that the people of the Basque provinces were contending for their privileges. If so, how did it happen, that the great land-owners of the country, and the principal towns, were on the side of the queen? Surely, if commercial privileges were at stake, Vittoria and Bilboa must be more interested than the inhabitants of the mountains; but the fact was, the Basques felt the advantage of their privileges so long as the rest of Spain was under a despotic and arbitrary government, but when the whole of Spain became free, those privileges ceased to have any value. Lord Mahon had said, that the original Quadruple Treaty contemplated assistance to Portugal in a civil war, but not to Spain. "Now, he (Lord Palmerston) thought directly the reverse. The treaty was concluded because there was a civil war in Portugal; and when the civil war was transferred to Spain, the same parties who took part with Portugal by treaty, were bound, at an early period, to extend its provisions to Spain. He denied, that the treaty had so limited an object as the noble lord contended for; any one who looked at the preamble of the treaty, would find, that the object of it was the pacification of the Peninsula by the expulsion of the two Infants from it."' He differed widely with Lord Mahon, in thinking the suspension of the Foreign Enlistment Act was disgraceful to the government of this country. "Examples of the same kind were to be found in the most brilliant periods of the history of England. The age of Elisabeth, which hardly any Englishman could make light of, was full of instances of the precise kind alluded to by the noble Lord. That great and enlightened sovereign frequently allowed her subjects to volunteer in support of the Huguenots of France, and of the Protestants in the Low Countries, and even to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; and she acted wisely in so doing. It was his decided conviction, that the suspension of the act was a proceeding most wise and most honourable to the country." After passing a warm panegyric on the behaviour of the British auxiliaries in Spain, his lordship proceeded to notice some statements made in the French chamber, and alluded to by Lord Mahon, as showing the mistaken policy of the government in calling in the co-operation of France. "The circumstances were these;

—In 1835, the French government asked us whether we thought it expedient that they should send a large army into Spain for the purpose of co-operating on a grand scale with the Queen; and the reply stated, that in the opinion of the English Government, it would be inexpedient to take such a step. In 1836, the French Government stated, that it appeared to them, that if France, without embarking in any operations of great magnitude, would advance the cordon of her troops then stationed on the Spanish frontier, to prevent any intercourse between the two countries, two or three marches into Spain, this proceeding would effectually serve the purpose which France was bound by the treaty to accomplish; and that the English Government considered it expedient this should be done. This was what had been alluded to by the noble Lord, and it was a proceeding quite distinct in its nature from interference or co-operation." In reference to the revolution of La Granza, Lord Palmerston observed, that so far was the naval force from having been sent out in consequence of it, that it had actually commenced operations several months before that revolt took place. That insurrection was owing to the discontent of the people at the prolongation of the war; it was not, however, that alone which decided the adoption of the constitution of 1812. There had been previously, serious movements in all the great towns. Neither was that constitution likely to be in all respects, the one finally determined on. Lord Mahon complained, that our merchants had been treated with insult and neglect. Now, he thought, that remark was much more applicable to the time when Ferdinand was on the throne of Spain. Then our commerce was seriously impeded, and our vessels piratically seized on by the Garda Costas, and confiscated without the slightest hope of redress. As an instance, on the contrary, of the attention now paid to the complaints of our merchants, our minister at Madrid had just obtained for British subjects an exemption from the tax levied for the support of the war. He looked forward with confidence to the enjoyment of much greater advantages than these, when once a constitutional Government should be established in Spain. If, when the noble Lord complained of the decay of British influence in Spain, he meant the power "of dismissing one minister by underhand intrigues, and substituting another by means equally discreditable," he (Lord Palmerston) desired no such influence.

"A disputed succession," said Lord Palmerston, "had been always considered among European nations, a matter not merely involving the interests of the particular kingdom, but also a question of great general interest. In this case, England had not interfered in the ordinary sense of the word, for the purpose of imposing on the Spanish people a Government which they had not themselves adopted. It was not that kind of interference which, it was feared, the Government of 1830 was about to exercise in Belgium, for the purpose of preventing them by an overwhelming force from assuring the political condition they desired, The question who should be Sovereign of Spain, was one seriously involving the interests of Europe,as determining what should

be the foreign tendencies, and who should be the foreign allies of Spain. Spain had been connected with various countries, at one time with Austria, and at another with France; the object was, in future, that there should be neither an Austrian Spain, nor a French Spain, but a Spain which should be Spanish; for his part, he did not despair of seeing Spain relieved from the abasement into which she had fallen, and regenerated as a distinct power which should be the ally of this country."

Lord Palmerston concluded by contrasting the efforts of gentlemen opposite to maintain the cause of despotism in Europe, with the successful endeavours of the Government in the pursuit of a more liberal and enlightened policy. The former supported Don Miguel up to the last moment, and now gave their countenance to Don Carlos, who was the author of the assassination decree of Durango, and believed by all Europe, to be intent on establishing the inquisition as soon as he arrived at Madrid. The ministers, on the other hand, might boast of the moral support they had given to the cause of rational liberty in Spain; of the part they had taken in the emancipation of the Greeks —of the free constitutions of Belgium and Portugal, which had grown up under their auspices— and if he could contribute, however humbly, to the establishment of the same happy state of things in Spain, as existed in Belgium and Portugal, he should esteem it a source of proud satisfaction to the latest hour of his life.

Sir Robert Peel rose after Lord Palmerston; and complained of the line of argument which had been adopted by the noble Lord; as if it were not possible to entertain a doubt about the justice and prudence of his Lordship's foreign policy, without, at the same time, wishing to stop the career of improvement in Spain. Sir Robert Peel said, that he, for one, openly disavowed all participation in the principle, or sympathy with the cause of Don Carlos. He would not say, that the objects of British policy would be advanced by the success of that prince; and moreover, he begged most distinctly to state, that he wished to see Spain in the settled enjoyment of a free and enlightened form of civil Government. His belief was, that the course adopted by our ministers was actually defeating its professed objects. It was obstructing the cause of improvement. It was calculated neither to raise our own character as a nation, nor to gain the affections of Spain.

Sir Robert then proceeded to travel over much the same grounds of objection to the foreign policy of the ministers, which had been commonly dwelt upon in this controversy. With respect to our alliance with France, he expressed himself not unfavourable to it. He said, he trusted, that the national jealousies which had so long prevailed between the two people, were daily vanishing away under the general influence of a better knowledge of each other's character. A good understanding with France, he considered to be a matter of great importance for the peace of Europe; but it did not seem to him necessary for the maintenance of that connection, that we should bind ourselves to interfere in the affairs of Spain.

In reference to this subject, the right hon. Baronet adverted to

the omission of all specific allusion to our alliance with France, which had been observed in the speech of the Lords Commissioners at the beginning of the Session; coupling this with the passage of the French King's speech, which so pointedly disclaimed the purpose of allowing French soldiers to fight under any other colours than their own, it was difficult to avoid the suspicion that as far as our connection with France was concerned, the quadruple treaty had not produced all the good effects that might have been anticipated. Sir Robert said, however, that he could see no just grounds for charging France with not having fairly fulfilled the obligations she had taken upon herself by that treaty. The noble Lord had, it seems, proposed, that France should march a corps into Spain, and occupy certain points in that country. His Lordship might call this co-operation or translimitation; or give any name he pleased to the proceeding; but Sir Robert said, he rejoiced that France had not adopted it; being convinced, that whatever might be its temporary conveniences; it could not, in the result, have been productive of good. He was persuaded, that no Government in Spain, which was founded on the intervention of foreign bayonets, could be of permanent establishment in that country.

Mr. O'Connell next made a short speech against Don Carlos in which he chiefly dwelt upon the atrocities which had been committed by the partisans of that prince, as a set off to the acts of a similar kind which had been imputed by Mr. Price to the Queen's generals. He took this occasion, too, to indulge in a violent invective against "the accidental King of the French," as he called him, whom he even stigmatized as a "despicable politician;" an imputation which is novel in the mouth even of the bitterest enemies of that prince.

Lord Mahon did not press any motion on the House on this occasion, declaring himself satisfied with the expression of opinion that had taken place.

In the discussion on this occasion it was generally thought, that Lord Palmerston had, upon the whole, rather the best of the argument; and that his vindication of the principles upon which the government had acted in reference to the affairs of the Peninsula, was not unsuccessful. And, indeed, we are inclined ourselves to suspect, that so general was, in the first instance, the public sympathy with the constitutional cause in Spain, that success was all that was wanting to give entire popularity to our intervention on its behalf. That result, however, seemed now to be further off than ever. Within a fortnight after the date of the debate on Lord Mahon's motion came the news of the complete defeat of General Evans before Hernani, on the 16th of the same month; and this disaster had an evident and immediate effect in determining the conclusions of that large body of political speculators who judge of measures chiefly by the event.

The political opponents of the government, as might be expected, were not disposed to pass over this opportunity of renewing the discussion on the general principles of the ministerial policy towards Spain. Immediately after the Easter recess, Sir Henry Hardinge gave notice of a motion on the subject, and on the 18th

of April, he brought it formally under the consideration of the House. Upon this occasion the hon. and gallant member said, "it was not his purpose to discuss the question of the policy of the quadruple treaty, that subject having been sufficiently gone into in the debate that took place on the motion of Lord Mahon; and, indeed, it was the less necessary to do so, as Lord Palmerston had never attempted to justify the intervention of a British legion in the north of Spain, on the plea that it was called for by the stipulations of that treaty. He considered, that by sanctioning the enlistment of that body in the service of one of the contending parties in the Peninsula, and thus subjecting a large number of his majesty's subjects to be dealt with as pirates and robbers, the noble lord had very deeply implicated the military character of this country. It was a matter of deep consideration for that House, and for the Christian people of England, whether they would allow their countrymen to become accustomed to shed the blood of their fellow men in a quarrel in which they were not interested; and still more to be trained to scenes of bloodshed and murder, the atrocity of which had never been approached in any modern warfare. The first act of the Duke of Wellington when he accepted the seals as Foreign Secretary, was, to endeavour to put a stop to the system of cruelty adopted by the belligerents on both sides. Every nation had an interest in taking care that war should not be carried on with unnecessary barbarity, or in a manner calculated to brutalize the people. Accordingly, Lord Elliot was sent out, with the purpose of mediating between the two parties on that subject, and his mission had been not unattended with success. They had the authority of General Cordova for asserting, that in the interval between the signing of the convention by Lord Elliot in February, and the issue of Lord Palmerston's order in council of the 10th June following, the lives of between 500 and 600 Christino prisoners had been saved. The conduct of the war had thus been humanized by our interference; but a complete change had taken place since the appearance, under Lord Palmerston's sanction, of 10,000 foreign mercenaries on the Spanish soil. Such was the feeling of exasperation in the minds of the Carlists at the intervention of foreigners in the contest, that they had at once reverted to their former severities against their prisoners; and these, as might have been expected, were retaliated with equal barbarity by the troops of the queen. Lord Palmerston might say, that it was not his fault that the Durango decree had been issued; but it must not be forgotten, that it was not till after the debarkation of the Legion that that sanguinary document was promulgated."

Sir H. Hardinge then went on to advert to the insufficient measures that had been taken to secure the pay and provision of the Legion after its disembarkation in Spain. When they arrived at Vittoria on the 11th August, they formed a strong body—during the four months of their stay there the troops were placed in uninhabited convents, without bedding, fuel, or, indeed, supplies of any kind. Such were the privations to which they were there subjected, that not less than forty officers and 700 men fell vic-

tims to them. The same insufficiency of necessary supplies had been more or less experienced by the troops ever since. The natural consequence of such a situation was, a great disposition to mutiny; and instances of insubordination occurred daily. This alone was strong evidence of the impolicy of allowing a large body of Englishmen to be collected together and armed, without taking precautions for their adequate accommodation and provision. It was always impossible to enforce discipline unless the bargains with the soldier were scrupulously fulfilled. The worst consequence of this state of things on the minds of the soldiers was their total demoralization. Sir H. Hardinge proceeded to allege instances of the barbarous manner in which, there was too much reason to fear, our own countrymen were at present carrying on hostilities. This, he said, was not honourable war—it was butchery —we were massacreing a fine and independent people who had committed no offence against this country. The hon. and gallant officer then came to consider what had been the military result of these transactions—Ill treatment, want of food, and of clothing, habits of insubordination and mutiny, had produced on the troops the effects that might have been expected; they had ceased to have the proper confidence in their officers, and when opposed to the enemy, defeat and disgrace had been the consequence. Let them palliate the disaster as they would, there was no doubt of the fact, that a large body of Britons had suffered a defeat, such as, he believed, no British soldiers had undergone in the course of the last 500 or 600 years. How was this state of things to be remedied? Sir Henry contended, that their only resource was, to recal the Legion. Let the noble lord not renew the order in council permitting its engagement. If we were to make war, let us do it in a manner that was open and honorable, being well assured, that disgrace and failure would be the necessary and deserved results of perseverance in our present line of proceeding. The right hon. baronet concluded by moving an address to the king, praying his majesty not to renew the order in council of the 10th June, 1835, granting permission to British subjects to enlist in the service of the queen of Spain, which order in council would expire on the 10th of June next following, and praying, also, that directions be given, that his majesty's marine forces shall not be employed in the civil contest now prevailing in Spain, otherwise than in that naval cooperation which his majesty has engaged to afford, if necessary, under the stipulations of the treaty.

The motion was seconded by Sir Stratford Canning, who argued, at considerable length, that the terms of the quadruple treaty did not require or justify the kind of interference which the government had undertaken and countenanced in the internal affairs of Spain. Lord Leveson, on the other hand, bore testimony to the credit, which, he said, the British government had gained on the continent by the part they had taken on behalf of the liberals of the Peninsula. The real objection, he contended, to the British interference was, the efficiency of the succour it had rendered to the cause of good government; and all Europe would cry shame if the relief were now with-

drawn precisely at the moment when it was most needed.

Mr. Charles Wood said, it was no uncommon circumstance, even in modern times, for British officers to enter into the service of foreign powers, and gave the instances of Lord Keith and Sir Sidney Smith. With respect to the definition of naval co-operation, he was prepared to prove, that the usual limits had not been transgressed by the force under Lord John Hay. The marines were never more than three miles from a place of embarkation, and always under the independent command of British officers.

Mr. O'Connell remarked upon the eagerness with which the recent disasters of the Legion had been seized upon by the gentlemen opposite. The repeated actions in which they had done honour to the British name were forgotten; nothing was said of their victories; not a moment was lost in fastening on their defeat. Sir H. Hardinge had dwelt strongly upon the atrocities committed in the course of the present warfare in Spain. Had the hon. and gallant officer never heard of orders for refusing quarter issued even to our own troops? Had he never read of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards at the capture of St. Sebastian? Had he never heard of the butcheries at Cuidad Roderigo, and at Badajos? These cruelties were one of the wretched consequences of war, but it was unjust to employ them particularly as a taunt against General Evans and the Legion.

The second night's debate on this question was opened by Mr. Maclean; whose speech was rather historical, than argumentative; but though of great length, we do not know that it was fitted to throw much new light on the question.

The same account may be generally applied to that of Mr. Henry Bulwer, who followed him in the debate.

Sir Robert Inglis adverted to the imputation which had been cast against the tories, that they were the enemies of the church of Rome in their own country, but its friends in every other, from its association with despotism. He begged to disclaim any such feeling on their part. The tories supported the cause of Don Carlos because it was the cause of legitimate right; but they had no wish to interfere in his behalf. They desired merely to leave the two parties to settle their differences as they could. With respect to the present question, he held, that no man was at liberty to enter into a war except by the command of his lawful superior. He believed the prevailing sentiment of the people of England to be, that the blood of Englishmen should not be shed in foreign quarrels in which the interests of England were not directly concerned.

Mr. Ward insisted, that it was evident the opposition tried this question merely by the test of success. Why did not Sir Henry Hardinge bring forward his motion soon after the victory at Bilboa? and what encouraged him to bring it forward now? This was the first time that he had heard in the House of Commons the misfortunes of an ally urged as a reason for abandoning him. Hitherto, such a circumstance had always been stated, and never unsuccessfully, as a plea for additional exertions. No doubt

the Legion had suffered a defeat, but not such a one as to disable their continuance of the contest. General Evans had in the most candid manner admitted his losses, and yet it was at this very moment that an old brother officer in arms had chosen to aggravate his difficulties, and to cast against him the weight of his authority in military matters.

In reply to this imputation, as to their motives in bringing forward the motion at this particular time; Lord Mahon contended, that he and his friends had hitherto exercised the utmost forbearance on the subject, but there were necessarily limits to its indulgence. The instances of Lord Nelson and others had been adduced to justify the naval co-operation of Lord Palmerston; but he denied, that they bore upon the case in question, as at the time they occurred this country was actually at war. There was nothing whatever in the quadruple treaty which justified the conversion of a naval into a land force. Lord Mahon contended further, that the country had a right to know, whether there was any limit to the expense which we might be called upon to incur: twenty millions might be required by Spain, and did the treaty oblige us to furnish that sum?

The House had been somewhat impatiently expecting Lord Palmerston's own vindication of his policy, and at the close of Lord Mahon's speech there was a general cry for the Foreign Secretary. His lordship, however, still kept his seat, and Dr. Lushington proceeded to address the House. The learned civilian endeavoured to make out, that the naval co-operation which we had afforded was precisely that contemplated by the treaty. It could not be supposed, that the British fleet was to encounter that of Don Carlos, and drive it off the seas; the only object could be, a naval warfare along the coast. As for the enlistment of persons into foreign service, it had been common among Englishmen at all times. The atrocities which had been spoken of, in the manner of carrying on the war, had been begun by Don Carlos, and he alone should be answerable for them. The learned gentleman further said, that he considered the existence of the present government dependent on the event of the motion. If the reformed parliament of Great Britain should now abandon those principles of liberty and independence which they had hitherto advocated, the news would be hailed by bonfires at St. Petersburgh.

Mr. Grove Price supported the motion in a short but eloquent speech, in which he warmly contended, that the sending of men from this country to engage in military operations in Spain was an act wholly indefensible. Passing by the moral and religious considerations that the case involved, he urged, that for the sake as well of the Spanish people as of the credit and character of our own, such interference was most impolitic. Could Lord Palmerston point out any instance in which tranquillity had been established among any people by the employment of foreign weapons? Was it not the usual result, where strangers interposed, that they only embittered the quarrel they were sent to allay? Again, was it advisable to send a large body of our countrymen, on such slight

pretences, to be concerned in scenes of horror such as those that had been described? Would they thus become better men or better subjects?

Mr. Sheil then rose, and pronounced a lively speech in opposition to the motion. The question, he said, derived peculiar interest from the fact of its having been brought forward by a member of the military authority of sir Henry Hardinge, and seconded by a profound, but unemployed diplomatist, an eminent negociator, once in the confidence of the whigs, and now it seemed not undeserving of tory trust. The motion was also an amendment of the policy to be pursued by Sir Robert Peel on his accession to power. The right hon. baronet had recently intimated, that he would, although with great reluctance, submit to the infliction of office, and give the House of Commons an opportunity of atoning for that parricidal blow by which his official existence was suddenly abridged.

Mr. Sheil then went on to argue, that the government had put a right construction on the stipulations of the quadruple treaty. He also entered into a long apology for the ill success of General Evans, and for the excesses and insubordination of his troops. With respect to the naval co-operation of the marines, he referred to their motto, "*Per mare, per terras,*" as of itself setting that question at rest. "But it is alleged," continued the hon. and learned gentleman, "that the measures of the government have not produced any good result. I ask, if those measures had not been adopted, what would have befallen the Spanish people? Would not Bilboa have been taken by assault, and the standard of Don Carlos at this moment have been floating from the Castle of St. Sebastian? Or try the allegation by another test. Let me suppose this motion carried. The courier that will convey the intelligence will carry tidings of great joy to St. Petersburgh, to Vienna, to Berlin; and he will convey tidings of great dismay wherever men value the possession of liberty, or pant for its enjoyment. It will palsy the arm of freedom in Spain —a terrible revulsion will be produced—from Calpe to the Pyrenees the cry "We are betrayed by England," will be heard; and over that nation which you will indeed have betrayed, Don Carlos will march without an obstacle to Madrid!" It is stated, that cheers from the opposition here interrupted the hon. and learned member; to which he replied: "You cheer me, do you? Who are you that cheer me? Not your leaders; not the men who are placed conspicuously before me; they know, they feel, the impolicy of these rash manifestations; they profess horror at the atrocities of Don Carlos, and deprecate his triumph; but, you that cheer me, disclose your hearts, and exhibit the wishes by which your political conduct is determined."

"I have heard it asked," said Mr. Sheil in conclusion, "whether it be befitting, that in Spain, the theatre of so many of their best exploits, British soldiers should give way before bands of mountain peasants? I feel the force of that question; but there is another which I venture to put to every man who hears me, and, above all, to the gallant officer by whom the motion has been brought forward: I invoke the same recollections, I appeal to the same glorious remembrances, and in the name of

those scenes of which he was not only a witness but a sharer,—I ask, whether it be befitting that in that land, consecrated as it is in the annals of England's glory,—a terrible, remorseless, relentless despotism should be established; and that the throne which England saved should be filled by the tyrant by whom your countrymen, after the heat of battle, have been savagely and deliberately murdered? Never! The people of this country are averse, indeed, to wanton and unnecessary war, but where the honour of England is at stake, there is no consequence which they are not prepared to meet—no hazard which they will not be found prompt to encounter."

By another adjournment the discussion was protracted to a third night (April 19), when the debate was reopened by Mr. Otway Cave, who, in reference to the application of the term "mercenary," which had been made to General Evans and his companions in arms, related a fact which in justice to that officer should not be passed over. It seems, when General Evans was about to embark for Spain, many of his friends considered, that the sacrifices of every kind which he was about to make in the cause of Spain demanded some certain compensation from the government of that country. They stipulated, therefore, with the Spanish minister, that he should receive a sum of 10,000*l*. As soon, however, as the fact of this stipulation came to the knowledge of General Evans, he went at once to the Spanish minister and required its annulment; insisting, that he should not receive one farthing for services in the cause of the Queen of Spain.

Among the speakers on this night's debate, was Mr. Roebuck, who, however, professed to take very little interest in these questions; considering that they were treated by the respective leading parties in the House, as mere implements for effecting their own particular objects. Generally, however, he declared himself unfriendly to interference in the affairs of foreign countries; and when the expression of this sentiment was hailed with cheers from the opposition, he took occasion to ask of them how long they had themselves professed to act on this maxim? Mr. Roebuck said, it was perfectly absurd to suppose that a constitutional government could be established in any country, by foreign interference. It was an article it must acquire for itself, or go without it. But if constitutional governments were so much to our liking, he should like to know why we confined our efforts for their establishment to Spain? Our business was to have no other relations with foreign countries than commercial ones, Then as to this intervention of ours, what a farce it was! Never was there a more monstrous and unmeaning piece of patchwork. It was neither interference, nor co-operation, nor anything else; it was mere peddling. Surely if we were to interfere we should do so efficiently. Let us fit out a British navy—let us send out by it a British army, and let that army land in Spain, and fight under the British flag.

Mr. Roebuck followed up the expression of indifference, or rather of dissatisfaction, with both parties, which he had made in the course of his speech, by walking out of the house immediately on the conclusion of it. He was followed in the debate by

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, who made an able and learned defence of the line of proceeding which the government had adopted in the Spanish contest; particularly he dwelt upon the kind of co-operation which we had afforded to the armies of the queen, as coming strictly within the naval assistance which had been stipulated for in the quadruple treaty. By the third article of that treaty, the king engages to co-operate by the employment of a naval force in aid of the operations to be undertaken in conformity with the engagements of the treaty, by the troops of Spain and Portugal. Here then was a naval force contemplated to be employed, not in aid of another naval force of an ally, but in co-operation with his military force acting on land. But it was contended, that the same reasoning if it were good in respect to the treaty of the 22nd of April, would not apply to the additional articles dated the 18th of August, 1834; in which it is said, that there is no mention made of military operations in Spain. Mr. Fergusson observed, that they who reasoned in this manner, must consider the treaty and the additional articles as separate and distinct conventions; whereas he contended, there was but one treaty; and that the whole of the articles, original and additional, must be taken together, and construed so as to support and give effect to the common purpose for which they were entered into.

Sir William Follett replied to Mr. Fergusson, and contended, that the assistance we had given to the military operations of the Spanish armies, could by no laxity of definition be brought under the description of merely naval co-operation. There were, he believed, but two brigs of war on the coast of Biscay, whose complement of marines could not amount altogether to more than forty or fifty men, and yet there were 500 British marines engaged in the late affair at Hernani. The opposition had been taunted as friends and abettors of the author of the Durango decree. Sir William said, that no man felt greater abhorrence of the cruelties which had been authorised by Don Carlos; but though he took no interest, and felt no sympathy in his success, he took and felt as little in that of his antagonist. He could take no interest—he could feel no sympathy with a government who could continue Mina in his command, after he had been guilty of conduct far more atrocious, than even the promulgation of the Durango Decree. As little sympathy could he feel for the party who instigated, or at any rate apologised for, the massacres at Barcelona; but he had an interest in withdrawing a large body of Englishmen from the demoralising effect of a contest which was carried on by such a reciprocation of brutalities.

The noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had been repeatedly called upon in the course of these debates, at length arose; and began by apologising for his delay, on the ground of his anxiety to hear all the arguments by which the motion would be supported, before he presented himself to the attention of the House. Lord Palmerston's speech on this occasion, was, as usual, marked by much clearness of statement and closeness of reasoning; but our limits will not allow us to give more than a very succinct summary of

its contents. He observed, that the manner in which the question had been dealt with by his opponents, was not fitted to impress other people with a notion that their own convictions were very strong in respect to it. Their courage seemed to have ebbed and flowed, according to the fluctuations of the tide of war in the provinces of Biscay. Last autumn it was thought, that Bilboa would be taken, and loud was their song of triumph ; but Bilboa was relieved, and relieved by British naval co-operation, and then nothing further was said upon the subject. With respect to the conduct of General Evans, the noble lord said, it hardly became him to give an opinion; but surely his position had been one of peculiar difficulty. He was landed in command of eight or nine thousand men on a foreign coast, and within musket shot of the enemy ; few of his men had ever seen each other before; they had to go through the whole process of organisation and discipline upon the very spot where their active and immediate services were required ; it was not fair, therefore to compare the Legion in its earlier career with the regular troops in the king's service. With respect to their sufferings and sickness at Vittoria, could Sir H. Hardinge recollect no instance of equal privations and sickness as befalling the regular army in the Peninsular war, especially in the neighbourhood of Badajos, after the battle of Talavera ? Was not the sickness which prevailed in the British army, an army far better equipped and provided than the Legion, but like it consisting in a great degree of men recently arrived in the country, even greater than that suffered by the troops under General Evans. But then it was said, that the morals of our countrymen were in danger of corruption from the example of Spanish atrocities. Lord Palmerston said, he regretted those acts, as much as any man, but history told us, that it was in the character of the Spanish people to be more reckless of the shedding of blood than any other nation in Europe. And was it for those who served during the Peninsular war in conjunction with the troops of Spain—who saw the arms of England aided by the Guerillas, and who must recollect the cruelties then exercised upon the French, upon stragglers, prisoners, and the wounded—to urge this part of the Spanish character as a reason for refusing them our co-operation ? Lord Palmerston stated, that he trusted, that one of the first-fruits of the regeneration of Spain through the means of a free constitution, would be the creation of a public opinion which might tend to correct these defects and blemishes in the national character.

With respect to the quadruple treaty, the noble secretary observed, that every one knew under what circumstances, and for what object it had been concluded. The most superficial observer must have perceived, that the change that had been made by Ferdinand in the accession to the Spanish throne, though accompanied by every circumstance of legality and regularity, yet laid the foundation for a great revolution in that country. It was not merely the substitution of an infant female for a grown man ; it was evident, that out of that change must spring a great alteration in the internal constitutions of Spain ; and a change, too, in the tendencies of its external policy. What hap-

pened on the death of Ferdinand? A Spanish minister came to London to request of the English government a force to assist in expelling Don Miguel from Portugal. This we declined to afford; but we said, "Though we will not give you an army, we will give you a treaty." Accordingly we embraced the occasion to join the three great powers of the west of Europe in one alliance. This was the quadruple treaty, which was concluded in London, in April, 1834; and such was the effect of it, that even before the ratifications were exchanged, Don Miguel's army of twelve thousand men laid down their arms, and the two pretenders abandoned Portugal. Then came the escape of Don Carlos, and his placing himself at the head of the insurgents in the Basque provinces. The four contracting parties considered the treaty to be fully in force, and that it was only necessary to prepare new articles in order to provide for the altered circumstances of the war; which articles, however, should be considered merely as complementary of the original treaty. The noble lord then proceeded to defend the manner in which those articles had been carried into execution, upon the same grounds, for the most part, with those which had been urged by his friends in the course of the debate. We shall not, therefore, dwell upon this part of his speech, and for the same reason may omit any repetition of the argument by which he justified the order in council for permitting the enlistment of British subjects in the service of Spain.

In conclusion, he observed, that however skilfully the question before them might be disguised, it involved no less than, whether England should continue to fulfil her engagement with the Queen of Spain, or should disgracefully abandon an ally whom she had pledged herself to succour. This, however, he said, was far short of the real and ultimate tendency of the motion. The contest now waging in Spain was but a portion of that great conflict which was going on elsewhere throughout the world. The House had to decide that night between two opposite systems of foreign policy; and even these were not isolated principles which might be taken, or rejected, by themselves; they were intimately connected with, and deeply affected also, all our domestic interests. The object of one party was, to support Carlos and despotism; the other, to uphold Isabella and the constitution. In the days of the Reformation, when religion divided the different powers of Europe, we saw despotic sovereigns and free states united in league to defend the principles of religious liberty. In the present day things were reversed in this respect, and we now saw men of the most opposite opinions on religious subjects united together to retard the progress of political improvement. The opinion which that House was about to pronounce would, in fact, decide not only between conflicting parties in England, but between antagonist principles, struggling for ascendancy in every other country of Europe.

This appeal to the principles and predilections of the movement party in the House, was not without effect; and the noble lord sat down in the midst of loud and long-continued cheering from the benches behind him. Sir Robert Peel rose in reply to him; but, at the close of a three nights' debate, it

was, of course, difficult for the most practised orator to add anything in the way either of fact or argument, to what had been already urged on the subject. The discussion was closed by Lord John Russell, who defended the existing state of our foreign relations chiefly by contrasting it with that in which they had been left by the right hon. baronet and his friends when they quitted office in 1830.

The original motion, which had been for going into a committee of supply, on a division, was carried by 278 to 242; Sir Henry Hardinge's amendment, therefore, was rejected by a majority of 36.

The same subject substantially, was brought under discussion in the House of Lords two days after (April 21) by Lord Alvanley, in a motion for the despatches of Lord John Hay relative to the affair at Hernani. The debate on this occasion was chiefly remarkable for the very able and statesmanlike speeches pronounced by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen; but from the previous exhaustion of the subject in the discussions which had just taken place in the Commons, little of novelty was to be found in their arguments.

Early in the following June, General Evans resigned the command of the British Legion, and the dissolution of that body as a separate force took place at the same time. The gallant officer himself would hardly deny, that his expedition upon the whole had been a complete and signal failure; and, strong as is our sympathy, under all circumstances, with the success of British arms, in their want of it on this occasion we, at least, find matter of consolation. The event will, at any rate, tend to discourage a class of adventures, the morality of which is certainly very equivocal. It may, perhaps, be allowable for individuals to engage in foreign quarrels where their own convictions are strongly in favour of the justice of the side which they embrace; but the levying of large bodies of men for that purpose is hardly justifiable on the same principles. Here we may be sure, that the great bulk of the adventurers care and know nothing about the merits of the dispute. The desire of pay, or of military distinction, can be the only motives of their enlistment in the service; and it must always be very questionable how far these are grounds sufficient to authorize their shedding of blood in a quarrel, in which neither personally, nor nationally, have they the least concern.

A circumstance had occurred, which brought the state of our relations with Russia under the attention of parliament. A mercantile house, Messrs. Bell of London, had, in the way of speculation, fitted out a vessel called the Vixen, laden with goods, for the coast of Circassia. On attempting to land her cargo, she was seized by a Russian man of war, and confiscated; on the ground, first, of the violation of the blockade to which the Russian government had subjected the whole of the Circassian coast; and, further, for an alleged violation of the custom-house regulations established by the same authority in the ports of that country. With respect to the former of these pleas, the owners of the vessel complained, that they had been deceived by their own government; for that, on previously inquiring at the foreign office, as to the existence of any recognized blockade of the ports of

Circassia, they were simply referred for information to the London Gazette; and finding there no acknowledgment of any such prohibition by our own government, they conceived themselves at liberty to despatch their vessel. And generally the proceeding of the Russian government was denounced as unjustifiable, on the ground, that she had no right to establish any such blockade on the coast of Circassia, a country which she had never been either legally or actually in the possession of.

The subject was brought before parliament on the 17th of March, by Mr. Roebuck, who moved for copies of all the correspondence which had taken place between the British and Russian governments on the subject. From lord Palmerston's statement on this occasion, it appears, that the answer returned by the foreign office to Messrs. Bell's inquiries, dated 25th May last year, whether his majesty's government recognised the blockade on the coast of Circassia, was to the effect, that "it was the duty of the government to listen to complaints of injuries received by his majesty's subjects, and to assist them in obtaining redress for real grievances; but that it was no part of the duty of government to answer speculative inquiries. British merchants must watch their own interests, and not expect the government to prejudge questions of international rights." In their next letter, Messrs. Bell disclaimed any wish to make inquiries of a speculative nature; they confined their questions "merely to the fact, whether a blockade of the coast of the Black Sea, south of the river Kouban, which had existed up to the date of the last intelligence still continued;" and they further stated, that their conviction was, that as there was no notification of it, such blockade was not recognized by the British government; and if they received no contradiction, they should proceed to act accordingly." A letter, in reply, was forwarded on the 7th of June, "referring the parties again to the Gazette, in which they would find all such notifications as those alluded to, for the information of all concerned." It appears, that in point of fact, no declaration of blockade of the coasts in question had been communicated by Russia to our government; and, of course, none such notified in the Gazette. Upon this occasion, lord Palmerston observed, that there was a material distinction to be drawn between measures which may be applied by one power to the ports and coasts of another power, with which she may be at war, and a blockade maintained to enforce municipal regulations, to which a system of quarantine applies. Russia defended the seizure of the vessel in question, on the ground, that she was taken in the act of violating the regulations established to prevent smuggling on the Circassian coasts. It was objected, that the vessel had not yet attempted to unload her cargo; but Dr. Lushington stated, that it was a mistake to suppose, that this was necessary to bring a vessel within the scope of the custom-house regulations of a country. If she came within three miles of the coast where smuggling was prohibited, it as much involved a violation of the law of contraband, as if she had actually entered a port.

At this time, the question appears to have been still under negotiation. On the 2nd of

June, Mr. Roebuck repeated his inquiries on the subject, when lord Palmerston stated, that upon a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case, the government had come to the conclusion, that there was no room for making any further demand upon the Russian government.

Another matter in which our relations with the Russian government were partially concerned, was made a matter of question in the House of Commons, on the 22d of March, when lord Dudley Stuart took occasion to inquire of lord Palmerston, whether any consular agent had as yet been appointed to the state of Cracow. Lord Dudley Stuart reminded the House, that in the preceding session, a motion had been made by the member for Lancaster, for an address to the king, praying, that his majesty would be pleased to appoint a consul to reside in that city; and that the noble secretary for foreign affairs had thereupon stated, that it was the intention of his majesty's government to make such appointment, and intreated the hon. member to withdraw his motion; which, accordingly, upon that understanding, he had consented to do.

Lord Palmerston at once admitted the perfect correctness of this statement. He said, it had, undoubtedly, been his intention at that time, to send a consular agent to Cracow, but he had since been induced to depart from his purpose, finding that greater difficulties would attend it than he had at first anticipated. His lordship gave no particular explanation of the nature of these difficulties, but it was easily conjectured by the House; and it does not seem to have been thought expedient to press the government further upon the subject. Lord Dudley Stuart did, indeed, subsequently bring forward a motion respecting it, but he had not proceeded far in his speech, when the House was counted out; a method of disposing of his motion which did not encourage him to renew it.

A more important point of our foreign policy, respecting which, ministers were called upon in this session to give some information, was the situation of the province of Texas. On the 9th of March, Mr. Barlow Hay moved for copies of all correspondence which had taken place between our government and those of Mexico and of the United States on this subject; stating, at the same time, his sense of its extreme importance, and the suspicions he entertained of the ambitious project of the American government in respect to it.

In rising to reply to the hon. member, lord Palmerston said, he fully admitted the importance of the subject, and its claim on the anxious attention both of the government and the public. He disclaimed, however, any doubt of the honourable intentions of the American government in respect to Texas. It was true, some of the adjoining United States had interfered in favour of the insurgent faction in that province, but the central government had ordered the laws of the Union to be enforced to prevent that interference, and nothing could be more honorable, and consistent with good faith towards other powers, than the language which the president had employed respecting this matter, in the special message which he addressed to the congress, subsequent to the opening of the session. In that document, the

president had particularly suggested, that the use of great precaution was incumbent on the United States in the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas. A suspicion had prevailed, that they had an interested motive in interfering in the quarrel between that province and Mexico; and that, consequently, a just regard for the honour of the United States required, not only that they should suspend their recognition of its independence until it should be demonstratively accomplished, but that they should wait until other powers, against whom no such suspicions could be entertained, had set them the example of doing so. Lord Palmerston therefore declared, that there had been nothing in the conduct of the United States respecting this matter, which was not consistent with the most scrupulous feelings of honour and delicacy towards other powers.

Mr. Barlow Hoy had dwelt upon the extension of slavery to the province of Texas as a consequence to be apprehended from its incorporation with the United States. Lord Palmerston admitted, that such an effeet might take place, and declared, that he regarded it with equal jealousy as the hon. member; but, he observed, that there was good reason to think, that on the same ground, the northern States of the Union would equally object to the incorporation of Texas. With respect to the suppression of the slave trade, Lord Palmerston took this opportunity to state, that the treaty with Spain, which had only come into full operation within the last year, had already produced considerable effect. Ships had been condemned merely because equipped as slave-traders, although they had no slaves on board. Considerable evasion of that treaty had been practised by Spanish ships assuming the Portuguese flag; but, upon that point, it was satisfactory to know, that the Portuguese government was animated by a desire to combine with England in putting a stop to this disgraceful traffic. The present Portuguese government had published a severe law, prohibiting and rendering penal the importation of slaves into the Portuguese dominions. This law contained almost all the stipulations of the treaty; therefore, although the Portuguese government had not yet signed that treaty, the law itself, if zealously carried into execution, would accomplish the desired object. But lord Palmerston added, that there was reason to fear, from experience of the conduct of the subordinate authorities of the Portuguese government, that that object would not be accomplished until permission was given to British cruizers to carry that law into effect.

Under these circumstances, lord Palmerston considered it his duty to resist the production of the papers moved for. Mr. Barlow Hoy, however, was not so satisfied with his lordship's explanation, as to be induced to withdraw his motion. A division upon it took place, when it was rejected by a majority of forty-one to twenty-eight.

A treaty of commerce and navigation between Great Britain and Holland was signed at the Hague, on the 27th of October this year; the provisions of which will be found given at length among our public documents.

CHAPTER XIII.

Singular State of the Parliamentary Business towards the close of the Session—Situation of Parties—Rumours of a change of Ministers—Mr. Roebuck's Motion on the State of the Nation—His Exposition of the Politics of the Radical Section—Remarks on its tendency—The Motion is seconded by Colonel Thompson—Opposed by Mr. O'Connell, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Hume—Lord John Russell's Reply—Illness and Death of the King—Effect of this event on the expectations of Parties—The Queen's Message to both Houses—Addresses in reply—Eulogies of the late Sovereign, by Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, and Earl Grey, in the House of Lords—By Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons—Lord Lyndhurst's Speech on the State of the Public Business—Lord John Russell's Statement of the Course intended to be pursued in respect of it—Bill for providing for the Succession to the Crown—The Budget—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Exposition of the Financial State of the Country—Alterations in the Criminal Law—Lord John Russell's Speech on the Subject—Mitigation of Capital Punishment—Wills Bill—Bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt—Postponed in the Lords—Prorogation of Parliament—Address of the Speaker—Speech of the Queen.

THERE was something very singular in the state of the parliamentary business at the beginning of the month of June. The Houses had been assembled since, and the session was approaching the period which is usually assigned for its close; and scarcely a single one of the important matters which had been specially recommended to their consideration in the speech of the lords commissioners at the opening of it, had been brought to a conclusion. Nor, indeed, did there appear a prospect, that any such consummation would take place before the separation of parliament. The prevailing parties in either House had respectively taken up a position that for the present session forbade the hope of any compromise between them.

Under these circumstances of mutual obstruction, it naturally became a question, how long the ministers would consent to remain responsible for the conduct of the public business. Rumours of their approaching resignation had been

general previous to the Easter recess; and it will be recollected, that at the beginning of the session Lord John Russell had given an unequivocal intimation, that it was the resolution of his colleagues to make the continuance of their administration dependent on their ability to carry those measures which they considered to be necessary for the peace and settlement of Ireland. It was by this time evident that the menace would have little effect in deterring the opposition of the House of Lords to the measures alluded to; and, as might be supposed, there were not wanting persons to remind the ministers of the sort of pledge they had given, and to call upon them to redeem it. This, however, they appeared to be in no haste to do; but rather endeavoured, through their usual organs, to explain away the force of the expressions upon which the expectation had been founded. It is probable, they did this the more anxiously inasmuch as their opponents evinced no want of readiness to take their places, in case they should think fit to vacate them. Indeed, Sir Robert Peel took occasion to signify as much to the public in his place in parliament.

This state of public affairs appeared to Mr. Roebuck to present an embarrassment which it was not unworthy of his skill and patriotism to attempt to unravel. Accordingly, on the 9th of June; the day to which it will be recollected the second reading of the Irish Municipal Corporation and the Irish Tithe Bills had been respectively deferred in the Houses of Lords and Commons; when the order of the day to that effect was moved in the lower House; the member for Bath took the opportunity of moving no less an amendment than that the House should resolve itself into a committee for considering the state of the nation. He observed upon the extraordinary position in which the representatives of the people were placed. Two bills had been sent up to the other House of parliament, but they were told, that the House of Lords would not take them into consideration until something had been done by that House to please them. There was in fact no government in the country. Ministers were no longer in the position in which they were at the beginning of the session. They stated then, that they would place their existence as ministers on the fate of the Irish Corporation Bill. What had become of that bill? It was laid on the shelf till the lords knew what that House was about. The other House virtually told this—"if you do not what we like we will not pass your bill." But obstruction and delay were not confined to the lords. What had been done in that House? Every proposition brought forward for removing the evil, government had distinctly refused to pass. What good, then, he would ask, could be got from playing over the farce of discussing an Irish Tithe Bill. Did they not know, that if it passed that House, defeat awaited it elsewhere? Ministers, in fact, were useless for good purposes; and as far as the people were concerned, they were only mischievous. When the Reform Act was passed the unrepresented classes consented to forego their claim to the franchise, upon the solemn promises made to them on the part of the new constituencies, of the great reforms to be effected by the measure in all the

departments of the state. Thus they were told, that great reductions should take place in the public expenditure. Improvements were promised in every branch of the administration of the law. Justice was pledged to Ireland Effectual means were to be provided for the education of the people; and the ground so laid for getting rid of the objection to the general extension of the parliamentary suffrage. And, furthermore, we were told, that the government of corruption was at an end, and tory domination doomed to eternal destruction.

The hopes then raised, continued Mr. Roebuck, have been miserably disappointed—the promises shamefully broken. There has been no actual reduction of expenditure. The hon. member was here interrupted by a cry of "Oh, oh!" which he turned into a laugh by observing, that the O's at the end of certain figures were more to the purpose of his argument. The administration of the law is as disgraceful as ever. Justice has not been done to Ireland. The education of the people has been left to chance; and so far are the days of toryism from being numbered, that the other night the liberal government was beaten in the House of the people, on the important measure of poor-rates. And, to sum up all, it is now evident to every one that the present government is doomed—that its termination is but a question of small time.

The usual inconsistency of the radicals is observable in this invective, which would make the ministers responsible to the people for that numerical weakness which is the direct result of their want of more efficient popular support. Lord John Russell might with equal reason have asked of Mr. Roebuck and his friends, why, if these measures were generally demanded by the people, they were not of themselves strong enough in that House to carry them. The hon. member, however, went on to give what he said was his explanation of the causes of the present embarrassment of government, and to describe his remedy for them. He would assume, he said, for the purpose of argument, that the ministers were really honest in their intentions, and desirous to obtain for the people the legitimate fruits of the Reform Bill. But there were two difficulties in the way. First, the House of Lords, which was known to be bitterly hostile to popular demands, and secondly, the imperfect representation of the people by the House of Commons. Now, the ministers had two courses before them. Either they might hope to win over their opponents by compromise, in the hope of disarming opposition, or they might pursue a bold and determined course, and thus force their enemies, and the peoples' enemies, to yield.

In the description of this "bold and determined course," and of the manner in which it was to be brought to bear so effectually on the adversary, Mr. Roebuck, as may be supposed, was not very precise or particular. For instance, in respect of the government of Ireland, in which they "had suffered their enemies to trample on their measures; contemptuously to delay, change, or reject them, as the humour of their insolence suggested, while they bowed themselves to the dust, and prayed them to be moderate in their supremacy; instead of this crawling subser-

vient course, what he asked ought they to have followed? What they did not dare to follow. They should have raised on high the banner of freedom for England and Ireland. They should have boldly told the people of both countries that justice could not be obtained by either, while an irresponsible body of hereditary legislators disposed at will of the fortunes and happiness of the people. The people looked on, they were beginning to grow angry with the hereditary band of legislators—a word from ministers—a hand lifted up from the government would have created a feeling which the peers could not have withstood. But their hereditary privileges would have been in danger, and their order would have suffered: be it so, said Mr. Roebuck, let us allow that your conduct was natural. It is plain you love those exclusive privileges more than you love the good government of the people. Let the world know this—be honest in the matter, and do not pretend to be liberals with such feelings predominant."

So that it seems, after all, pretty plain from Mr. Roebuck's own statement of his case against them, that the crime for which ministers drew down upon themselves these incessant denunciations was that of not exactly agreeing in political views and principles with the hon. member for Bath. That was, no doubt, a very good reason why Mr. Roebuck should resort to every means to turn them out of office; but, at the same time, it afforded a tolerable explanation why, as long as they remained in it, they did not invariably adopt either the tone or the measures which he called for.

But to go on with the hon. members diatribe on this occasion. The dissenters petitioned for relief from an unjust impost, ministers declared themselves the friends of the dissenters and of religious liberty. How do they show themselves such? Do they come down to the House, and openly avow the doctrines upon which alone these imposts ought to be abolished? No! they tell all them who maintain the supremacy of the church of England, that they are themselves the friends of the church, and the enemies of the voluntary system. Thus far they maintain the doctrines of religious tyranny; but, on the other hand, they bring forward a measure the tendency of which is to support the voluntary principle, and which can properly be supported only by an appeal to it; and so far they are the friends of religious liberty. The consequence of this proceeding has been defeat—ignominious defeat within doors, and disgust out of doors.

Mr. Roebuck then dwelt in a similar strain on the conduct of the government in respect of the question of the ballot; and declared that the people were naturally disheartened when led by such men, whose principles they could not understand, and whose honesty consequently they began seriously to doubt. He went on to admit, to the apparent refutation of much of his previous argument, that in the present constitution of the legislature, a liberal government cannot be maintained in power unless the people are enthusiastic in their favour. The fact, he said, he lamented and considered it the most grievous circumstance connected with our present position. The people to be safe from the inroads of a plunder-

ing faction must be ever on the alert in a state bordering on revolution. Now, a wise ministry would endeavour to remedy this crying evil by one great effort; and having an enthusiastic people at their backs would so alter the constitution of the legislature as to render a wise administration as certain in a calm as in an excited condition of the people. To create this necessary and generous enthusiasm, a bold and determined course was needed. Show the people something to strive for, place before their eyes a prize worth their attainment, and you will quietly have at your command a force to overawe all opposition.

These counsels, it must be admitted, involved measures very delicate and intricate in their operation; and there is something almost ludicrous in the charge against ministers, that they were not prepared to resort to means so hazardous and difficult, for the attainment of objects which they did not deem expedient. The more Mr. Roebuck's accusations are examined, the more will they be found to resolve themselves into the broad fact of a total difference of opinion with that gentleman. A circumstance which, however it may be considered as a disqualification for office, hardly involves the sort of moral delinquency which the tone of Mr. Roebuck's incriminations would seem to suppose in the objects of them.

But whatever were the faults of the government, it would seem the country would not have to suffer from them much longer. On this occasion, Mr. Roebuck took upon him to foretel that within a few weeks, they would cease to be a ministry—that is, if the people remained in their present apathetic condition. "The gentlemen opposite," said he, "are strong, not because the public sympathise with them, but because they are indifferent as regards us. They have learnt to feel, that little or no difference to them results from the existence of a so-called liberal or from a tory administration. This House, therefore, unchecked and unimpelled from without, follows the natural bent of its inclination which leads it rather to the tory than the liberal side of politics. Every day increases the indifference of the people; and, therefore, every day strengthens our adversaries. In a few weeks, their minority of five will have swelled to a majority, and then those hopes which shine in the eager eyes of gentlemen opposite will be fulfilled; and they will be restored to the cares and emoluments of office."

This impending consummation, however, Mr. Roebuck yet thought might be prevented. That is, it seems, if ministers would take his advice and from whigs, turn at once, and boldly, into radicals. And here it may be suggested, that if the hon. member really thought that the ministers might adopt his counsel, he should, at least, have conveyed it in a more confidential as well as persuasive manner. The publicity of the way in which it was given considerably aggravated the difficulties of following it. In conclusion, Mr. Roebuck came back to his old topic of the necessity of creating enthusiasm among the people, which he said would never be done by that class of politicians who are always afraid of going too far. "All great reforms have been, and (while our legislature remains as faulty as it is) must be affected by the unrepresented. The reform act was

gained by them; and so will every measure of justice extorted for Ireland. Create enthusiasm among them, and it spreads to the constituencies; allow apathy and indifference to prevail, a feeling of caste arises in the constituent bodies, and they become careless of liberal doctrines; toryism gradually regains the ascendant and the dishonest among the reforming ranks keep up a constant clamour about going too far. At any rate, thus much is certain—the ministers cannot go back; if they stand still they are ruined; their only chance of success is to go forward. If they will heartily and cordially co-operate with the radical party, they may again have the support of an enthusiastic people, retain their present position, and run a brilliant and useful career."

Whatever ground Mr. Roebuck might have for his charges against ministers, they met with little support in the House. Col. Thompson, who was his seconder, constituted almost his only supporter; insomuch, that in urging their common complaint, the gallant colonel pleasantly admitted, that if he was speaking Greek, he should have used the dual number, as more accurately expressing the strength of their party. His objections to the ministers were, of course, the same with those of Mr. Roebuck, but more shortly and pithily expressed. They had started, he said, with a large stock of popular energy in their favour, but in their fear of the boiler bursting, they had let the fire go out. Like Spanish generals, they had always one eye in their own camp, and the other in the enemy's; and all their efforts for success were paralysed by the fear of being too successful. Their situation was now desperate; or if any event in the chapter of human accidents, should fall out to give them a reprieve, the only consequence would be, that as they had dwindled, dwindled, before, they would dwindle, dwindle, again. There was no stock of good luck which such conduct would not run out. It was clear what was coming. The tories must return to power; how long they would stay there was another question; but their return was a phasis, a phenomenon which ministers had rendered it inevitable to go through. When this took place we should probably see the whigs renewing their strength like eagles; and declaring their willingness to set about doing in good earnest, what they had much better have done before. The gallant colonel added, that though Mr. Roebuck and he might be dual in those opinions in that House, there was nothing like duality out of doors. They were both of them there supported by masses of men, who, though moved by nothing like original hostility to the present ministers or their party, were now come to the conclusion, that the favourable chances had been thrown way; and that nothing remained but to undergo some such process as he had endeavoured to describe.

The gallant colonel seems exactly to have estimated the number of his party in the House. Mr. O'Connell himself eschewed their doctrines, and said, he felt it his duty in the name of the people of Ireland to protest against his majesty's government being blamed for not doing more. That government, he said, had the confidence, and had gained the affections of the people; and whatever might be the opinions of others,

he, for one, hoped, that they would long continue to occupy their present situations. Mr. Roebuck blamed them for not being stronger. With equal reason might Dr. Sangrado who was always bleeding his patients, reproach them for not being stronger.

Dr. Lushington, too, declared, that so far from the ministers having disappointed the dissenters, he affirmed, that among the whole of that body in England, from the unitarians down to the independents, there was a complete unanimity in favour of the measure of church rates; and a perfect willingness to receive it as satisfactory to the most scrupulous conscience. As strongly did he differ from the hon. and learned member as to the policy of driving on such measures as may lead to a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. No real friend of those measures would urge their agitation under such circumstances. For the rest, the learned doctor observed, that he had had much experience in that House, and had always found, that the men, who, in the commencement of their career, professed the most, who assumed the possession of superior purity, and treated with contempt, the efforts of their fellow labourers in the same cause—he had always found such men to prove in the event the weakest supporters, and sometimes the bitterest enemies of the very principles which they affected most to advocate.

Mr. Hume adopted a milder tone of reprehension towards his friend, the member for Bath. In many points, indeed, he expressed his agreement with him: thus he thought, that ministers had not supported in the way they might have done, those great popular principles upon which a reform administration ought to be bottomed. Still, he said, he must take into consideration, the opposition they had met with; nor could he think their course as clear and easy as Mr. Roebuck had described it to be. He could not shut his eyes to the fact, that there were 300 persons in that House who were opposed to his majesty's government. As for the tories the country would not bear them in the government; nor could he see any good in bringing them even temporarily back to power. The best way of dealing with the House of Lords was to bombard them with good measures.

After this defence on the part of their radical friends, it was hardly worth while for the ministers themselves to enter upon their vindication from the charges adduced against them by Mr. Roebuck. Lord John Russell, however, did so; and in the course of his speech disclaimed any community of sentiment with him in the constitutional views he had broached in reference either to the church or the state. He was decidedly opposed to the voluntary system; as much so to the abolition of the House of Lords, which was called for by the member for Bath. As for his doctrine, that men of moderation and compromise never succeed in establishing anything good or useful, Lord John Russell said, that on the contrary, it was his decided conviction, that to the moderation, and mediation between violent or extreme opinions on both sides, which had been exercised by Lord Somers, and the great whig leaders, at the Revolution, the country was indebted for all her subsequent prosperity.

In reference to Mr Roebuck's reproach against ministers for not having conciliated the dissenters and popular favour generally, by adopting the voluntary principle in church matters, Lord John expressed his belief, that such a course would not have that effect. His own opinion was not in favour of the voluntary system, and it was his conviction, that the people of the country, were, like himself, still attached to the established church.

Mr Roebuck's motion, was, of course, negatived without a division. The opposition, properly so called, it will have been seen took no part in the discussion. They could not have supported the motion on the grounds on which it was urged by Mr. Roebuck; and, on the other hand, the body of the radicals, though probably agreeing in much of that gentleman's objections to the system of the present government, were yet not prepared to asist in putting a conservative one in its place. It was apparent, that between these extremes of opposition the whigs might continue almost indefinitely to maintain their places on the treasury benches; but they could not but feel, that there was something of great embarassment, and we might say, of humiliation in such a position; and the prevalent opinion was still, that under such circumstances they could not long consent to conduct the government of the country.

One alternative, indeed, yet remained, as a possible outlet from their difficulties—we mean a dissolution of parliament. The present House of Commons had been elected in the short interval of Sir Robert Peel's administration; a circumstance which was naturally considered to have contributed to the success of the candidates of his party. It is not improbable that the ministers would already have resorted to this measure; but the king was known to be strongly opposed to it; and in the present relative state of parties in parliament, they were without the means of compelling his concession. A proffer of resignation they were well aware would have been at once, and eagerly accepted.

This obstacle, however, seemed likely to be removed earlier than might otherwise have been expected. The king's health, since his accession to the throne, had been in general good; better, in fact, than what he had commonly enjoyed for some years before. Symptoms of decline, however, began to show themselves in the course of the present spring; and they increased so rapidly that, by the beginning of June, his situation became one of serious alarm to his family. The manner and progress of his majesty's malady will be more particularly adverted to in another chapter. It is sufficient for the connexion of our abstract of parliamentary transacsions, to state that it was terminated by death, at two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 20th of June, at Windsor. On the arrival of the melancholy intelligence in London, both Houses of parliament were immediately summoned to meet; but on that and the day following, the administration to the members of the oath of allegiance formed the only business that was transacted. On Thursday, the 22nd, the following message from the queen

was brought down to the House of Lords by viscount Melbourne, and read by the lord Chancellor.

" Victoria Regina :—

" The queen entertains the fullest confidence, that the House of Lords will participate in the deep affliction which her majesty feels in the death of the late king, whose constant desire to promote the interests, to maintain the liberties, and to improve the laws and institutions of the country, must insure for his name and memory, the dutiful and affectionate respect of all her majesty's subjects.

" The present state of public business, and the period of the session, when considered in connexion with the law which imposes on her majesty the duty of summoning a new parliament within a limited time, renders it inexpedient in the judgment of her majesty, that any new measure should be recommended for your adoption, with the exception of such as may be requisite for carrying on the public service from the close of the present session to the meeting of the new parliament."

Upon this occasion, the leaders of all parties in parliament were eager to express their strong sense of the sterling and amiable qualities of the departed monarch. Lord Melbourne lamented that he and his colleagues had been deprived of a most gracious master, and that the world had lost a man of the best intentions, the most uncompromising honour, and the strictest integrity. After adverting to the naval education which the late king had received, and to the part which he had occasionally taken in the debates of that House, Lord Melbourne spoke of his talents for business generally, and appealed to any one who had ever approached his majesty upon those subjects, whether his practical acquaintance with the principles and details of public affairs, was not very extensive and very accurate; and whether he did not evince in the dispatch of them the greatest zeal and assiduity, and the most anxious desire in every thing to do the strictest justice. He dwelt warmly, too, upon the fairness, and candour, and impartiality, of his late master's disposition ; and upon his willingness to hear, and weigh, and consider, what was urged even in opposition to his most favourite opinions. The reign of William IV., he observed, had not been long, but its duration had been marked by great and important events ; whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the conduct of some of those transactions, Lord Melbourne said, he felt certain that the late king had been only actuated by a desire to promote the good of his people, to secure general tranquillity, and to uphold the real interest of all.

The Duke of Wellington fully confirmed, from his own observation and experience, this tribute to the character of the late king, and adduced, as an instance of his candour and kindness, the manner in which he had continued him in his service—notwithstanding the difference of opinion which had ended in his majesty's resignation, when duke of Clarence, of the office of lord high admiral.

The Earl Grey, too, bore eloquent testimony to the same effect,—and declared, of the deceased prince, that a man more sincerely devoted to the interest of his country, or having a better

understanding of what was necessary to the furtherance of those interests, or more patient in considering all the circumstances connected with them, never existed. If ever a sovereign deserved the character, it might be truly affirmed of William IV., that he was a patriot king.

Lord Brougham said, that in all that had been pronounced as to the personal qualities of the late sovereign, he entirely agreed, more especially in what had been said of his amiable disposition, his inflexible love of justice, and his rare candour; but he added, that it was in nowise inappropriate to the present occasion to reflect not only on the virtues of the *man*, but also on the glorious—the beneficent—the auspicious attributes of his reign. Glorious—because it was distinguished by the maintenance of peace abroad and tranquillity at home. Beneficent—because it was signalised by bestowing the most important boon which a sovereign could give to, or withhold from, his people—a wise amelioration of the laws, and a well-considered improvement of the institutions of the country. And auspicious—in the earnest it gave of still further improvements—greater they could not be—but they might be increased so as to diffuse more widely among the people the blessings of those laws and institutions. These were the pledges which had descended with the crown to her majesty queen Victoria; and he sincerely joined with their lordships in hoping that her reign might be long and prosperous, and that in it, by the blessing of God, upon the wisdom of parliament, those pledges might be redeemed.

Lord Melbourne had moved an address of condolence to her majesty upon the death of the late king, and of congratulation upon her accession to the throne; it was carried unanimously—as was, also, his further proposition, that an address of condolence be sent to her majesty the queen dowager, assuring her majesty of the sympathy which the House entertained for her loss. In moving this his lordship dwelt upon the esteem which her majesty had won from all classes of the community by the amiable and exemplary manner in which she had fulfilled all her public and private duties, and particularly on the devotedness of her attendance on her royal consort during his last illness.

The same message was brought down to the Commons by lord John Russell, who, in moving a like address in reply, dwelt in equally warm terms upon the excellent qualities and acquirements of his departed sovereign. Among them he mentioned the singularly accurate acquaintance which he showed with the various classes of his subjects, and with the laws and constitution of the realm; instancing the question of the poor-laws, in which he had taken a deep interest, and by his observations respecting it, had evinced a perfect knowledge of the condition of the poorer class of his subjects, as well as an anxious desire for its improvement. Lord John adverted also to the late king's affectionate behaviour to all about him, to his anxiety to relieve the distress of all who could properly come within the scope of his royal beneficence; and, in particular, to his anxious devotion to the public service. As an instance, he stated, that on the last day of his life, he signed one of those papers in

which he exercised the royal prerogative of mercy. Sir Robert Peel fully echoed the sentiments of the hon. lord—and particularly in reference to his majesty's devotion to business; he observed, that it was carried to the length of an utter forgetfulness of all amusement, and even of all private considerations, that could for a moment interfere with the discharge of his public duties. Never, he said, had public servants a more kind or indulgent master, or one who acted with more perfect openness and good faith towards them; his ministers found not only an absence of all indirect counteraction and intrigue, but had the assurance of his sincere confidence and support, even when maintaining opinions opposite to his own.

We should not have occupied so much space with these testimonies to the character of the late king, did we consider them merely the expressions of a formal or official homage; but, we believe, on the contrary, that they contain not a word which did not convey the sincere conviction of those who spoke them. William IV. was strictly what he was here described to have been; an honest and warmhearted and well-intentioned prince; open and kind and candid in his dealings with others; devoted to business; and in every step of his government looking only to what he conceived to be the public good; forgetting all merely personal or selfish objects with a readiness, which, while it enhanced the merit of the sacrifice, seems almost to have obstructed its praise.

On the following day the ministers brought the state of the public business under the consideration of parliament; more particularly in reference to that passage of the queen's message in which she had announced her purpose of shortly summoning a new one. In the Upper House lord Melbourne observed, that by law the existing parliament was enabled to sit six months after the demise of the crown; but he pointed out the difficulty of transacting public business in an assembly which was so soon to be dissolved, from obtaining, under those circumstances, the attention or attendance of members. On this account it had been thought desirable that the dissolution should take place with the least possible delay. He was very well aware that such a course of proceeding would occasion the postponement of many measures of great, and urgent importance; but he was unwilling, for the reason before stated, to carry those measures into completion in the present parliament. It was, of course, the intention of her majesty's government to pass the supplies of the year. Any measure which was likely to lead to considerable discussion would be postponed till the meeting of the new parliament; but they would proceed with those bills respecting which there was a general concurrence of opinion. Among the contingencies which it was necessary to provide for immediately, was that which related to the possibility of another demise of the crown. The duke of Cumberland, who was the next in succession, was now an independent sovereign, and as such would reside on the continent; and it would be necessary, therefore, to make provision for the case of his absence should such a conjuncture unfortunately take place.

No serious opposition was offered to the noble Lord's proposi-

tion, but Lord Lyndhurst took the opportunity to dwell on the extraordinary state of the public business at that time, and of inveighing against the policy and conduct of the ministers, to which he, in a great degree, ascribed it. They were now, he said, at the close of the fifth month of the Session of Parliament, and not a single important bill had yet been passed, into law. As far as legislation was concerned, they had literally done nothing. There were at that moment, seventy-five public bills depending in the other House; more than thirty of these were brought in by the Government; in fact, during the whole time of this session, only sixteen bills had received the royal assent; even of these, six were not properly new bills, but merely trifling amendments on others that had already passed. Of the others, eight were mere bills of routine, which were passed every session; there were, therefore, but two distinct legislative measures which had been completed in the present session of Parliament; of these, one was the bill for regulating the post-office contract, the other was for an alteration in the law for the punishment of sedition in Scotland, and which had been agreed upon without one word having been said upon the subject. Lord Lyndhurst said, he had then lying before him a paper of the business of the House of Commons of that night; there were fifty-seven public bills beside the consideration of the queen's message, and the consideration of estimates in a committee of supply.

Lord Lyndhurst inveighed strongly against the mismanagement of the ministers, which had produced so unexampled a state of public affairs; he repeated, "as far as legislation was concerned, they were literally without a government. The noble Viscount and his colleagues, were, in fact, utterly powerless; impotent in Parliament, they were equally destitute of efficiency in the administration, or of influence with the people, and if this was the state of their domestic government what was their conduct in foreign affairs? — There was, he believed, but one opinion of it with all reasonable or impartial men; it elicited the pity of the friends, and the scorn and derision of the enemies, of the country."

In the general gloom which beset the prospects of the country in every other respect, Lord Lyndhurst said, he saw but one ray of comfort shining upon them. From what they had seen of the conduct of their young and gracious Sovereign in the first act of her administration; from the steadiness of her deportment, her complete self-possession and air of dignity, he augured much; and he trusted, they should find, that no countenance would be given to the enemies of our Church Establishment, but that perfect security would be afforded to that Protestant faith to which the people of this country were so strongly attached. Lord Brougham also made a speech on this occasion, in which, without seconding the opposition, he seemed to insinuate blame to the ministers; a complication of purpose which may explain the obscure and somewhat contradictory tendency of his observations.

On the same night, the subject was brought before the House of Commons by Lord John Russell; who stated more in detail than Lord Melbourne had

thought it necessary to do, what bills it was the purpose of ministers to postpone to another Parliament, and what they intended to proceed with at present. Among the former, were the bills respecting tithes, poor-laws, and municipal corporations in Ireland; the English clergy pluralities' bill; and that for the promotion of religious instruction in Scotland. It had been in the intention of the Government to introduce one bill, embodying the resolutions which Parliament had adopted on the claims advanced by the legislative assembly of Lower Canada; and enabling the Governor of that province to take from the public chest the supplies necessary to defray the expenses of its civil Government. Lord John Russell, however, said, that he was very unwilling at the commencement of a new reign to enforce a measure, which absolutely necessary, as he thought it to be, would yet bear something of a harsh and coercive character. Whatever might ultimately be the case, it appeared to him, that it was not necessary that they should proceed with that bill in the present Session of Parliament; whenever it might be introduced, so large a majority of the members of both Houses were bound to support it, that the assembly of Lower Canada could not but conclude that their claims and propositions were not consistent with the relations that ought to subsist between a colony and the mother country. By postponing the bill, it would become necessary to pass a vote of credit for the carrying on the civil government of the colony; the advances to be repaid out of its public treasury.

The measures which Lord John proposed to proceed with, were principally those relating to the proposed alterations in the criminal law, and also certain bills necessary for the purpose of continuing existing acts. It was intended, also, to appoint a committee on the subject of church leases, for the purpose of collecting and arranging all the evidence necessary for a measure, for the better regulation of them, previous to the meeting of a new Parliament.

The noble Lord concluded with something of a formal declaration of political opinions in regard to the new æra which had taken place in his administration. After referring to the important measures which they had been the means of carrying; more particularly to that of the reform of the representation of the people, he said, that there were persons who were willing, that those measures should remain on the statute book, but who were not disposed to agree to any proposition which would carry them into further effect. Such a disposition, he and his colleagues totally disclaimed; he maintained, that those measures were not intended to be barren, but to make themselves felt throughout all the relations and institutions of the country. In particular, he dwelt upon the necessity of extending a perfect equality of civil privilege to all, without reference to their religious opinions. If we wished the empire to be strong—to be united—to present an unbroken front to any enemy that might attack it, we could attain that object only by extending the hand of fellowship, to those who, however they may differ from us in religion, have the same civil interest as ourselves.

With respect to the great measure of the reform of the representation, while in one sense, he considered it as a final act, he was far from meaning that it should remain a dead letter in the statute-book. On the contrary, he was of opinion, that it should be followed up by every other measure which might seem calculated to improve, or to ennoble the institutions of the country. In that spirit alone, could they continue to administer its affairs.

In reference to these last remarks of the noble Lord, lord Stanley, who followed in the debate, observed, that there was no fear of the reform act remaining a dead letter. The thing was impossible; the measure carried with it its own vitality. "But," said the noble lord, "if you mean to tell me, that this is to be made the precursor of further organic changes; that you mean to add to the power which that act has given to the democracy, and to interfere with the co-ordinate rights of another branch of the legislature; I tell you, it was not in that spirit that it was brought forward by the government of earl Grey."

On the other side, Mr. Roebuck took the opportunity of warning the ministers, that if they wished to continue in office six months after the meeting of the next parliament, they must do something to advance good and cheap government. Without that, they would find no excitement out of doors to support them; in particular, they must not be terrified by denunciation against organic changes. An extended suffrage was indispensable, and the Tories must be put down; that was the programme of the coming session, and it must be acted upon up to the letter.

The bill, which has already been referred to, providing for the contingency of another demise of the crown, was brought into the upper House by the lord Chancellor, and its second reading was moved on the 3rd July. The object of it was to make provision for the carrying on of the executive government in such an event, during the possible absence of the heir presumptive from the country. The precedent followed was, that of the act of the 6th of Queen Anne. The bill provided, that certain great officers of state, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the president of the council, the lord privy seal, the lord high admiral, and the chief justice of the queen's bench at the time being respectively, should act as lords justices, to exercise all the powers and authorities of the successors of the crown, as he would exercise them at present, until his arrival in the kingdom, or until he should otherwise order. The bill also provided, that the heir presumptive to the throne might, at any time deposit a list (which list was revocable at pleasure), of such persons as he might appoint to act with such justices, and to be considered as part of them; and the persons named in that list were to exercise, in common with the lords already named, the functions of royalty until the successor to the throne should otherwise determine. There was, however, a provision in the bill, which restricted the powers of the lords justices to those only which were necessary to carry on the government of the country; for example, they were not to have the power of dissolving parliament, nor of giving the royal assent to any bill

altering the succession to the throne, or for changing the established religion of England, Scotland, or Ireland. They were further restrained from granting peerages.

The bill passed through both Houses of Parliament without opposition, with the exception of an objection urged by lord Brougham, against the omission of any portion of the royal family in the list of lord's justices named in the bill. The noble and learned lord even made this omission the subject of a protest entered in the journals of the House. It would appear, from that document, that he further disapproved of the appointment of the lord chief justice to be a political functionary, as contrary to every principle of constitutional policy.

The remaining business of the session, as limited on the principles suggested by ministers in the debate on the address to the queen, was soon brought to a conclusion. On the 30th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer made his financial statement for the present year. The right hon. gentleman began by adverting to the various and extensive embarrassments which had beset the commerce of the country since the close of the preceding session; embarrassments which he himself had, in some degree, anticipated; and which he had more than once indicated as probable, with the view of checking any extravagant degree of confidence in the existing state of things. His apprehensions on that score had been more than realised; but, he trusted, that by this time, they had seen the worst; and that their prospects n0w were brightening in avery direction. In particular, he referred to the fact, as evidenced by all the late returns in the Gazette, and by the quotations of the foreign exchanges, that the money market was returning to a sound and healthful action, and that there was a steady and progressive increase of treasure in the coffers of the Bank of England.

Mr. Rice then proceeded to state the actual income and expenditure of the country, as compared with the estimate he had formed of its probable amount in the course of the last session. With respect to the income, Mr. Rice said, he had calculated that the customs would produce 20,540,000*l.*; the actual receipt was 21,445,000*l.*; the excise he had taken at 14,150,000*l.*; the actual income was 14,439,000*l.*; the stamps he had calculated at 7,000,000*l.*, which the actual amount exceeded by 100,000*l.*; the assessed taxes he estimated at 3,575,000*l.*, they produced, in fact, 3,681,000*l.*; the post-office revenue he had reckoned at 1,540,000*l.*; it amounted to 1,618,000*l.*; and, on the whole, the income, which, on the data then before him, he had calculated at 46,980,000*l.*; in fact, produced 48,453,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to state the expenditure, with reference to which, he observed, that it was fortunate he had rather under than over-estimated the probable income of the country for the present year, as the government would otherwise have been placed in a situation of considerable embarrassment. The interest on the funded debt he had taken at 28,528,000*l.*, but the actual payment amounted to 28,537,000*l.*; other charges upon the consolidated fund, exclusive of the West-India slave compensation, he took at 2,092,000*l.*; the charge actually was 2,183,000. There

was, therefore, in point of fact, no great difference between the estimated and actual payment on these heads, as it only amounted to 100,000*l.* With respect to the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous estimates of the year, he had calculated them at 14,585,000*l.* but that estimate was taken before all the supplies for the year were voted; and the sum actually required was 14,652,000*l.*, being a small excess on the original calculation. The estimated expenditure for the whole year, exclusive of the West India slave compensation fund, was 45,205,000*l.*; the actual expenditure was 45,141,000*l.* With respect to the interest on the West India loan, Mr. Rice said, he had reckoned, that as an average charge, we might be called upon to pay a sum of 1,111,000*l.*; but the calls upon us on that score had, in fact, amounted to 1,448,342*l.*; and he observed, that it was fortunate that this demand had occurred at a time when the income of the country considerably exceeded its expenditure. The chancellor of the exchequer here proceeded to make several statements illustrative of the financial and commercial state of the country. He dwelt particularly on the excess of the amount of tea duty in the last year over that received in former years; and observed, that it was apparent, that without any change of duty, the consumption of that article was rapidly increasing. The amount of tea cleared for home consumption was in 1833, 31,800,000lbs.; in 1834, 34,969,000lbs.; in 1835, 36,606,000lbs.; in 1836, 49,844,000lbs. In the year ending the 5th April, 1836, the tea duty amounted to 3,886,000*l.*; in that ending at the corresponding period in 1837, the amouut was 4,603,000*l.* But, Mr. Rice said, he was aware, that this increase could not be depended upon, as continuing in the same ratio.

The estimates for the year, Mr. Rice took as follows: the army 6,401,000*l.*; the navy, 4,688,000*l.*; the ordnance, 1,302,000*l.*; the miscellaneous, 2,504,000*l.*; the charges upon the consolidated fund and the interest upon the funded and unfunded debt which it was necesssary to provide for, for the current year, amounted to 30,890,000*l.* Thus the total expenditure for the current year was calculated at 45,786,415*l.*; that was, exclusive of the West-India compensation; the amount of which payable within the year, would be 845,000*l.*

With respect to the probable amount of the income of the present year, Mr. Rice said, he would take the produce of the customs at 21,100,000*l.*; which was 345,452*l.* less than the amount for the last year. For the excise, he said, he would not make a large estimate, there had been a considerable reduction in the receipts on that head last year, arising chiefly from the falling off in the consumption of malt; there appearing a decrease in the number of bushels upon which duty had been paid, of no less than 2,867,000, since 1836. He would, therefore, estimate the income to be derived from the excise, at 13,800,000*l.*, being 639,391*l.* less than the actual receipts for the year ending April, 1837. Upon stamps he expected there would be a loss; because the repeal, which only partially affected the last year, would, of course, come into full operation in the current one. He would take the revenue to be derived from

this article at 6,800,000*l.* The taxes he estimated at 3,710,000*l.*; the post-office at 1,660,000*l.*; the miscellaneous at 170,000*l.* Thus the gross amount of the estimated income for the year was 47,240,000*l.*, while that of the past year was 48,453,000*l.* The amount of expenditure he had already calculated at 45,786,000*l.*, which would leave a surplus of 1,454,000*l.* When the interest on the West-India loan, however, was deducted, the surplus was diminished 608,585*l.*, and that sum would be reduced by the payment necessary to be made to meet various deficiencies of former years; so that, in fact, all the net surplus upon which they could calculate was 384,673*l.* Mr. Rice said, he was aware, that this result would be as disappointing to the expectations of parliament, as he confessed it was to his own.

In the course of his statement, the chancellor of the exchequer gave some explanation of the increased interest now payable on the unfunded debt of the country. In the month of September preceding, he had felt it his duty to raise the interest on the twelve millions of exchequer bills then outstanding, from the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2d.$ a-day. And towards the close of the month of November the interest upon the whole of the unfunded debt of the country had been increased from $2d.$ to $2\frac{1}{2}.d$ a-day; being about $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Mr. Rice said, that, as might be supposed, he had done this very reluctantly, and upon grounds which seemed to him sufficient to justify such an increased charge on the expenditure of the country. The money market at that time was in a state of much pressure and embarassment, and bankers and merchants, both in London and in the country found it extremely difficult to realise the public securities they held in order to meet their engagements. Under such circumstances, Mr. Rice said, he did not think it proper or consistent with the maintenance of public credit, that Exchequer bills which at that moment were floating between a nominal premium and par, should be sufferred to fall to a discount; and above all, he thought it of importance, with respect to the bankers, who were in the habit of furnishing themselves with public securities to meet any emergency, that they should not find those securities not available when the crisis arrived. Mr. Rice added, that he was the more induced to take this step, in anticipation of what had afterwards taken place viz. the arrival of American and foreign securities in the money market, with the inducement of a high rate of interest to the investment of capital.

Speaking of the general prospects of the country, Mr. Rice observed, that he had before him the means of showing, that within the last two or three weeks the elements of improvement had been developing themselves in various parts, and that many of the most depressed branches of trade and manufacture were rapidly reviving. As a natural consequence of this, the receipts of the revenue were improving also, and the condition of the country generally, was such as t inspire him with much more confidence than he could have entertained two months before. No doubt a reduction of taxation would materially assist that revival. Mr. Rice said, he particularly inferred this from the effect which had attended the experiment he

had made of lowering the duty on various articles of consumption, especially in the instances of glass and paper. The trade in those articles, which had previously been in a state of progressive diminution, was now rapidly increasing; but with the present small balance of income in hand, which for the current year he had shown could not be calculated at more than 384,000*l.*, it was obviously impossible for a minister in his situation to propose any speculative reduction of taxation.

Some discussion, or rather conversation, as usual followed in the House, upon the close of the chancellor of the exchequer's statement, in which several members proposed their various financial or economical nostrums for the benefit of the country; but we do not find any thing in their suggestions of sufficient interest to extract.

It will have been seen from the speech of lord John Russell in the debate on the address to the queen, that almost the only measures of legislation of which it was thought necessary to press the immediate enactment, were certain bills which had been introduced for the improvement of the criminal law of the country. It is with an account of these that we shall conclude our history of the present session. It will, perhaps, be thought, that the most important part of the business of it, is not that which occupies the greatest space in our historical abstract. Of the debates which fill our preceding pages, a large portion, it will be seen, had little other object than the expression of party feelings or abstract opinions; and ended in no practical legislative result. On the other hand, measures of the most important nature in their bearing upon the real interests and convenience of the community, are often passed through all their stages in both Houses, with so little discussion or agitation; that a large part of the community are not aware that any change has taken place in the law at all, till they feel it in its beneficial operation.

Our readers are aware that in 1833, a royal commission was issued for the purpose of inquiring how far it might be expedient to reduce the written and unwritten criminal law of the country into one digest; and to report on the best manner of doing it. A report was made on this subject in 1834; and while the commissioners were occupied in carrying, in some degree, their own recommendations in respect of it into effect, they were further called upon by government to state their opinions on the subject of the employment of counsel by prisoners, and on the punishment of death. In their second report, which was made in 1836, this was done at much length. One result was the bill which was passed in the preceding session for allowing the assistance of counsel to prisoners in criminal cases; another was the introduction in the present one of a series of bills having for their object the abolition in many cases of capital punishment.

This important subject had been brought before the House of Commons on the 23rd March by lord John Russell, who justly observed, that if it were thought right that a change should take place in the law on this head, it should as little as possible be delayed. The noble lord began by discussing the general doctrines advanced by Paley on the use of severity in criminal punishments; but his remarks on

this part of the subject were neither very new or very luminous. The statistical details of his speech are of more interest. He stated, that in 1835, the whole number of capital condemnations was 523; but the number executed was only 34. In 1836, the number condemned was 494; of whom 17 only were executed. In certain offences, the punishments bear a remarkable disproportion to the convictions: there were twenty-five persons convicted of murder in 1835; of these, one was pardoned in consequence of an informality in the indictment; three were transported for life, and the other twenty-one executed. But in the same year of 193 persons sentenced to death for burglary, one only was executed; sixty were convicted of the crime of shooting with the intent to murder or maim, and only two were executed; and of 202 cases of capital conviction for robbery, no one was carried into effect. Since 1832, there have been but three executions for burglary. Lord John Russell detailed the particular circumstances which seemed to render severity necessary in these cases; but he observed they were widely different in themselves; and that as men's minds might be expected to differ much upon the circumstances of aggravation which call for capital punishment, it was placing both the judges and the secretary of state in a very painful position to leave the decision of the life or death of a fellow creature so wholly to their decision. Moreover, such a state of things necessarily gave a character of great uncertainty to the operation of the law; and rendered it less calculated to inspire that salutary dread in offenders which was the object of criminal punishment. Where so large a proportion escape, the offender naturally hopes that it will be his own luck to do so.

Judging from the effect of what had already been done in the abolition of the punishment of death, in certain offences, Lord John Russell observed, that there was no reason to apprehend, that i had increased the commission of them. He took the instance of the crime of forgery, which, with the exception of the cases of the forgery of powers of attorney and of wills, was now punishable by transportation only. The number of persons committed for this offence in the three years previous to 1833 was 155; and in the three following years it amounted to 210. In the first instance only 58 per cent. were convicted; in the latter period the number convicted was 71 per cent. From this it appears, that there is no great increase in the number of offences, while the number of convictions is materially increased; and the reason of this last effect is ascribable to the diminished reluctance to prosecute now that the offence is no longer capital.

Lord John Russell here stated, that in a recent case a man had been tried and convicted of forging a power of attorney. That offence was yet capital, but before the case came before the king in council, the Secretary of State received a communication in the name of a considerable body of the bankers of London, expressing their objections to capital punishment; and also another from the governor of the bank of England, stating, that though the bank directors did not think it their duty to interfere, they had no wish to press for capital punishment. Lord John Rus-

sell considered this as an encouragement to proceed in their course of mitigating the punishment; and particularly for doing it away in the two reserved cases in forgery.

The principle, as suggested by the commissioners, on which the noble lord proposed to proceed, was, that capital punishment should be confined to high treason; and, with some exceptions, to offences which consist in or are aggravated by acts of violence to the person, or which tend directly to endanger life. Upon this ground it was proposed, that capital offences should be reduced to—1st, high treason; 2nd, murder; 3rd, attempt to murder; 4th burnings of buildings or ships; 5th piracy; 6th burglary; 7th robbery; 8th rape. The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th kinds of offence were to be capital only when committed under circumstances, or accompanied by acts directly calculated to endanger life. Thus, the setting fire to stacks would no longer be punishable by death; the crime was no doubt a heinous one, but the severity of the punishment had only had the effect of deterring prosecutions.*

The abolition of the punishment of death for certain offences naturally suggests the inquiry as to the secondary punishments which are to be substituted for it. Upon this point Lord John Russell expressed considerable doubt whether the present system of transportation ought to be continued. In theory, it seems highly desirable to remove an offender to a great distance from the scene of his crime, that he may have an opportunity of beginning a new life under his altered circumstances. The accounts, however, of the practical working of the system are very unsatisfactory. The four or five thousand persons who are annually sent out to New South Wales are not absorbed by the population, but continue to form a large and separate vicious mass. Crime and vice consequently are lamentably on the increase in the settlement; and the continual importation of fresh cargoes of criminals threatens to aggravate these

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* We think it convenient to add the following list of offences still punishable with death by the recent acts for the amendment of the criminal law:—1. High treason.—2. Murder.—3. Attempting to murder, by administering to, or causing to be taken by, any person, poison or other destructive thing.—4. Attempting to murder, by stabbing, cutting, or wounding, or by any means whatsoever causing to any person any bodily injury dangerous to life.—5. Rape.—6. Unnatural offences.—7. Piracy, whenever accompanied with an attempt to murder any person.—8. Robbery of any person, accompanied with an attempt to murder the person robbed, by stabbing, cutting, or wounding.—9. Burglary (that is, housebreaking between nine o'clock at night and six in the morning), accompanied with any attempt to murder any person in the house, or if any person in the house shall be stabbed, cut, wounded, beaten, or struck by the burglar.—10. Unlawfully and maliciously setting fire to any dwelling-house, any person being therein.—11. Unlawfully and maliciously setting fire to, casting away, or in any wise destroying any ship or vessel, either with intent to murder any person, or whereby the life of any person, lawfully being herein, shall be endangered.—12. Exhibiting any false light or signal, with intent to bring any ship or vessel into danger, or unlawfully and maliciously doing anything tending to the immediate loss or destruction of any ship or vessel in distress.—13. Every accessory before the fact to any of the above capital offences is punishable with death, in like manner as the principal felon.

evils indefinitely. Moreover, the punishment operates very unequally on the convicts; it depends on the humour or temper of the masters to whom they are usually transferred, whether their situation should be one of indulgence and enjoyment, or of perhaps intolerable hardship. Nor is there any merit in the system on the score of economy; it costs the country from 350,000*l*. to 400,000*l*. annually.

Accordingly it was proposed to abridge the number of cases visited by the punishment of transportation, but to agravate its operation in those which continued subject to it. No person should be transported for less than ten years; it having been found, that the effect of a shorter period was to make the criminals insolent and unruly. The next period should be for fifteen years, and the last for life. A certain hour of labour in the chain-gangs was to be allotted to all the prisoners, and indulgences dispensed to them according to their good conduct. These, were however, merely suggestions on the part of the noble lord, who did not in the present session bring in any general measure, with a view to carry them into effect.

No opposition whatever was given to the passing of the bills through the Commons; but we have seen that it was not till almost the very eve of the prorogation (July 4), that the second reading of them took place in the House of Lords. It was moved by lord Denman, who alleged, in support of them generally, the same facts and arguments which had been employed by lord John Russell in the other house. Lord Lyndhurst gave his full support to the principle and object of them; only pointing certain inconsistencies and anomalies of detail, which were afterwards rectified. The measures were likewise warmly advocated by lord Brougham. He said, indeed, he was disposed to go much further in the abolition of capital punishments, than was proposed by the present bill. He gave it as his opinion, founded on much thought and long observation, that the punishment of death had altogether failed in the accomplishment of those objects which alone could justify its infliction. He was strongly inclined to question the propriety of awarding it at all; as he conceived the spectacle only tended to brutalise those who witnessed it. The noble and learned lord went on to say, that the efficacy of punishments, generally, was, in his opinion, unsatisfactory. He was not frantic enough to think of abolishing them altogether; but experience did not prove that the punishment of one offender had the effect of deterring those who witnessed or heard of it from the perpetration of the same offence. There was, he observed, another mode of prevention far more effectual—he meant a paternal government, superintending the education of the people, the encouragement of good habits; and, above all, the spread of infant schools. Lord Brougham declared, that if these were as universal as the public had a right to demand; and as it was the bounden, paramount, imperative, and sacred duty of the government to make them—it was his firm belief, founded upon every hour's experience, and by every day and night's reflection fortified and rooted still deeper in his mind, that they might look forward with confidence towards a general and

effectual mitigation of the criminal code.

It might have been remarked, that if the noble and learned lord's anticipations were realised, a reformation of the criminal code would be the least urgent of the duties resulting from the change; for the code itself, whatever be its enactments, would become a dead letter. The objection which he alleged of the brutalising effect of public executions deserves consideration. It is of somewhat recent discovery, but may not be, therefore, the less founded in truth. We may observe, however, that it is not so conclusive against the employment of the penalty at all, as it is against the *publicity* of its infliction. Among the amendments to the measure which were made by the lords was one changing the term of imprisonment from five to three years; and another limiting the term of solitary confinement to a month at one time; and to not more than three months in the same year. Another amendment took away the capital punishment for offences against the riot act. When the bills so amended, returned to the Commons, Lord John Russell said he would give no opinion on the wisdom of the alterations; but as it was important that they should pass into law that session, he moved that they be agreed to; which was done without opposition.*

We must here record an important alteration, which was made this year in the civil law of the country in respect of the forms to be observed in the execution of wills. The master of the rolls, lord Langdale, brought the subject before the House of Peers, on the 23rd of February, in a very able and luminous speech. The general object of the proposed measure was to collect the provisions of several statutes relating to wills into one act of parliament; and to make, at the same time, such modifications of these provisions as should afford additional securities for the prevention of spurious wills, and additional facilities for making genuine ones.

The noble and learned Lord then explained various points in which the existing law seemed to require amendment. He proposed to allow the owners of copyholds and customary freeholds to dispose of them by will, which at present they could not do. As the law stood, a person could only bequeath such real property as he was possessed of at the time of making the will; but he would enable the testator to dispose of any he might acquire subsequently to the execution of the will. At present, no person under the age of twenty-one, could make a will; it was intended to give the power of disposing of personal property to those who were passed the age of seventeen. With respect to witnesses, the bill would enact, that in all cases the execution of the will must be attested by two; whether the property

* A bill had already passed both houses for the abolition of the punishment of the pillory; the infliction of which, we believe, had already been virtually superseded by the uniform usage of our courts of law. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether a measure for the revival of the penalty, under certain circumstances and restrictions, would not have been more advisable than its total and unqualified abolition. The fewness and sameness of our secondary punishments we have just seen is a topic of frequent complaint; and there is a class of cases which could not be more appropriately or effectually visited than by pains of a degrading tendency.

were real or personal. An executor would be admitted to give evidence of the validity of a will, which, at present, he could not do. Under the existing law, it was not necessary that both the witnesses should be present at the same time; they might sign at different times and in different places, provided the place were one where the testator might see them, which was held to be a sufficient exercise of actual presence; but the bill provided that the signature of the testator or his acknowledgment should be made in the presence of two witnesses, who should then attest it themselves.

With respect to the revocation of wills, no alteration was proposed in the rule whereby a woman's will is held to be revoked by her marriage; but it was proposed to alter the rule adopted from the ecclesiastical courts in modern times, whereby a man's will is considered as revoked by his subsequent marriage and the birth of a child. Lord Langdale stated cases which might occur, in which the effect of this rule would have the most unjust and absurd effect.

The bill next provided for the due construction and effect of certain words; provisions which, however important in a legal point of view, it would be difficult and needless to give the purport of in this place. Lord Langdale admitted that a legislative construction of words had been objected to; but he observed, that when a rule of construction which plainly violates the lawful intention of the testators has been established in the courts of law, he knew no way of correcting it, but by legislative interposition.

The bill was decidedly approved of by the leading law authorities in the House, and passed almost without discussion; in the House of Commons, the only opposition to it came from sir Robert Inglis, who objected to it chiefly on the ground of the expense which the mode of execution there enjoined would entail on the humbler class of testators. By abolishing holograph wills, and rendering two witnesses necessary in every case, a resort to professional advice would become indispensable.

We do not immediately perceive the force of the hon. baronet's reasoning in this instance, if it be accurately reported. Witnesses are commonly the least expensive parts of the execution of a will; nor is it apparent how their presence renders more necessary that of a lawyer. The bill was defended by the attorney-general, who quoted in its favour the support it had received from all the high legal and ecclesiastical authorities of the country. As one of sir Robert Inglis's objections had been the uniformity it introduced in the mode of willing real and personal estate, the attorney-general observed, that nothing could be more absurd than the present law in that respect. A single perch of freehold land could not be disposed of by will, unless such will was attested by three witnesses; yet no witnesses were required to the willing of a copyhold estate of the greatest value; and it might pass by a mere memorandum put into one's pocket-book, without signature or attestation. Again, though with respect to funded property, two witnesses were generally required for a will; none were necessary, if it related to other kinds of personalty. The present bill would put an end to litigation, and would thus diminish the pro-

fits of the legal profession; and though professional men might be oftener employed than heretofore in the preparation of wills, yet he thought it far better that a small fee should be expended for that purpose, than that the family should, as was too often the case now, be impoverished by litigation. At present, there was this anomaly in the law of attestation, that the same will might be bad as regarded real property, while it was good as regarded the personalty disposed of by it.

Dr. Lushington, too, approved of the measure, and denied that it would increase the expense of making wills. An amendment was proposed by sir Robert Inglis, in favour of the validity of holograph wills, if signed and dated, though without the attestation of witnesses; it was rejected on a division by sixty-five votes to fifteen.*

It should not be omitted that the attorney-general again brought forward in this year, his measure for the abolition of the law of imprisonment for debt. After considerable discussion, it passed the House of Commons, but at so late a period of the session, that it did not appear that there would remain time sufficient before the prorogation for the due discussion of its details in the Upper House. This was consequently among the bills, the further consideration of which was necessarily postponed to another parliament.

On the 17th of July, the queen went in state to the House of Lords for the purpose of closing the session. The age and sex of the youthful sovereign, as may be supposed, gave a singular and very touching interest to the scene. The Speaker, on this occasion delivered an address to her majesty, in which on behalf of the House of Commons, he assured her of their cordial participation in that strong and universal feeling of dutiful and affectionate attachment, which prevailed among the free and loyal people of which they were the representatives; and expressed their "trust that this feeling would be strengthened by a long course of constitutional, beneficent, and wise government." In recording the results of the session, the Speaker found little to mention, except the acts which we have just described for the mitigation of the criminal law and the simplifying of the rules for the execution of wills. Various important measures had been recommended to the consideration of parliament in the speech from the

* We may here subjoin that a bill was also passed this session for the abolition of all offices in the superior courts of law at Westminster, the duties of which had wholly or in part ceased, were executed by deputy; and directing the appointing of five principal officers and no more to be called respectively the masters of each of the three courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; and who were to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers of the offices abolished. Another provision of the bill authorised the preparation of a new table of fees in the superior courts of common law, with reference to the various changes that had taken place in the process and practice of these courts, and with a view to the diminution of expense, where practicable to the suitors.

The appointment of masters in the several courts was to rest with the chief judges of each; their salaries was fixed at 1,200*l.* a-year; and they were forbidden to take any gratuities on pain of dismissal; and of disability to serve the crown thereafter in any situation whatever.

The bill passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the close of the session.

throne; but, although circumstances had rendered it impossible that they should be perfected in the course of the present session; it was hoped, that the care and deliberation which had been bestowed upon them would not have been in vain, with a view to their eventual adoption.

The royal assent was then given in the usual form to a number of public and private bills; after which, the queen proceeded to read in a clear and unfaltering tone the following speech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen.*

"I have been anxious to seize the first opportunity of meeting you, in order that I might repeat in person my cordial thanks for your condolence upon the death of his late majesty, and for the expressions of attachment and affection with which you congratulated me upon my accession to the throne. I am very desirous of renewing the assurance of my determination to maintain the Protestant religion, as established by law; to secure to all the free exercise of the rights of conscience; to protect the liberties, and to promote the welfare of all classes of the community.

"I rejoice, that in ascending the throne, I find the country in amity with all foreign powers; and while I faithfully perform the engagements of the crown, and carefully watch over the interests of my subjects, it will be the constant object of my solicitude to maintain the blessings of peace."

Addressing more particularly the House of Commons, the queen thanked them for the liberal supplies which they had granted for the service of the year, as well as for the provision which they had made to meet the payments usually chargeable on the civil list; and assured them that she would give directions that the public expenditure in all its branches should be administered with the strictest economy.

Her majesty then proceeded to return her thanks to both Houses for the zeal and assiduity with which they had applied themselves to the public business of the country. Notwithstanding the melancholy and unexpected interruption which had taken place in their labours, she said, she trusted they would have the beneficial effect of advancing the progress of legislation in the new parliament. She expressed a peculiar interest with which she regarded the amendment of the criminal code, and the reduction of the number of capital punishments, and said that she hailed this mitigation of the severity of the law as an auspicious commencement of her reign.

"I ascend the throne," said her majesty in conclusion, "with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed upon me; but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence upon the protection of Almighty God. It will be my care to strengthen our institutions civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord. Acting upon these principles, I shall, upon all occasions, look with confidence to the wisdom of parliament and the affections of my people, which form the true support of the dignity of the crown, and ensure the stability of the constitution."

CHAPTER XIV.

Death of the King—Remarks on his reign and character—Queen's Accession—State of Parties—Ministry—Elections—Use of Queen's name by Ministerial Candidates—New Poor-law—Colonies—Upper Canada—Mr. Duncombe's Petition—Proceedings of the Session—Banks—Extraordinary Session—Lower Canada—Meeting and Prorogation of the Legislature—Insurrectionary Demonstrations—Public Meetings—Riot at Montreal—Rescue of Prisoners—M. Papineau—New Brunswick—Sir A. Campbell recalled—Newfoundland—Pretensions of the House of Assembly — Jamaica — Demerara—Trinidad—East Indies—Revolution in the Burmese Empire—New South Wales—State of the Colony.

OF the domestic occurrences for the present year the principal one has already been referred to in our account of the proceedings, that took place in Parliament on the decease of the king. In former times an event of this kind was of the highest political interest; and commonly involved the expectation, if not the fact, of a general change both in the persons and principles of the government. If comparatively little importance in this respect was attached to the death of William the Fourth, that prince might be said to have himself to thank for the circumstance. The Reform Bill may, in one point of view, be said to have been his own work; and its direct effect was to take from the crown the effective choice of its ministers. William the IVth reigned long enough to experience in his own instance, this operation of the power which he had so rashly armed against himself; and he was thus brought practically to a better understanding of the proper nature and tendency of a reform bill than it is probable his faculties were able speculatively to attain t .

William the Fourth, by the common consent of all parties was a weak but well-intentioned prince; and it would seem, that such are the natural prey of revolutions. Movements of this kind rarely take place under the circumstances most fitted to provoke them ; and the explanation of this seeming contradiction we need not go very deep to find—since it is plain, that as far as their immediate origination is concerned, such changes are commonly far less founded on any sense of actual grievance, than on the calculations of party ambition.

It is not meant to apply this theory in strictness to our revolution of 1832; for, as has been observed in our first chapter, that event was more directly the result of circumstances which were altogether beyond human combination and control. But yet the accident that the sovereign at the time was eminently an easy and well-intending man, contributed powerfully to the catastrophe. Had William the Fourth, with less natural intelligence been endowed with something of that instinct of self-defence and distrust, which the weakest animals have commonly the largest share of, the part he might have taken in the crisis, would probably have been a much wiser one, not for himself and his crown merely, but for the country and the constitution. As it was, the tone and conduct he did adopt singularly perplexed and disabled all the combinations of the friends of the old constitution. Hitherto governments have been at least on the defensive, at periods of popular commotion. In this instance we saw all the constituted authorities of the state actually taking the initiative in the aggression on its prescriptive institutions; and the king himself actively co-operating in the attack, by the exercise of his own prerogative; and that contrary to the instances of his family, of his personal friends, and of all the natural allies and supporters of the crown.

The king's dissolution of the Parliament in 1831 affords a new illustration of the important operation of the monarchical principle even in the weakest hands. The act decided the fate of the British constitution; and had it been William's ambition to give something of historical illustration even to his own short and feeble administration, he could not better have consulted it. That the misguided monarch came himself bitterly to repent of his conduct on this point, we suppose can hardly be doubted. Of its consequences to the welfare of the country, it would at present be premature to speculate. Perhaps, under the guidance of that Providence, which, we must believe, is, after all, the disposing and actuating cause of all human events, it may turn out that however unwisely for himself, the king in this instance decided best for the constitution. It may, indeed, always be a matter of question whether at the pass to which his ministers had brought the government, and under the unfavourable excitement which they had given to the public mind, it was any longer in the power of their master safely to retreat; whether since a reform of some kind was now inevitable, it was not preferable, that the men who originated the movement, should not have the responsibility of carrying it into effect; whether the principle of change being thus conceded, any modifications of the bill would not have been dearly bought by the difficulties and the dangers, that would have attended a change of government at such a crisis; and finally, whether in thus obtaining their "whole bill" without mutilation or mitigation, the party, that caused and carried it have not subjected themselves to a pledge of resistance to further incroachment on the part of the democratic principle, from which even the slightest modification of their own measure, would have given them a plea to escape.

William the Fourth as we have seen, died at Windsor, on the 20th

of June, in the 72nd year of his age, and within a few days of the completion of the seventh of his reign. A more particular account of his last illness will be found in the second part of the volume; to which also, in the obituary, we have consigned the necessary notices of his biography previous to his accession to the throne. Upon the personal character of this prince, it cannot be necessary to dwell at length after the ample tribute which was offered in Parliament by the leading men of all parties, in the debate upon the address to his successor. Indeed, there was but one opinion as to the kindness, the openness, the simplicity of tastes and habits, which so remarkably distinguished him. We do not believe he had a personal enemy in the world; a praise which is as singular as it is high when applied to a king.

His intellectual faculties, it is believed, were not of a high order. Not, that he was supposed to be at all deficient in the necessary intelligence and acuteness for the details of business; but his judgement was not strong; and contrary to the prevailing disposition of his family, he was easily moved from his purpose by the influence of others.

A demise of the crown has generally been looked forward to with apprehension by the existing government as involving a probable change of administration. In the present instance it was hailed by the friends of the ministers as promising an increased stability to their power. The late king had taken them back to his service with evident reluctance; and he was naturally supposed to be on the watch for the first favourable opportunity again to displace them. Under their new sovereign they looked for a more auspicious order of things; she was believed to have been educated by her mother in principles and predilections favourable to the whig party; and her countenance and support was expected to give, not merely security, but popularity to their government.

The king died at two o'clock in the morning of the 20th of June. On the arrival of the news of it in town, orders were immediately issued for summoning a privy council, which was assembled before noon at the palace of Kensington. Nearly 100 persons attended this meeting which included all the princes of the royal family, all the cabinet ministers, and great officers of state, and the chief municipal officers of the city of London. Directions were given for proclaiming the Queen Victoria; and the act of allegiance was signed by all the princes, and peers, and other distinguished persons present; the first name on the list being, that of "Ernest" king of Hanover. One effect of the descent of the crown to a female, was the separation from it of that kingdom; after an union which had lasted for nearly a century and a quarter. It is remarkable, that this abscission of territory, at the time, hardly called forth an observation in the newspapers; much less an expression of regret—a fresh illustration of the little value attached in this country to foreign dominion as a source of wealth or strength.

When the ceremony of signing the act of allegiance had been performed, the queen made the following declaration to the council:

"The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by

the death of his majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope, that Divine Providence which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it; and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources, which usually belong to a more mature age, and to long experience.

"I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of Parliament and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage, that I succeed to a sovereign whose constant regards for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration.

"Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country.

"It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

Her majesty is described as displaying extraordinary self-possession on this occasion so trying to one of her age and sex. And the dignified composure, and firmness of voice, with which she pronounced the above declaration seems to have been a theme of admiration with those who were present at the scene.

The domestic history of the United Kingdom for the year 1837 presents few events worthy of notice, that have not been already adverted to in our account of the parliamentary proceedings of the year. The young queen ascended the throne at a period of perfect tranquillity. The temporary crisis which at the beginning of the year spread a panic over the commercial world on either side of the Atlantic, and, for a moment, deranged the monetary system of the country, had passed away, leaving few traces of its existence. The popularity of the ministers was certainly declining, and they were surrounded by difficulties partly arising out of their own mismanagement of affairs, but perhaps principally such as were inseparable from the position into which their eagerness for power and tenacity of place had thrown them. On the other hand, the spirit of party was subsiding in the country, and the class of calm and impartial thinkers, upon whom the events of the last seven years had not been lost, began to embrace a wider circle. The ministers, when pressed by their democratic allies to introduce organic measures for which they had little taste themselves, and which would have been utterly hateful to their patrician connections, had been wont to allege the king's reluctance to proceed, as a reason for stopping short in "the march of reform;" and with some ingenuity turned to a convenient account the want

of cordiality which was understood to prevail between their master and themselves. But when the old monarch passed away from the scene they were eager to declare th ir emancipation from the thraldom of an hostile court, and ostentatiously proclaimed, that the young queen entered warmly into their views, and had espoused their political creed without reservation. After the dissolution of parliament the ministerial candidates traversed the country, placarded, as it were with her majesty's name, and inviting the electors to show their loyalty by supporting her ministers. Though such practices may not, strictly speaking, be in harmony with our constitutional maxims, and still less in conformity with the doctrines of democracy, the chartered licence of a general election may be thought to excuse it. But in the case of the young queen there was something so palpably untrue in representing her mechanical and passive adoption of her uncle's ministers as an active demonstration on her part in favour of their principles; and something too so absurd in bearded men claiming value for their opinions because impressed with the sanction of a person of her majesty's age and previous habits of life, that this device failed, for the most part, in its effect on any but the most popular constituencies.* The practice we are alluding to was not confined to the common class of candidates. Lord John Russell, in the exercise of his discretion as minister of the crown wrote a letter to Lord Mulgrave, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which he informed him, that "the queen had commanded him to express to his excellency her majesty's entire approbation of his past conduct, and her desire, that he should continue to be guided by the same principles on which he had hitherto acted — that her majesty was desirous to see her Irish subjects in the full enjoyment of that civil and political equality to which by a recent statute they were entitled, and that she was convinced, that when invidious distinctions were altogether obliterated, her throne would be more secure, and the people more truly united." The letter concluded in these terms "I am commanded to express to you her majesty's cordial wishes for the continued success of your administration, and your excellency may be assured, that your efforts will meet with firm support from her Majesty."

The alleged misdeeds of the new king of Hanover, afforded another considerable resource of popular appeal to the ministerial candidates on this occasion. It will be seen in a subsequent chapter, that his majesty had, immediately upon his accession the throne of that kingdom, issued an ordinance by which the then existing constitution was suspended; and it was thought, that this conduct on the part of one, who, as duke of Cumberland, was known as an acknowledged leader of the high tory party, might be represented to the disadvantage of the conservative body at large.

It is probable, that the employment of these and other popular

*The following epigram was written on the pane of an inn window at Huddersfield:

"'The Queen is with us,' whigs insulting say,
'For when *she found us in*, she let us stay:'
It may be so: but give me leave to doubt
How long she.ll keep you, when *she finds you out*."

topics was not without its weight with the multitude; but even with their assistance the ministers instead of gaining ground, had had enough to do to maintain their previous position.* By the end of July, the elections for English cities and boroughs were almost over, and it appeared, that as regarded them the relative strength of parties was little changed. At the same time the demonstration of public opinion was still less in favour of the radicals. It is true they did not suffer numerically, but the absence of Messrs. Roebuck, Ewart, Colonel Thompson, and Hutt, who had in the late Parliament represented the important towns of Bath, Liverpool, and Hull, and in the present were replaced by conservatives, was significant of the waning popularity of extreme opinions.

On the other hand Mr. Leader a young and ardent democrat of large fortune, being backed to the utmost by ministerial influence, was enabled to defeat, in Westminter, Sir George Murray; while Sir Francis Burdett satisfied with his last victory for that city was content to be elected on the conservative side for North Wilts. Sir William Molesworth retired from a contest in Cornwall, and was returned for Leeds; and Mr. Ward, whom the "appropriation clause" first brought into notice, became one of the members for Sheffield. In the city of London, Mr. Grote, once the favourite member, found himself in a bare majority of six over the conservative candidate Mr. Horsley Palmer. In the English county elections the whigs underwent a serious defalcation of strength. Besides actually losing twenty-three seats, they failed in fifteen counties out of sixteen, in which they endeavoured to substitute members of their own party for conservatives. And if the rejection of Sir James Graham by East Cumberland was considered a triumph, it was certainly eclipsed by that achieved by their opponents, who unseated Mr. Hume in Middlesex, and drove him to the necessity of appearing in the House of Commons as Mr. O Connell's nominee for the city of Kil-

* Lord Durham who had contrived to secure the confidence of the ultra reformers and radicals, excited some attention by a letter written while the elections were in preparation, and containing the following political confession of faith—"As for myself, as you have done me the honour, by desire of the meeting (of the North Durham reformers) to ask my advice, I will tell you candidly what my views are. They are what they have ever been, and are neither changed nor modified. I wish to rally as large a portion of the British people as possible, around the existing institutions of the country—the throne, lords, commons, and established church. I do not wish to make new institutions, but to preserve and strengthen the old. Herein lies the difference between me and my opponents. Some would confine the advantages of those institutions to as small a class as possible. I would throw them open to all, who had the ability to comprehend them, and the vigour to protect them. Others, again would annihilate them, for the purpose of forming new ones, or fanciful and untried principles. It has been my ruling principle throughout my political life to endeavour to bring all classes, especially the middle and lower, within the pale of the true, not the spurious, constitution. I have ever wished to give the latter an interest in the preservation of privileges, which exclusion would no longer render obnoxious to them; to make them feel, that whilst the crown enjoyed its prerogatives, and the upper classes their honours, they were also invested with privileges most valuable to them, and moreover, that all separately and collectively rested on the common basis of national utility."

kenny. The loss experienced by the ministers in the English representation was somewhat compensated by the successes of their dissenting and popish partizans in Scotland and Ireland; but although their numbers, on the whole, were not diminished, there was an evident falling off in respect of quality. The loss of so many English counties was but ill supplied by a mere elongation of Mr. O'Connell's *tail*; and generally the election when considered in respect of the apparently favourable circumstances under which it took place, and their own undissembled anticipations of triumph, was admitted by their friends to have proved a signal failure. Their connection with the New Poor Law may be supposed partly to explain the comparative unpopularity of the ministers in the agricultural districts; and it was made by them a matter of imputation against the conservative candidates, that they availed themselves unfairly of the topic as a means of annoyance to their adversaries. Perhaps it must be admitted that the conservatives did at least *evade* the subject; and thus declined their just share of the odium of a measure which, no doubt, they as fully approved of as did the whigs themselves; and to the support of which they were in fact as fairly committed.

With respect to the New Poor Law itself, we have, in a former chapter, entered amply into the details of its progress and tendencies. A very powerful portion of the public press continued to denounce it with the most unremitting activity; and it is not to be wondered at, if the appeals made to men's passions and sympathies combined with the actual cases of undue severity and harshness which those employed to administer the law occasionally exhibited, though in an erroneous exercise of the discretion reposed in them, created a considerable spirit of resistance to its operation. Nevertheless the system daily found favour in the eyes of those who were most conversant with the wants and habits of the poor, as well as most interested in their welfare. It was the growing opinion of such as were capable of best understanding the relation which subsists between the labourer and his employer, that a very salutary and auspicious change was in progress in the rural population. Many of the labourers themselves seemed to become sensible of ultimate benefits which must accrue to their class from the alteration, though they might complain that it pressed severely upon themselves, whose habits of life and expectations were framed with a reference to a different state of things.

The colonial history for the present year does not present much matter for our annals; but some of it is of unusual interest, when considered in connection with the transactions that have since taken place.

It has been stated in our former volume, that at the close of May 1836, Sir Francis Head, the governor of Upper Canada, had found it necessary to dissolve the legislature of that province, in consequence of the exorbitant pretensions put forward by the Lower House, and the violence with which those pretensions were urged. The result of this appeal to the people was eminently satisfactory; and in the new House of Assembly, which met in the following November, the party

which had predominated in the last, found itself reduced to a very considerable minority. The proceedings of the assembly were in conformity with its constituent elements. Laying aside the agitation of speculative grievances, and organic changes, it directed its attention principally to the material interests of the colony, and to measures of internal improvement. Very soon after its meeting, it appears to have voted the application of 500,000*l.* to the improvement of the roads; a measure which is reported not to have met with the support, though it did not encounter the resistance, of this opposition.

The much agitated question of the clergy reserves came also under the consideration of the assembly, and a resolution moved by the Solicitor General of the colony, declaring it to be the opinion of the House "that the proceeds arising from the sales of the clergy reserves should be applied to the purposes of moral and religious education," was carried by a majority of thirty-five to twenty-one. Imprisonment for debt, and the law of primogeniture, also formed subjects of discussion, and a bill for abolishing the latter was introduced and rejected.

"The Reformers," as they styled themselves, acted as is usual with a defeated party, under this reverse of fortune. They attributed the predominance of the Government to undue influence, to violence, and to fraud; and they contended that the new legislature did not represent the sense of the people. Such allegations are common enough, and pass for what they are worth. But in this instance the reformers or, at least, a section of their number, took a step, which gave the Government an opportunity of providing a very remarkable, and to all appearances, a most complete refutation of the charges in question.

Mr. Charles Duncombe, a leading agitator in the province, deemed it advisable to reduce what were before but vague and exaggerated reports to a specific catalogue of grievances, and whether, as he himself affirmed, deputed by his brother reformers, or presuming to act, though quite unauthorized, in their names, as was asserted on the other side, he proceeded to the mother country, and having embodied his charges against the local government in a petition, caused it to be presented to the House of Commons. This document, after stating, that the petitioner had been deputed, by the reformers of the province, for the purpose of laying before the throne and the House of Commons, the dangerous crisis at which the affairs of Upper Canada had arrived, through the unconstitutional violence and outrages practised and sanctioned by Sir F. Head, and those under his immediate influence and control, at the late elections, contained various specific charges against Returning-officers for refusing votes, legally tendered, and encouraging riots at the polling places. It alleged moreover, that the polling places had been changed from their former situations, to suit the purposes of Government; that Sir F. Head, the Attorney general, the Solicitor general, and almost every public functionary, had made common cause with "the Tories and Orangemen" against "the Reformers." That the Returning-officers were appointed by the lieutenant governor from among such persons as were known to be most likely to

forward his views. That by the law no elector can vote upon a freehold, the transfer title of which has been less than three months in his possession, and registered as such; and that Sir Francis Head had issued large numbers of patents or grants of land, under the Great Seal, in many cases for only a quarter of an acre of wild uncultivated land, such grants being generally dated subsequent to the dissolution of Parliament, and in some cases even after the opening of the poll, at which the holders of such grants voted. That the quantity of such patents, to be prepared, was so great, as to require an additional number of clerks to get them ready, and that thousands of such grants were issued, and voted upon. That such grants were distributed openly, at the places of election, to persons who had not applied for them, and without payment of the usual fee. That the reformers had been exposed, without protection, to violence from "bands of Orangemen," who had committed the greatest excesses. And that, by these, and other unconstitutional acts, the real electors had been overwhelmed, and their franchise rendered of no avail.

A copy of this petition was communicated by Sir Francis Head to the house of assembly, in a message which that body referred to a select committee. The report of that committee, as given in January of the present year, is a very remarkable state paper, and of great length. After showing, that Mr. Duncombe had assumed the title of delegate of the reformers, without any authority whatever, the report enters upon the details of the petition, every article of which is minutely sifted, and every charge contained in it, declared to be, either destitute of proof, notoriously untrue, or founded on a gross distortion of facts. It would be impossible here to follow the committee step by step, and it may suffice to say, that they seem in every case to have founded themselves on sufficient evidence. Mr. Duncombe, himself a member of the assembly, had been requested to attend their proceedings, and had been, in compliance with his own desire, furnished with a copy of all documents referred to, and the minutes of evidence previously taken, and had been told, that the committee were ready to hear him, and to examine any witnesses he might produce. It appears, that Mr. Duncombe at first attended the committee, but that on the 6th of December, he discontinued to do so, and quitted Toronto. There can be no doubt but that the charges made by this gentleman were almost entirely without a shadow of foundation. That which regarded the issue of land-patents for electioneering purposes, perhaps one of the most serious of the whole, was a glaring untruth. The report of the committee, on this head, may be quoted, as furnishing a notion of an agitator's reckless inaccuracy: "The total number of patents, that passed the great seal between the prorogation of the Assembly on the 20th April 1836, and the close of the late general election was 1,478; of which number, 1,245 were issued in pursuance of orders in council made prior to Sir Francis Head's arrival in the province, and over which he had no more control than any other officer of the executive government. The whole number of patents, issued under orders in council, upon the

authority of Sir Francis Head, between the prorogation of the assembly. and close of the election was 150. The whole number of patents issued under orders of council, since his arrival in the province to the close of the election, was 233, and these to women as well as men, to all descriptions of persons, and all upon the ordinary terms." The report concludes with an indignant repudiation of Mr. Joseph Hume, whose conduct with regard to the affairs of Canada, is severely reprobated, and contains, throughout, assurances of a determination, to support the British connection in defiance of brawling adventurers on either side of the Atlantic.

The session now approached a close, previous to which, the Lower House presented the following address to the lieutenant-governor.

" May it please your Excellency,

"At the close of a long and laborious session, we, his majesty's faithful subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada, beg leave to present for the consideration of your excellency, as the representative of our most gracious sovereign, sundry bills granting monies for the support of the civil government, and for the advancement of various important public works, in which, we have every reason to believe, the people of the province feel a deep interest.

" In affording aid and support (to the great extent which during the present session we have felt it our duty to do) to the improvement of our land and water communication, and other great public objects, some of them originating in private enterprise, we trust it will be seen, that we have been actuated by an earnest desire to advance, and establish on a firm basis, the general prosperity of the province. And we confidently anticipate, that under a judicious and careful management of the large sums thus appropriated, the reasonable expectations of his majesty's subjects will be fully realized.

" Your excellency will perceive from the bills offered for the royal assent, making more ample provision for the administration of justice, for the support and advancement of education, for the protection and security of our trade and shipping, for the introduction of a new system in the land-granting department, and for the extension of the circulating medium of the province, that the recommendations of your excellency at the opening of the session have not been disregarded; and we trust, that evidence will be found in the result of our labours, that we have not been unmindful of the great public interests committed to our care."

On the 4th of March the lieutenant-governor prorogued parliament. In his speech delivered upon that occasion, he noticed the results which had been secured by their firmness, loyalty, and public spirit. He acknowledged, the unremitting attention of the two chambers, and, after particularising the measures, from which he anticipated the greatest advantages to the internal prosperity of the province, he applauded the harmony which had prevailed between the two branches of the legislature, and concluded by exhorting them to encourage, in their various districts, those feelings of loyalty, and unanimity, which had distinguished their own deliberations during a session, the result of which would, he believed, be grati-

fying to their sovereign, advantageous to their country, and conducive to the general prosperity of the empire.

During this session, 109 bills had received the assent of the lieutenant-governor. They principally related to railways, harbours, markets, to navigation, to the establishment of boundaries, and to the regulation of banks. And in the anticipation of the demand for labour, which the proposed public works would create, Sir Francis Head wrote to the poor-law commissioners at home, to state, that artificers and labourers would be much wanted.

In a subsequent chapter will be found an account of the commercial convulsion, which, during the spring of this year, distracted the United States, and which, followed by an universal suspension of specie payments, and in many instances, of every sort of payment, carried, as was natural, alarm and consternation into the neighbouring provinces. Meetings of merchants and others, accordingly, were held at Kingston, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, and other leading places in the Canadas, for the purpose of devising what course, under the extraordinary state of things prevailing among their neighbours, was proper to be adopted. The great apprehension, entertained by the Canadians, was, that their banks would be drained of specie; and it was rumoured, that measures were in train for that purpose in the United States. As the only means of counteracting these schemes, a general suspension of specie payments was proposed, and was adopted by the Quebec, and some other banks; and it is said, that this was done with the universal sanction of the public; the carrying of the resolutions to this effect, being in many instances, accompanied by the most enthusiastic cheering. This step does not seem to have affected the credit of the banks; as a general conviction prevailed, that it resulted from the state of things elsewhere, and was merely a precautionary measure, unconnected with any difficulties on the part of the banks themselves. These proceedings took place in the middle of May.

In the mean time, the leading banks in Upper Canada had applied to Sir Francis Head for his advice in this emergency; and the directors of the bank of Upper Canada received a communication from his excellency, in substance as follows. After intimating his confidence in the character and credit of the bank, and the absence of all wish on his part to influence the directors in their determination, the lieutenant-governor proceeded to state, that as it appeared to be their wish, that he should solicit the assistance of the commissary-general at Quebec, he was willing to do so, and even to address Lord Gosford on the subject, provided he clearly understood, that the bank had positively determined, under no circumstances whatever, to suspend cash payments, but, on the contrary, honourably to pay out their specie, if necessary, to the very last shilling. "The principle of a monarchy," continued his excellency "is honour and from that principle the lieutenant-governor will never consent to depart." This communication was dated the 17th of May. And upon its being read to the directors of the bank, they unanimously resolved, that they were "determined,

in no event, to suspend cash payments, while there remained any specie in their vaults."

On the 22nd of the same month a letter was addressed, by order of his excellency, to each of the three chartered banks of Upper Canada, highly approving "of the course which the banks were then pursuing, in honourably fulfilling, regardless of all consequences, the engagements they had solemnly entered into with the public. The lieutenant-governor" proceeded the letter "feels confident, that, within the province of Upper Canada, all well-disposed people will be desirous to support the banks in the creditable duty they are performing; but as suction from without may possibly have the effect of draining specie from their vaults, the lieutenant-governor desires me to inform you, that on his receiving from the president of any chartered bank in Upper Canada the accompanying declaration, signed by the president, cashier, and major part of the directors, the lieutenant-governor in council will be prepared to assume the serious responsibility of enabling the said banks, until thirty days after the next meeting of the legislature, and under certain restrictions, to continue their business, without the necessity of redeeming their notes in specie." The declaration abovementioned was to the effect, that the bank in the course of business, and under circumstances it could not control, had, actually in the redemption of its outstanding bills, paid out all the specie in its possession or immediate power, and for *bonâ fide* want of such specie, and for no other cause, was forced to suspend specie payments.

However, as the mercantile embarrassments of the colony continued to increase, Sir Francis resolved to summon an extraordinary session of the legislature.

Accordingly on the 19th of June, the chambers met, and on the following day, Allan Napier M'Nab, esq. was chosen for their Speaker, in the room of Mr. A. M'Clean, who had been made a judge since the last session. Sir Francis Head, having approved of this appointment, proceeded to address the provincial parliament.

He had convened them, he said, because he deemed it constitutional, that they should be called upon to share in the consideration of the commercial difficulties which had assailed the province. Having adverted to the nature of the evil, and to the course which the banks had adopted, he said, that although it was anticipated, that their coffers would be immediately exhausted, yet, such had been the confidence which was reposed in their probity and solvency, that their notes had, contrary to expectation, retained their value, and in the exchanges, which were hourly effected throughout the province, they were still at par with specie. But it had been submitted to him from various quarters—that if present circumstances should continue, the banks of the province, must inevitably be drained of their specie. It had been explained to him, that by suspending payment, with their coffers full, the banks would be saved the expense of replenishing their vaults. The amount of this saving it would be easy to estimate. On the other hand they were to weigh what the province would lose by its banks breaking faith with the public, on the ground of a supposed necessity, or

from a fear of expense or inconvenience. His own opinions scarcely required explanation. "I consider," proceeded his excellency, "that to this rising young province, character is of more value than the cost of obtaining specie for its banks. By plain integrity of conduct the British empire has amassed its wealth, and I feel confident, that the people of Upper Canada, with this example before their minds, will perceive that it is not only their duty, but their interest to adhere to that simple principle of the religion, as well as the commercial policy of our ancestors which nobly commands us to be true and just in all our dealings."

The legislature accordingly proceeded to make provision against the approaching crisis, and was shortly afterwards prorogued. A general suspension of cash payments eventually took place. This circumstance, however, affected the country no otherwise than by the temporary embarrassment to which it necessarily gave rise. In a political point of view, the province presented, at the close of the year, an aspect of unusual tranquillity. The dissensions existing in Lower Canada were more difficult of arrangement. For an account of the points at issue between the government at home, and the discontented party in the Lower province, the reader is referred to our last volume, and to the Parliamentary history in the present, particularly the debate of the 6th of March on Lord John Russell's resolutions.

The provincial Parliament assembled on the 18th of August, and in no better temper, than at its prorogation in the previous Autumn. Lord Gosford, in his speech, recited the substance of the resolutions which had passed the House of Commons, and informed the chambers that "the chief object, for which they were called together, was to afford them an opportunity, by granting the needful supplies, of rendering unnecessary, on the part of the Imperial Parliament, any further action on the 8th of those resolutions;" (viz. that which declared it to be expedient, that the governor should be empowered to defray the arrears, due on account of the charges of the civil government, out of the monies in the hands of the Receiver-general). He said, that he was commanded to express the "earnest desire of her Majesty's Government to co-operate with them, in the removal of every obstacle to the beneficial working of the existing constitution, and in the correction of every defect, which time and experience had developed in the laws and institutions of the province, or in the administration of its government." At the time, he remarked, the summons was issued for assembling them, he had every reason to believe that it would have been in his power to announce, as effected, those alterations which, as appeared in the resolutions, it was intended to effect in the legislative and executive councils; but ministers had been prevented by the King's death, from carrying into effect, at once, the measures they had in contemplation. Those measures were not forsaken, but only suspended for a season.

Shortly afterwards, the House of Assembly presented a long address to the governor, wherein having protested against the arbitrary conduct of the home Government, as evinced in the resolu-

tions, they announced their intention of adhering to the determination they had come to last session, "of suspending their deliberations, until the consummation of the reforms (and that of the legislative council above all) announced by, and in the name of the imperial authorities." The governor in his reply described "the voluntary and continued abandonment of their functions as one branch of the legislature," as "a virtual annihilation of the constitution."

The provincial parliament was, of course, prorogued. And now everything denoted imminent troubles. The military authorities were on the alert, and plans formed for the most effective disposition, that could be made, of the small force, that the local government had at hand. Nor were the Loyalists or "British party" inactive. A great meeting was held at Montreal, at which resolutions in support of the British government were adopted. Regiments of volunteers were formed, and disciplined; and the steady determination evinced by the friends of Government, and the alacrity with which they took up arms, should have made the leaders of the opposite party hesitate, ere they provoked a final appeal to the sword.

The French party, or "Patriots," convened a great assembly at St. Charles, in the county of Richelieu, which they termed "the meeting of the five counties," that being the number of those already confederated. At this place, delegates were collected from the various parishes. The people met in a large meadow. Upwards of sixty armed militia men were drawn up on the ground in military array. In the meadow was erected a column, surmounted with a cap of liberty, and bearing this inscription in the French language. "To Papineau by his grateful brother patriots, 1836." The assembled "*habitans*" were harangued by Papineau and other leaders of that faction, in their customary strain, and a string of insurrectionary resolutions was passed, amid acclamations, and volleys of musketry. The business of the meeting being concluded, Papineau was conducted to the foot of the column, and after he had listened and replied to an address delivered, in his honour, by one of his brother agitators, the proceedings of the day terminated with a procession of young men, who, marching up to the pillar, sang a patriotic hymn, and with their hands placed on the column, solemnly devoted themselves to their country. Soon afterwards, an affray between the two parties took place in the streets of Montreal, the "Loyalists" attacking the "Patriots," who, under the name of the "Sons of liberty," were parading the city. In this conflict "the Sons of liberty," seem to have been entirely worsted, and their triumphant antagonists were with difficulty restrained from attacking Papineau's residence; as it was, they broke open a few houses, and sacked the office of an obnoxious newspaper.

The troops in Lower Canada were reinforced by two regiments sent from Halifax; and Sir Francis Head, although insurrectionary symptoms were not wanting in the Upper Province, placed the whole of the troops stationed there, at the disposal of the authorities of the Lower, being contented to rely on the loyalty and firmness of the militia, and the citizens at large. Two regiments of militia and a volunteer corps offered him

their services for garrison duty, in the absence of the Queen's troops; but he declined to avail himself of their proposal, declaring that the ordinary civil force was adequate to the occasion.

Every day displayed a new manifestation of an intended rising in the Lower province. On one side, men armed, assembled, harangued; the lukewarm were encouraged, or threatened; the loyalists were insulted, and their dwellings attacked by night. On the other side, the magistrates issued proclamations, and warrants, which the military were called out to enforce; and on one occasion a party of volunteer cavalry, who composed the escort of some prisoners, was waylaid by an overpowering assemblage of insurgents, who, receiving them with a galling fire, very quickly put them to rout, and rescued the prisoners. Such was the commencement of the insurrection; the details of its progress and termination will furnish materials for our ensuing volume. We may add, that before the close of the present year, many of the leaders of the faction were in prison, and more of them, and among these latter, M. Papineau,* had withdrawn themselves to a place of safety, on the very first appearance of the rebellion.

New Brunswick.— In this colony a misunderstanding had arisen between the House of Assembly and Sir A. Campbell, the lieutenant governor. The occasion of it appears to have been as follows. The home Government had resolved to make a similar arrangement with respect to the "casual and territorial revenue of the crown," as had taken place in Lower Canada, and proposed to surrender it to the control of the local legislature, on condition, that a regular provision should be made by that body for the expences of the civil government. This proposal was very acceptable to the people of New Brunswick; and Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, had sent out the draught of a bill for the purpose of carrying it into effect, but Sir A. Campbell was found to raise obstacles to this settlement. It appears, that the waste lands of the crown, from which these revenues were partly derived, having been neglected, and left vacant, a multitude of individuals, with no better title than mere occupancy, had settled themselves upon them. Sir A. Campbell computed, that no

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* The Canadian rebels were unfortunate in their leader who seems to be a very ordinary demagogue without temper, sense, or courage. We subjoin the following epistle from this person to the civil secretary, penned in reply to an official note of the latter, as illustrative of the character of the man. "Sir, the pretension of the governor to interrogate me respecting my conduct at St. Laurent on the 15th of May last, is an impertinence which I repel with contempt and silence. I, however, take up my pen merely to tell the governor that it is false, that any of the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the county of Montreal held at St. Laurent on the 15th of May last recommend a violation of the laws, as in his ignorance he may believe, or as at least he asserts. Your obedient servant. L. J. Papineau." The letter which elicited this rude and braggart reply was in the common official style, and merely asked M. Papineau as holding a commission in the militia whether he was present at a meeting and concurred in certain resolutions recommending a violation of the laws, and if so, whether he had any explanation to offer.

less than 9,000 persons were in this situation. To remove these in a summary manner, and without compensation, would, he contended, be an act of great hardship, and impolicy, and he, therefore, prayed the home Government to reconsider the cases of people so circumstanced. For it was certain that they would all be driven from the lands by the operation of the intended bill, which nullified every grant or conveyance not made to the highest bidder at a public auction. This demur on the part of Sir A. Campbell gave great offence to the House of Assembly, which passed some strong resolutions condemnatory of his conduct, and embodied them in an address to the Throne. And a petition was put into signature among the inhabitants, praying for his removal. And it would seem that the Government at home viewed the matter in the same light, for his excellency was recalled, and Major General Sir John Harvey, K. C. H. appointed in his place. The bill passed in the course of the year.

The fears entertained of a drain of specie, by reason of this monetary derangement in the United States, led to a general suspension of cash payments in this colony by public agreement.

Newfoundland. — Here the House of Assembly showed a disposition to imitate that of Lower Canada, and refused to grant the supplies. They were not satisfied with the control, which they possessed over the public expenditure; and it is stated, that they were desirous of appropriating some part of the public revenues to the payment of salaries to themselves. The lieutenant-goveruor prorogued them in November, and in his speech, expressed his regret "that the results of the session had been anything but satisfactory."

West-Indies. — The governmant of Sir Lionel Smith is spoken of as giving great satisfaction in Jamaica. The apprenticeship system worked quietly. Considerable inconvenience, however, arose from a scarcity of provisions. The negroes finding, that they could dispose of their extra time to more advantage by working for their masters at high wages, than by cultivating their own provision grounds, neglected to raise the vegetables, on which they were accustomed to subsist. This although a temporary evil, must, of course, be reckoned a symptom of a very improved state of things. Another embarrassment existed in the debased state of the currency, which was found to be no longer adequate to the new system; under the former one, there was little need of a circulating medium; the slaves received their wages in kind, and the traffic between the colony and the mother country was principally conducted by way of barter, the productions of the plantations being exchanged for supplies and stores, and a great part of the balance, if any, retained in the mother country on various accounts. It is evident, that, in future, the purposes of society in these islands will require an enlarged and improved circulation.

In Demerara, it seems, that a misunderstanding prevailed between the governor, Sir J. C. Smyth, and the Combined Court; that body having evinced a somewhat refractory spirit, and vindicated to itself powers more extensive than the governor would concede.

In Trinidad some alarm was occasioned by the mutiny of a black regiment, who set fire to

their barracks and were not subdued without much resistance. It is said, that they consisted principally of savages, captured from slave-ships; in which case, the occurrence was not surprising.

East-Indies.—Of our eastern possessions, we have nothing of general interest to record. A revolution took place in the Burmese empire, the reigning sovereign having been deposed by his brother. The new monarch seemed disposed rather to conract, than extend, his relations with the British in India, but did not exhibit any spirit of decided hostility.

New South Wales.—By a census taken in November, 1836, it appears, that the British population amounted to 77,096, of which numbers, 27,831 were prisoners. The number of free males above the age of twelve was 23,121, while, that of free females, past the same age, amounted to no more than 11, 973. The protestants were 54,621. The Roman catholics 21,898. But the condition of this colony begins to excite a very painful interest. Fertile, full of resources, with an admirable climate, it presents moral features of a most alarming nature. Instead of a free and simple peasantry, instead of respectable artizans, and upright citizens, there is little to be seen, but the drainage of the jails of the mother country. Some are still in a convict state, others indulged with a freedom to which they are not strictly entitled by law, and at any moment revocable; others again emancipated from servitude, but with all the taint of their previous condition cleaving to their degraded natures; while, the various gradations of wealth, up to almost incredible opulence, exhibit instances of men, who by talent, industry, and different degrees of good conduct, have raised themselves to a level with the higher classes of society, and yet are branded with the ineffaceable stigma of their original sentence, and remain rigidly excluded from the circles of the free colonists, whom they far exceed in number, and at least, rival in wealth. In such a state of things public opinion becomes perverted at its source; for right and wrong change places in the moral sentiments of mankind, where the primary elements of society are the outcasts of other systems. Accordingly, our great penal colony presents the remarkable appearance of a community abounding in all the appliances of civilization, in daily communication with Great Britain, governed on enlightened principles, furnished with religious institutions, stimulated by a free and active press, and yet withal in a state of moral disorganisation, perhaps unprecedented in the history of man, and threatening posterity with combinations too monstrous for the most speculative of political thinkers to have conceived possible.

The following extract from the recent report of a committee of the House of Commons, on transportation, may serve to give an idea of the statistics of crime in Australia. "In old communities where there is a comparative want of employment, and profits are low, the amount of crime is not a perfectly sure test of the moral state of society, as the general uneasiness of the people gives birth to innumerable offences against property. But in the new communities, where there is a pressing demand for labour, and great facilities for acquiring wealth, crimes, so numerous and so atroci-

ous as those perpetrated in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, truly indicate the depth of moral depravity. It is difficult indeed to form an adequate conception of the frightful degree of crime which the above tables express; suffice it to say, that they show, that in proportion to the respective population of the two countries, the number of convicts for highway-robbery, including bushranging, in New South Wales exceeds the total number of convictions for all offences in England, that rapes, murders, and attempts at murders, are as common in the former, as petty larcenies in the latter country. In order to give an idea of the amount of crime in New South Wales, let it be supposed, that the 17,000 offenders, who last year were tried and convicted in this country (England) for various offences before the several courts of assizes and quarter sessions, had all been condemned for capital crimes; that 7,000 of them had been executed, and the remainder transported for life; that in addition 120,000 other offenders had been convicted of the minor offences of forgery, sheep-stealing and the like; then, in proportion to their respective populations, the state of crime and punishment in England and New South Wales would have been precisely the same."

CHAPTER XV.

FRANCE.—*King's Speech—Budget—Debates on the Address—Prosecutions of the Press—Strasburgh Trial—Disjunction Bill—Non-Revelation Bill—Appanage Bill—Polish Refugees—Marshal Clausel and M. Dupin—African Petition from Tlemecen—Debate on Disjunction Bill, and Defeat of Ministers—Discussion on the Dowry of the Queen of Belgium—Report of the Committee on African Affairs—Difficulties in forming a New Cabinet—New Ministry—Debate on Algiers, and Marshal Clausel's Defence—Trial of Meunier—Addition to the Allowance of the Duke of Orleans—Debate on Secret Service Money Bill—Review of National Guard—General Amnesty—Sugar Duties—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans and Dreadful Accident—Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies—Treaty of Tafna—Expedition to Constantine—Elections—Archbishop of Paris—Disturbances at Angoulême.*

THE chambers met on the 27th December, 1836. The king, in his speech from the throne, after remarking that the institutions of the country were becoming strengthened, and her prosperity increasing, that pacific assurances were received from all foreign powers, and that the peace of the world seemed to be for a long time established, informed the chambers that diplomatic intercourse had been renewed with the United States of America, and that the treaty of the 4th of July, 1831, was in execution. He then proceeded in the following terms:—"A momentary misunderstanding had arisen between France and Switzerland, satisfactory explanations have been given to us, and the intimate friendship, by which the two countries have been united for so many centuries, is at this moment re-established."

"The Peninsula is still disturbed by fatal dissentions; serious events have shaken the institutions of Madrid and Lisbon, and Spain has been incessantly desolated by civil war. Still closely united with the king of Great Britain, I continue to cause the treaty of the quadruple alliance to be executed with religious fidelity, and in conformity to the spirit in which it has been dictated."

"I entertain the most sincere desire for the consolidation of the throne of Isabella II., and I trust that the constitutional monarchy

will triumph over the perils with which it is threatened; but I applaud myself for having preserved France from sacrifices, the extent of which cannot be appreciated, and from the incalculable consequences of any armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Peninsula. France reserves the blood of her children for her own cause; and when she is reduced to the painful necessity of summoning them to shed that blood in her defence, it is only under her own glorious colours that the soldiers of France march to battle."

"We have experienced painful losses in Africa, they have deeply afflicted my heart; my second son has shared the sufferings and dangers of our brave soldiers, as his brother had done before him. If success has not attended the efforts of our soldiers, at least their valour, their perseverance, and their admirable resignation, have worthily sustained the honours of our banner. You will feel disposed with me to insure to our arms in Africa the preponderance which ought to belong to them, and to our possessions complete security."

"An attempt has threatened my life. Providence has averted the blow directed against me. The testimonies of affection with which France has surrounded me, and which you have just renewed,* are the most precious rewards for my labours and my devotion,"

"An attempt at insurrection, equally senseless and criminal, for a few moments astonished a great city, whose repose, however, was not disturbed by the event. It has served only to display the fidelity of our brave army, and the good spirit of the population." (Renewed acclamations.)

"The impotence of so many guilty efforts begins at length to weary the passions and to discourage their audacity. Time has already calmed many animosities, and daily softens the duties which circumstances have imposed on my government."

"I have been enabled to follow the desire of my heart, in pardoning men, struck by the laws of the land. I confined myself to such as submitted to the authority of those laws. It is thus that I have thought myself at liberty to exercise the most precious right conferred upon me by the charter, without weakening any of the guarantees of order, or any of the principles of our legislation. Independently of the laws which have been already presented to you, and which will again be submitted to your deliberations, you will have to occupy yourselves with several bills, some of which concern my family, and others are directed towards the completion of our legislation.

"Our finances are in a most prosperous state. The public revenue will exceed the ordinary expenses of the state. Measures conformable to the wish manifested during the last session will be proposed to you, as soon as the return of the abundance of capital will permit my government to do so. The commercial embarrassments, which have been felt in other countries, have exercised but a feeble influence on our internal prosperity. We have to deplore, in some localities, sufferings which we

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* The king, in an altered tone, interpolated these words, in reference to the assassination which he had the moment before escaped on his way to the chambers, and which is noticed in the preceding volume.

are endeavouring to assuage. I have reason to hope that they will be but momentary, and that an increase of wealth will everywhere insure the welfare of the population."

"To arrive more expeditiously at this happy result, and to endow France with the advantages promised to her by the progress of the sciences and the national prosperity, I have given orders that an important mass of public works, to be undertaken, shall be submitted for your deliberation. Already the sums which you have voted, for the improvement of the roads in the west, have changed the aspect of the country, and destroyed the germ of civil discord. In the course of this session, the roads remaining to be formed, the navigation of rivers, the establishment of canals, ports, and railroads, will be the objects of important propositions, as well as those monuments and public institutions, which attest, and still further augment the greatness of France."

Having pronounced this speech, his majesty retired, followed by the acclamations of the assemblage. The recent attempt of the assassin Meunier (which is described in our last volume) made the occasion particularly interesting, and the assembled statesmen and deputies, no less than the monarch, displayed great emotion. Immediately after the sitting, the members of the two chambers proceeded to the Tuileries, with a view to congratulate his majesty on his providential escape. The deputies marched on foot, in a long procession, headed by their temporary president, through the garden of the Tuileries. The king thanked the members of both chambers in very impressive terms, and conversed freely upon the subject with the deputies, who were grouped around him. He gave a minute account of the event, adding, "I know not how I escaped; as at the moment the report was heard, I had my head very much advanced towards the door of the carriage—Nemours, who was also leaning forwards, had his head against the glass."

M. Dupin was re-elected president of the chamber of deputies; and the standing committees of the chamber then proceeded, according to custom, to appoint the committee to prepare the draught of the address. This body consists of nine members, one being elected by each of the committees, besides the president of the chamber, who, *ex-officio*, belongs to it. In the committee named, the ministers secured a majority of three, even assuming the neutrality of the president. M. Thiers was on the list of those elected.

M. Duchatel, the financial minister, presented his budget for 1838, on the 4th of January. He introduced it by a rather glowing description of the rapid advances made by the country, since the year 1830; and having contrasted the commercial condition of France in 1829, the most flourishing era of the Restoration, with the same as exhibited in 1835; he declared the difference, in favour of the latter period, to be no less than 372,000,000 francs. With regard to that much agitated question, the reduction of the 5 per cent. stock, he said, that while he considered the measure to be perfectly just and legal, he doubted how far it would be prudent to carry it into effect, in the present situation of the financial world, both at

home and abroad; and should prefer to wait, till the accumulation of a greater abundance of capital in the country might render the operation of less questionable expediency. In support of his views, he called the attention of the chamber to the commercial embarrassments that had so lately prevailed in the United States and England, at Amsterdam, and at Hamburgh; and reminded members of the very satisfactory position which had been assumed by the bank of France during that crisis. In the course of the preceding six months, that establishment, while, on the one hand, it abstained from raising the rate of its discounts, had, on the other, rendered very important services to the government, and that too, during a period at which, owing principally to foreign causes, the commercial and manufacturing interests of France exhibited considerable langour. But he added that, although ministers did not then think the moment arrived for proposing the reduction of the 5 per cents., he would undertake to state, that no sooner would a favourable opportunity present itself, than they would hasten to demand from the chamber the powers required to carry so desirable an operation into effect. When he had explained the ministerial views upon this question, he entered upon that which related to colonial and indigenous sugar. After detailing the difficulties encountered by the government in their endeavours to frame a bill for imposing an excise on beetroot sugar; he gave it as his opinion, that that commodity should, in common with other manufactured articles, be subjected to a tax; and he thought that, at the same time, a reduction should take place in the duties levied on colonial and foreign sugar. Until, however, a bill could be brought in for arranging this matter, he should propose an addition to the then existing duties on licences and liquors, to cover the deficiency in revenue, occasioned by the extraordinary increase in the manufacture of domestic sugar. He then stated the substance of the budget, giving the following result:—

	Francs.
Expenditure - -	1,037,288,050
Receipts - - -	1,053,340,078
Anticipated surplus	183,947,172

Before he sat down, he presented a bill for authorizing the government to apply the reserve of the sinking fund to public works;—one for reducing the duty on colonial sugars; and one respecting the *caisse de consignations*, savings' banks, &c.

M. Gasparin, the minister of the Interior, presented a bill, the object of which was to insure to the government a monopoly of telegraphic establishments. "The subject," observed M. Gasparin, "is certainly one of importance, and no doubt, communications of this nature may be made instruments of great public mischief; for instance, if the news of the insurrection at Lyons had been transmitted by telegraph, not only to St. Etienne, but in various other directions, the rising might have become general." The telegraph was also applicable to other improper purposes—for instance, very recently at Tours, one had been in use, for the purpose of transmitting intelligence of a nature to affect the public funds, and had facilitated a great deal of fraudu-

lent gambling. It was true that commercial men had recourse to telegraphic communications, for legitimate purposes, but the ordinary mode of transacting such business ought to suffice—besides, in a short time, the existence of various rail-roads would give the increased celerity required by commercial intercourse.

It was understood, that the committee on the address had been engaged in some very lively, and even warm discussions on the various points to which the King's Speech adverted; and some very curious disclosures had, according to report, been elicited. There was therefore every reason to anticipate, that in the chamber, the debate on the address would have a character of even more than common interest, and it was accordingly expected with some anxiety. Meanwhile the address of the chamber of Peers, which as usual, was but an echo of the royal speech, came under discussion in that assembly. The debate was opened by the Marquis de deux Brezé, who attacked ministers for their policy in the affairs of Spain, as being calculated to give a preponderance to Great Britain in the Peninsula. He denounced the quadruple alliance as a mockery, and expressed great antipathy to the English nation. Count Molé, President of the Council and foreign minister, defended the system of the government, and contended that its interpretation of the treaty of the quadruple alliance, was dictated by the spirit of that document, and in consonance with the interests of France, which were, at the moment, intimately connected with the policy of Great Britain. Any departure from the principles, which had hitherto regulated the conduct of the government, would be attended with the most fatal consequences. Nor had any changes taken place, except such as respected the degree to which intervention should be extended. Under the ministry of the 11th of October, (that of Marshal Soult) France had consulted England on the subject, and no further efforts in favour of Spain were then required by the latter power. In March 1836, England in her turn had urged France to a more extended co-operation; but the ministry of the 22nd of February, at the head of which was M. Thiers, had declined to accede to that proposal, leaving England to act as she might think proper. Hence the system now pursued by ministers was but a sequel of that adopted by their predecessors. An armed intervention, on such a scale as became the dignity of France, would be attended with sacrifices, that it was not desirable to impose upon the country. Alliance with England was the basis of their policy, and formed the security of France. Nothing was to be apprehended from that power; which had taken no steps without consulting the French government, and had afforded every explanation demanded.

The Duke of Broglie next delivered a speech in favour of the government. He was followed by Marshal Soult, who observed, that a great deal had been said with respect to the distinction between the words intervention and co-operation. It appeared to him, that these distinctions were a mere subtlety of language. An indirect co-operation was disgraceful, and, supposing it to be necessary, he contended, that the only course consistent with the honour of

France, would be a direct intervention with French troops, commanded by French officers, and under French colours. He blamed the mode that had been adopted of recruiting in France for the service of Spain. From 3000 to 4000 men had volunteered for that service, and the force thus organized was suddenly withdrawn. These troops had suffered every sort of privation, and, as was natural, had fallen into a very relaxed state of discipline. They had learned to consider themselves either French or Spanish, according to the exigency of the moment. When it was necessary to enforce the French code, they claimed the privileges of a Spanish corps; and when the Spanish law was directed against them, they relied on their immunity as Frenchmen.

M. Guizot declared, that there was an "immense" difference between the system adopted by ministers, and the armed co-operation, which M. Thiers had discovered to be indispensable. Without declaring, that intervention was totally impossible, ministers were determined to do all they could to avoid it.

M. de Villemain, adverted to the paragraph in the address relating to Algiers, and asked "if Algiers be a colony of France, why is not her charter, her regime, her law, applied there as in Paris? And M. Molé in reply, admitted that an end ought to be put to the system of government then prevailing in that colony. The address was carried by a majority of 87; there being but 11 votes in the negative.

On the 14th January the debate on the address commenced in the chamber of deputies. The two first paragraphs had reference to the late attempt on the King's life. The dynasty of July was declared to be "beyond the reach of crime;" and "supported by the affection of an enlightened people was as firmly established, as it was popular." The third paragraph was to the following effect; "your Majesty hopes, that the peace of Europe is for a long time assured. We concur with joy in this expressed hope, and France will applaud herself for having by her firmness and her wisdom contributed to the maintenance of the repose of the world." M. Odilon Barrot proposed these additional words; "which repose can never be more strongly guaranteed, than when it shall rest upon the respect of rights consecrated by treaties, and among which France will never cease to place in the first rank, that of the ancient nationality of Poland," an amendment supported by the extreme left, the left centre, and a portion of the right sections of the chamber. Upon a division there appeared for the amendment 189, against it 181, majority against ministers 8. The announcement of this victory was received by the opposition with long continued cheering.

The fourth paragraph, relating to the United States of America, having passed without debate, the fifth, of which Switzerland formed the subject, gave rise to a very animated discussion, founded upon the affair of Conseil, which is mentioned, under the head of Switzerland in our last volume. It will be recollected, that this person, having been arrested by the Swiss authorities as a promoter of conspiracies and agitation among the refugees, had acknowledged,

that he was employed as a spy by the French Government, and that what he had done, was by their authority. This discovery having led to much discussion in the Diet, the Duke de Montebello, the French ambassador, expressed the highest indignation at the whole transaction, accused the Diet of "sanctioning a fiction invented by the Anarchists for the purpose of calumniating France," and declared, that he had received orders to suspend all relations with Switzerland, until satisfaction for this insult was obtained.

Notwithstanding this outbreak of offended honour, it now seemed to be an unquestionable fact, not denied by M. Gasparin, the minister of the interior, that this Conseil was a spy in the service of the French police. When M. Odilon Barrot rose for the purpose of asking ministers, if it were true "that M. Conseil whose expulsion from the cantons the French government had required, had been sent into Switzerland by that very government as a spy? M. Molé, denied any knowledge of the affair. He said, he had found on entering upon office, that the late president of the council, (M. Thiers), had written to demand the expulsion of Conseil from Switzerland, as a refugee, whose presence there, the French government could not tolerate. To that demand the Swiss directory replied by a proceeding highly offensive to France; but in what he had himself done throughout the affair, he had only been continuing the course commenced by his predecessor. M. Thiers, on his part, denied all knowledge of Conseil; as minister for foreign affairs, he had received from M. Montalivet, the then minister of the interior, a document signed by M. Gasparin, the secretary of that department, recommending, that the expulsion of Conseil from Switzerland should be required of the directory. M. Thiers said, that leaving the minister of the interior to judge of the necessity of such a requisition, he had, in utter ignorance of who and what Conseil was, addressed that demand to the Swiss government. M. Gasparin, now minister of interior, declared, that he had done or written nothing but by order of M. Montalivet, after consulting whom on the subject of Conseil, he had drawn up a note which met with his approbation; this was all his duty would allow him to communicate. M. Teste insisted, that the chamber had a right to demand a full revelation of all the circumstances of the transaction. M. Persil, minister of justice, resisted the demand. M. Molé read a letter which he had just received from M. Montalivet, who assumed the whole responsibility of the affair, and declared, that he was obliged to observe, on the subject of Conseil, the "reserve commanded by the principles of the representative government." M. Thiers again ascended the tribune, and after expressing regret that a sense of what was due to his country, and to "his own honour" compelled him to speak out; exclaimed "as president of the council, I ought to have known all, but I did not know all!" A tumultuous scene seems to have ensued. But in the end, the paragraph relating to Switzerland was adopted without amendment.

Then followed that paragraph which regarded Spain. It contained these words, "we offer our sincere wishes for the cause of Isabel the Second, and we hope,

that the close union of your majesty with the court of Great Britain, and your perseverance in causing the treaty of the quadruple alliance to be executed, will contribute to save Spain from the misfortune of a counter revolution. Your government, Sire, has well understood the interests and wishes of France, since it has preserved her from the sacrifices and incalculable consequences, with which an armed intervention in the affairs of Spain might have been attended." M. Molé opened the discussion on this part of the address. After a retrospective view of the policy of France, since July, 1830, of which he said a great citizen, Casimir Perrier, had been the founder, he proceeded to examine the quadruple treaty, and contended, that France was not thereby bound even to co-operate, as she must be guided on that point by the determination of the other contracting parties. France had done more perhaps than she was bound to do, by establishing a powerful cordon along the Pyrenees, and preventing the introduction of military stores for the service of Don Carlos. But being no longer influenced towards Spain by the policy of Louis XIV, and Napoleon, her government could not sacrifice the blood aud treasure of her citizens to support institutions in the Peninsula, which, as yet, had taken no deep root. At a future period she might be called on to interfere. That period had not yet arrived. There was, moreover, another obstacle in the way of an armed intervention. It was not improbable, that while France was thus engaged with Spain and Algiers, her independence might be menaced in some other quarter of Europe. In the sequel of his speech, M. Molé made the following statement. In June 1835, the queen of Spain demanded an armed intervention on the part of France. The president of the then cabinet, upon this occasion, addressed the following questions to the court of St James'. 1. Whether it thought the present circumstances of the Peninsula warranted an acquiescence in that demand? 2. Whether England would co-operate? 3. Whether she would consider the intervention of France as a *casus fœderis?* To these three questions England replied in the negative. In March, 1836, however, that power considering that intervention had become expedient, intimated her intention of landing a certain number of marines on the Spanish coast, and invited the co-operation of France; offering to her, the occupation of the port of Passages, together with the liberty of limiting the extent, and settling the mode of her own operations. M. Thiers had declined to accede to this proposal, and it was not till the revolt at La Granja had forced upon the queen the constitution of 1812, that the policy of the cabinet of the 22nd February changed, with regard to the Peninsula.

M. Thiers was the next speaker. From some observations on the nature and object of the treaty of the quadruple alliance, he proceeded to examine the system of England, which he described as "bold and decisive". She had been the first to accede to the wishes of the Spanish and Portuguese governments, and to conclude a treaty with them. France then felt, that she could not remain neutral; She joined in the treaty, and thereby bound herself to co-operate. All the govern-

ments, which had succeeded one another in Spain, had demanded such a step on her part. With respect to the request made by England, that the French government should unite with her in more active measures, he declared, that he had not been so averse to accede to it, as had been represented; but his opinion had been overruled in the cabinet. Subsequently, however, the situation of things changed in the Peninsula. Cordova had permitted Gomez to carry insurrection into the very heart of the country, and there had been a formidable rising in Arragon and Valencia. He had then devised a plan, which he conceived would have been successful. The Algerine legion presented a respectable force. The British legion had materially improved since the last year, but required to be directed by an able officer. He had formed the idea of establishing an army of 25,000 men, composed of British, French, and Portuguese; which placed under the command of an experienced French officer, would have easily quelled the insurrection. The only difficulty consisted in prevailing upon the British troops to obey the commands of a French general. He had proposed General Bugeaud for this duty. Then followed the affair of La Granja. Seven, out of eight ministers, had concurred with him in his project for active interference upon this event, but the opinion of the cabinet not being unanimous, it was broken up. "I think" continued M. Thiers "I have judged the state of Spain at a glance, I think I may say, gentlemen, that I am the only man who has done so. (Hilarity—several voices: "modesty is out of the question.") He then criticised severely the system which the ministers were pursuing, and described it as fatal to Spain, and injurious to France.

He was followed by M. Passy, (who had been minister of commerce under the Thiers administration). He contrasted Spain, at that moment, with France in 1793, and shewed that there was a wide distinction between them. The present government, by making Espartero a count,* with an hereditary title, in reward for his services at Bilboa, had certainly displayed a tendency the reverse of anti-monarchial. M. Guizot then ascended the tribune. He read several despatches from the duke de Broglie, while minister, to the Spanish ambassador, clearly showing that the French government had always reserved to itself the right of determining the propriety as well as the extent of any assistance the Spanish cabinet might demand, and that it had never ceased to consider an armed intervention and pecuniary assistance, as what, in the then circumstances of France, could not possibly be afforded. He quoted from former speeches of M. Thiers, passages to shew, that that gentleman, not long ago, held and expressed the opinions, and defended the cautious policy which he now vituperated. The question was, whether the interests of France admitted or required an armed intervention. In Spain, the great object ought to be, to establish a *juste milieu* government. To do this, more experience, firmness, courage, perseverance, and self devotion were required, than for the foundation of any other form of government. It was not an affair to be under-

* Count de Luchana.

taken lightly. M. Guizot then proceeded to trace a picture of the influence exercised by France, throughout Europe, at all epochs. In the 18th century, it was by ideas that she exercised this influence, a more honourable one than that of arms; not that he meant to assert that the wars of the revolution were not useful to France. On the contrary, they preserved her, and founded her glorious institutions. But their time had passed away. We had entered on a period of peace, industry, and commerce. As to Spain, she possessed not the importance of former times, when she might be found beyond the Rhine and the Scheldt, and as far as Naples. She was now an isolated power. It had been said, that the connexion with England would be weakened by the present policy. He should be sorry if that were to happen; he valued that alliance, but they were not, therefore, to make their policy at all times, and on all occasions subservient to England. They reserved to themselves, and the country should know it, the liberty of doing nothing, but what they considered conformable to the interest of France. It was said, that in Spain, France would be defending her own cause. There was truth in that observation, and it was on that very account that they had been for the last three years acting as they had done; but it was now proposed, that France should abandon her situation of mediatrix between conflicting principles and parties, to follow another nation, in a struggle between the spirit of revolution, and that of absolutism. They had hitherto been endeavouring, from their high position, to make the spirit which actuated France, predominant in Europe. "By placing the revolution of July in the rear of the insurrection of La Granja, France would be renouncing her security, her true greatness." (Violent murmurs.) The revolution of July was a legitimate one the day after the "*ordonnances*," it was not legitimate the day before. As to what was to be done in the event of the success of Don Carlos; that was a question which it was in the power of none to answer. But it would be an imprudent act on the part of government to enter into a blind engagement for the future.

The conduct of the government was condemned, in strong terms, by M. Berryer, who contended that the quadruple treaty contained articles degrading to France, and ruinous to her commerce. The paragraph in question was itself a disgrace to the country, and their empty wishes and resolutions in favour of Donna Isabella were unworthy of a great people. This gentleman's speech which produced a considerable impression, called up M. Guizot once more, who re-entered upon a defence of the policy adopted by the cabinet. not without some personal reflections upon the last speaker. M. Berryer, thus assailed, rose to explain; he was not, he said, a man to shift with every wind, he would confess his personal friendship for Prince Polignac and several members of that minister's cabinet. He might have held office in 1830, his friends were there—but he had foreseen the results of the Polignac "*ordonnances*," and they had met with his disapprobation; but he respected regal power, as much as he reprobated and detested the bastard system, which was in fashion in that kingdom as well as in Spain.

M. Mauguin said, he would unfold to the chamber the secret motives which influenced England. What sought she in Spain? Commercial advantages? no—for in that case, she would have stipulated for them before-hand. But it was in Spain, that she contended with the northern powers, that was the ground, on which the great conflict between the opposing principles which agitated Europe was to be carried on. He then expatiated on the progress of English influence in the Peninsula; and predicted that in Passages the story of Gibraltar would be renewed.

Another distinguished leader of the left, M. Odilon Barrot, declared that Don Carlos had begun the work of restoration for the thrones of Europe; the focus of insurrection now burning in Navarre might one day devour France. All their energies should be devoted to quench the fire, and to tear down the banner of counter-revolution. The cause of the late cabinet's retirement was to be found in the proclamation of the constitution of 1812, inasmuch as that cabinet would have given the new order of things a fair chance. The present ministers denounced it as anarchy; they would give no quarter to liberal principles—at the very moment when the march of freedom was signalised by a triumph, the king's speech was made a vehicle of insult towards the Peninsula, nay more, the cabinet was scarcely formed, when in conjunction with the English government, it attempted some vile scheme of counter-revolution at Lisbon. What were the significant words of the Moniteur with respect to that attempt? "The French and English fleets had combined to put down a revolution supported by bayonets." He could understand England's policy in this act. Her views were strictly commercial, but the French ministers were actuated by a mere hatred of freedom. The crime of Spain, in the eyes of ministers, was her refusal to accept a *juste milieu*. He denounced the *estatuto real*, he eulogized the *juntas*. M. Guizot had said, that France could, at will, select an alliance with any party, reform or conservative, in Europe. No such thing—France was pledged to reform, to the people's sovereignty, in opposition to divine right. She ought to have aided Italy against Austria as she aided Belgium. The laws of September at home, and the Holy Alliance abroad! behold the ministerial policy!"

In this stage of the debate, M. Brissière moved the following amendment. "We have a firm confidence and an ardent wish, that the security and honour of France, may not impose on her the sacrifices consequent on an armed intervention, of which the results would be incalculable." This led to a renewal of the discussion. M. Molé opposed the amendment, as going farther than its author imagined, for it pledged France to her future conduct. The king's speech did not throw blame on the late cabinet, it merely deprecated that obscure and grovelling system of co-operation which dishonoured the country.

This reproach called forth an animated speech from M. Thiers, and a reply from M. Molé, which amounted however to little more than a repetition of arguments, not unaccompanied by recrimination, and farther disclosures of what had passed in the former cabinet. The amendment was rejected. The chamber then pro-

ceeded to vote upon the original paragraph: at the suggestion of M. Berryer, it was divided into separate portions; that part, which expressed the feelings of the chamber with respect to the distracted state of the Peninsula, being detached from the latter section, which declared its approbation of the ministerial policy, in abstaining from armed intervention. The first part of the paragraph thus divided being put to the vote was carried by a large majority. The *extreme left* did not vote at all; the legitimatists joined in the vote. M. Thiers retired before the division; upon the second portion of the paragraph, *the right centre*, a part of *the left centre*, and the *legitimatists* voted in the affirmative—the *extreme left*, a portion *of the left centre*, together with M. Thiers and the other members of his late cabinet, voted in the negative. The result was, that the paragraph was carried.

In the discussion, to which a paragraph on the subject of Algiers gave rise, general Bugeaud assured the chamber that no less than 45,000 men were required to uphold the reputation of the French arms in that part of the world.

During the course of these discussions, the French crown lawyers were not idle without doors, and carried on the prosecutions of the press with their accustomed alacrity. Two of the earliest victims of the year, were the *Courrier, Français* and *Siècle*, newspapers—the editor of the latter was condemned to two months imprisonment, and to a fine of 2,000 francs with the costs of the action. The charge laid against the *Courrier* was, that in violation of the laws of September, it had introduced the king's name, while discussing the acts of his government. Two articles were produced from that paper, in which the ministers were censured for screening themselves behind the king's name, for commending his direct interference in public affairs, and for attributing to his wisdom all the good that the government was effecting, by calling him the Providence of France; language which it was said, proved to the country that constitutional fictions were without either force or credit in the new monarchy. It was also charged with alleging that the government was, in fact, conducted by the king, and not by the responsible agents of the executive power. The attorney-general, in pressing the charge, declared that even supposing it to be the intention of the writer of these articles to serve the cause of the dynasty of Orleans, he ought, nevertheless, to be punished for introducing the king's name in the discussion.* The *Courrier* was defended by M. Philippe Dupin. The jury returned a verdict of acquittal.

Four Carlist journals, *La Gazette de France, La Quotidienne, La France*, and *La Mode*, were now proceeded against for seditious libels on the subject of the demise of Charles 10th. The three former were convicted, and the editors punished by fine and imprisonment. On the 6th of January, commenced the trial of the persons concerned in the military outbreak in favour of Louis Buonaparte at Strasburgh. The particulars of that foolish

* By the law of September, 1835, it is enacted that "whoever shall trace back to the king the responsibility of the acts of his government shall be punished by imprisonment from a month to a year, and by a fine of from 500 to 5,000 francs,

business will be found in our preceding volume. Charles Louis Napoleon Buonaparte is the third son of Louis Buonaparte, once king of Holland, and third brother of Napoleon.* His mother, Hortense, afterwards duchess of St. Leu, was the daughter of the empress Josephine by her first husband. She was united to Louis Buonaparte in 1802, against the wishes of both; but in compliance with the strong desire of Napoleon and Josephine. The marriage was a most unhappy one, and it is said that from 1802 to 1807 when they finally separated, they lived together scarcely three months, and even that, at long intervals of time. Three sons were the issue of this unfortunate union. The eldest, Napoleon Charles, died in 1807; the second was killed in 1832, in the insurrection which took place in Romagna—and in which both the brothers were concerned. From that period, Charles Louis, the survivor never ceased to endeavour to excite notice in France. He published various pamphlets, and produced the plan of a constitution, of which the elements are said to have been at once democratic, St. Simonian, and imperial. In spite, however, of these exertions, he remained in obscurity, regarded by none but the little *coterie* which surrounded him, till impatient of his situation, he made his absurd attempt at Strasburgh, and became a state prisoner. On the 13th of November 1836, the following announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*. "By order of the king, Napoleon Louis Buonaparte, has been removed from custody at Strasburgh, where he was detained, for the purpose of being transported to the United States in a vessel belonging to the state." This proceeding gave a great handle to the party in opposition, and their journals were vehement in protestations in favour of equality in the eye of the law, and against the arbitrary tendency displayed in the language, which had communicated to the public the release of Louis Bonaparte; and it was remarked, that none must wonder if the jury were to acquit the remainder of the parties implicated in the conspiracy. The ministerial press, on the other hand, contended that the step taken, with respect to Louis Bonaparte, was, not less than that which regarded the duchess de Berri, founded on positive law; that it was the necessary consequence of the enactment of 1832 which had, once for all, put beyond the pale of the common law, the members of the imperial family and of the elder Bourbon branch. "Besides, it was said, thei rresistible respect, which was inspired by a great race, would revolt at the spectacle of the duchess de Berri, or the nephew of Bonaparte, standing between two *gendarmes* at the assizes." Although, therefore, Louis Bonaparte was included in the indictment, his name was subsequently omitted in the proceedings, on the ground that the prosecution with respect to him had been abandoned; that he had not even undergone the common preliminary interrogation; and that, therefore, nothing more could be done with him. The order of court, in which this was announced, admitted that the courts of judicature were bound not to deviate from the

* The brothers stood as follows in succession of birth: — 1. Joseph.—2. Napoleon.—3. Lucien.—4. Louis.—5. Jerome.—The duchess of St. Leu died in the course of 1836.

fundamental principle of equality before the law, but it declared, that the removal of Napoleon Louis Bonaparte from custody at Strasburgh, was "an exceptional act of high state policy," superseding the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.

In this state of things, colonel Vandrey, lieutenant Laity, commandant Parquin, and M. M. de Querelles, and de Gircourt, the count de Bruc, and Madame Eleanore Brault, alias Gordon, were placed at the bar of the Court of Assize at Strasburgh. From the evidence before the court, as well as from the admissions of the prisoners, there could be no reasonable doubt of their guilt. In fact, the main circumstances of the charge were established upon the examination of the prisoners alone, and were such, as have already been related in the preceding volume. From all that appeared, it was obvious that the accused had acted from a blind and impetuous affection for the memory of Napoleon, rather than from a definite plan for subverting the government. The appearance of a Bonaparte, in the old imperial uniform surmounted by "the historical cocked hat" had been more than they could resist; but that they had been guilty of high treason, was beyond the reach of argument to displace. Accordingly, their counsel relied almost entirely on the absence of the principal criminal, and contended that neither in strict law, for which the code was cited, nor in natural equity, could mere accessories be convicted under such circumstances. It was asked "would any jury of Frenchmen have convicted the prince? If not, what jury could find his accomplices guilty? Some of the counsel deviated into some rather intemperate and irrelevant abuses of the government, which elicited the rebuke of the court. The trial having lasted twelve days, the president proceeded to sum up the evidence on the 18th of January. The jury retired, amidst a good deal of excitement on the part of the spectators, which it was found difficult entirely to repress, and having been out of court twenty-two minutes, they returned, when their foreman read the following declaration: "On my honour and conscience, before God and man, the answer of the jury to all the questions put to them is "No—the prisoners are not guilty." This verdict was received with transport by the assembled crowd, and both the prisoners and the jury left the court, followed by the acclamations of the populace. On that day, Strasburgh, displayed the appearance of a fête, and the garrison participated in the general satisfaction.

This verdict was severely felt by the ministers. The news reached Paris on the 20th, and excited a lively interest in the chamber of deputies. The members entered the house, many with letters in their hands, and their countenances variously affected. The ministers looked grave, and conversed apart. M. Gasparin, the minister of the interior, preserved even more than his accustomed reserve, and solemnity of manner. On the other hand M. M. Laffitte, Odilon Barrot, and Salverte displayed the most lively joy, but above all M. Thiers was unable to repress his exultation, and as he passed through the house, and in face of the bench of ministers, with an air of triumph and defiance, he was greeted by

the cheers of his party. After repeated attempts, the president at length succeeded in persuading the house to attend to the business of the day; and they proceeded with the address. The 14th and last paragraph, which touched on the internal state of the kingdom, and the late attempts to disturb public tranquillity, being put from the chair, gave members an opportunity of directing the debate towards the recent trial. A tumultuous scene, after the fashion of that assembly, ensued. Ministers, when pressed for certain explanations as to their knowledge of the conspiracy previous to its explosion, preserved an obstinate silence. M. Guizot only exclaiming in great passion, "we will give no explanation, we will give no satisfaction." At last, the paragraph having been adopted, the chamber proceeded to ballot on the "*ensemble*" of the addresss, and the following result appeared; for the address, 242; against it 157: majority 85.

Immediately after the termination of the Strasburgh trial, the attention of the French public was directed towards three very important bills, which were presented by the government to the legislature, for its adoption. The first, and which acquired the name of the "disjunction bill," was intended to separate civil and military offenders when they happened to be implicated in the same charge, and to transfer the former to a civil tribunal, the latter to a court martial. This bill was introduced by General Bernard, the minister of War, to the chamber of deputies on the 24th January. On the same day, the minister of Marine brought in a bill, for making the Isle of Bourbon a place of banishment for offenders condemned to transportation, and on the following day, M. Persil, minister of justice introduced into the chamber of Peers, a bill, which related to what in the phraseology of English law, is called "misprision of treason," and which the French designated as the "non revelation bill." M. Persil said, it referred to the crime of non-revelation, which had been abolished in 1832, and had not since been considered as an offence against the safety of the state. The object of the present bill was, not to re-establish the system entirely as it had existed in 1810, but merely to re-enact that part of it, which had been abandoned in 1832, and he contended, that had the articles of the code respecting non-revelation not being abrogated, the crimes of Alibaud and Fieschi might have been prevented. He then moved, that the articles 103, 106, and 107, of the penal code should be restored, but merely as regarded crimes or attempts against the life and person of the King. His proposal was, 1st. That any individual who should have knowledge of a conspiracy or crime of the nature above referred to, and should not denounce the guilty parties, or reveal the particulars, in the course of twenty-four hours, should be liable to imprisonment. 2nd That whoever should have had knowledge of such conspiracy without revealing it, should not be held excusable, even if he disapproved of the plot, or endeavoured to dissuade its authors from carrying it into execution. 3rd. That in case the person guilty of non-revelation, should be a relative of the author of the culpable project, he should not be subject

to imprisonment, but might be placed uuder the *surveillance* of the police for a period not exceeding ten years. The same minister then submitted to the chamber two additional bills, one for enlarging and defining the jurisdiction of that house as a court of justice, and the other for reguing its practice in the same capacity.

The outcry of the press against the "disjunction," "transportation," and "non-revelation" bills, was excessive. The law for dissevering the military offender from his civil accomplice was represented as at once levelled against the jurors and the soldiery of the nation: that which respected "non-revelation" was said to be directed against "the honour and morality" of the people; and the plan for rendering the isle of Bourbon a place of confinement, as well as transportation, was stigmatized as entirely foreign to the spirit of French jurisprudence.

At the same time it fell to the lot of M. Molé to submit to the chamber of deputies a proposal hardly less unpopular than the preceding, viz. to provide for the Duke de Nemours, by making over to him the domain of Rambouillet, producing according to the ministerial estimate a revenue of 500,000 francs, but charged with an annual sum of 260,000 francs; and also another domain in the department of the Eure and Loire; which possessions would, together, give the Prince a revenue of 600,000 francs.* This was followed by another bill, for placing 100,000 francs at the disposal of the minister of finance, for the payment of the marriage portion of the Princess Louise (Queen of the Belgians). These grants were objected to in respect of their magnitude, but principally on account of the reputed amount of the King's private fortune, as well as of his very large public income, the latter alone being estimated at 32,000,000 francs, (1,280,000*l.* sterling.) It was contended, that the King, under such circumstances, and at a time of great commercial and agricultural distress, ought to provide for his children from his own resources.

While these, the principal parliamentary projects of the Session, were before the Legislature, the subject of the Polish refugees came under discussion in the chamber of deputies, on the presentation, by M. Merlin d'Aveyron, of a petition from the principal Polish exiles in France. The petitioners complained of many inconveniences and hardships to which their fellow countrymen were exposed under the existing laws, but particularly of a decision of the chamber, by virtue of which the sum, at present, appropriated to their relief, would on the 1st of February be reduced by one fifth.

On this occasion, the minister of the interior, remarked upon the number of refugees, which was daily increasing. There were then in France 500 Spanish exiles, two Hanoverians, 627 Italians, 5,500 Poles, besides a number of Carlists, which last the government had been obliged to remove into the interior at a considerable expense. In the course of 1836, 400 additional Poles had arrived from Germany, and during the last six years, the sum paid by the state to political exiles, amounted to 19,551,000

* There is reason to suppose, that the ministerial estimate of the value of this property was much below the mark.

francs. The Poles enjoyed great privileges, the universities admitted them to graduate without cost, the war department gave them free access to the military schools, and many held offices under government.

It was contended by M. Mauguin, that the government was bound to give relief to all political refugees, who came to France, as the time might arrive, when she might want their services. M. Guizot asserted, that two-fifths of the refugees were in a way of earning an independent existence. M. Falchiron reminded the chamber, that at Lyons, there were 30,000 artificers without work,and starving at that moment. France, he said, should think of her own children before she attended to the wants of foreigners. On the other hand, M. Salverte averred, that the debt of France towards the Poles was one of honour, and consequently sacred. The petition was, after some farther discussion, referred to the minister for foreign affairs, by a large majority.

It may be remembered, that neither the military conduct, nor the civil government of marshal Clausel in Africa, had been such as to meet with the approbation of his fellow countrymen; and he returned to Paris in February, with diminished reputation as a commander, and by no means free from charges of extortion and general mal-administration of affairs. Exasperated by popular rumours, and the continued attacks of the press, he looked about for an antagonist, and was so ill-advised, as to single out M. Dupin the elder, the president of the chamber, as an adversary in a paper conflict. This gentleman, on some public occasion, had, while adverting to the military sacrifices, and civil demoralization incurred by the Romans, while prosecuting their Numidian conquests, made use of expressions which, according to the marshal's construction, implied a charge of venality and malversation on his part. The latter accordingly wrote an angry letter to M. Dupin, which produced a rejoinder of a somewhat sarcastic character from that gentleman, and was hardly calculated to appease his indignation. "I do not hesitate, Sir," wrote M. Dupin, "to declare to you candidly, that I consider our colonial settlement in that country as an affliction for France. For seven years, that country has devoured our men, and our money. Two hundred millions have already been sacrificed without result, and though Achmet Bey is not Jugurtha, although there are no venal chambers at Paris to be corrupted by the gold of an African prince, although you are not consul, although our brave soldiers, far from capitulating like the Romans, have immortalized themselves by their retreat, I decidedly think, even at the risk of displeasing you, that we are engaged in a deplorable undertaking in Africa." "I will add," continued he in another part of this epistle, "that the badness of the system adopted, the incoherence of the plans, and the wrongs of which several branches of the administration are accused, are further motives which cause me to deplore this fatal legacy of the restoration." Very much dissatisfied with this language, marshal Clausel again required to be informed, whether, or no, the president of the chamber, in his remarks on Roman venality and extortion, had alluded to him, or the acts of his government? The marshal, as was natural, desired an appeal to the sword; this however

the friends of the parties took care to prevent; and here the matter ended; no farther explanation or even reply, having been given by M. Dupin to his angry correspondent.

On the 18th of February, M. Dupin presented to the chamber of deputies, a petition which he had received from three of the principle inhabitants of Tlemecen in Africa. The petitioners complained, that, their city being blockaded by Abd el Kader, and the troops of the emperor of Morocco, they had solilicited the assistance of marshal Clausel, who came to their relief, but had no sooner become master of the place, than he levied an enormous contribution upon the inhabitants. The quota exacted from the three petitioners alone, amounted to 4,240*l.* sterling, or 20,000 Spanish dollars. On declaring their inability to pay so large a sum, they were menaced with the bastinado, and with every other species of infliction. Terrified by the violence they saw practised around them, they had submitted to the demand. They complained, in addition, that having been under the necessity of making the required payment in jewels, which were valued at the lowest price by persons employed by marshal Clausel for that purpose, they had been robbed, even beyond the nominal amount of the contribution. They had in vain applied to M. Baude, the chief of the commission to enquire into the state of Africa, and had come to the determination of addressing "the Divan or chief assembly called the chamber of deputies." This petition, which M. Dupin said, was entitled to the gravest consideration, as "a cry of grief" from so far distant a country, was at his suggestion, referred to the committee upon the African supplementary credit.

The "Disjunction Bill" came on for discussion in the chamber of deputies, on the 28th of February. The debate was opened by M. Dupin, the president, who condemned the measure in strong terms. He warned the chamber against the crime of overthrowing the fundamental laws of the country. Political excitement had frequently, but always with evil consequences, been the occasion and the pretext for attacking the sacred principle of justice. But laws permanently involving the lives and liberties of a people, ought never to be founded on temporary circumstances. He cited largely from precedents ancient and modern; he reminded the chamber, that the constituent assembly, although it overturned the established jurisprudence of the state, preserved inviolate the principle of indivisibility in criminal prosecutions. Passing to the bill itself, he showed the many inconveniences which must arise from its adoption. He objected to a plan which made no distinction between military men on active service, and those on half pay, though the latter were, in effect civilians. He protested, against a surrender of the safeguards of society into military keeping. The jury was in judicial, what the chamber was in legislative, representation. In his opinion, courts martial were bad and inadmissible judges, except in matters strictly professional; and the most undaunted spirits were known to quail before those tribunals. He then excited a strong sensation in the chamber by adverting to the monstrous condemnation of the Duke D'Enghein. He also cited great military authorities, unfa-

vourable to courts martial; amongst others, that of Marshal Mortier, who had once said to him "you see this portrait, here am I in an embroidered uniform, and next to me is my poor old father in the costume of a peasant, now I would rather be a labouring man like him, than consent to sit as judge on a court martial." These latter observations, as they were disparaging to the military profession, led to a violent tumult, and the speaker concluded in the midst of various interruptions. M. de la Martine, the celebrated poet spoke in support of the bill. He defended the conduct of government in the case of Louis Bonaparte. He dilated on the danger which would arise out of the impunity of a factious soldiery, and reminded the chamber of the revolution effected at La Granja by four drunken soldiers. He did not, however, compare that military occurrence with the revolution of July. Popular revolutions might sometimes admit of defence, military revolts never. After contrasting the soldier with the citizen, he proceeded to say, that in a country like France, where military notions were rife, and the whole tendency of early education was directed towards the camp; Where the minister of the interior had a few years ago assisted at the inauguration of a statue placed on a lofty column in honour of him, who had habitually trampled on all judicial maxims and substituted the supremacy of the sabre for the law —in such a country, it behoved them to uphold law against force, and to control military violence. An army of 400,000 men could not be maintained at a period of peace without strict regulations. M. Dupin had gone back to the lower empire and middle ages for precedents, how could he expect such authorities to be accepted at this advanced period of civilization? As to England, which had been mentioned as an authority against the bill, her army was, in reality, a fleet, and there the most Draconian severity prevailed. Nor were her land forces under a much milder code of laws. As for him, he preferred civil anarchy, to a revolt of soldiery, the rebellion of the mob to the sovereignty of the barrack. The former occasionally developed germs of genius and glory; the latter only possessed brutality without greatness. It was horror without compensation.

Considerable agitation was produced by this member's speech. The minister of justice, near M. Persil, delivered an oration replete with legal reasoning in favour of the bill; which was opposed by M. Berryer. "Supposing the law to be in force," said that gentleman "the result would be, that the less culpable parties, the soldiery, the mere instruments, would be handed to a court-martial, and judged with the greatest severity, whilst the ringleaders, the contrivers, the really ambitious men, who were generally civilians, would be tried by the ordinary tribunals, and in all probability be either acquitted, or sentenced to a slight punishment. The debate which lasted several days was brought to a termination on the 7th March; when the house proceeded to vote upon the first of the two clauses of which the bill consisted.*

They were respectively declared

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* The law, as proposed, was as follows.

carried in the affirmative (by a show of hands). The chamber then proceeded to ballot on the *ensemble* of the bill. It being understood, that the fate of the ministry depended upon the result, the greatest anxiety prevailed while this process was going on, and the excitement of the chamber reached its highest pitch, when the secretaries, whose duty it was to declare the result, were seen to count the balls twice. The numbers were as follows:—

Number present	420
For the bill	209
Against it	211

Majority against ministers . 2

Loud and clamorous were the cheers of the opposition, when this announcement was made. It was looked upon as the signal for the dissolution of a cabinet already weak from internal dissensions. For hardly was that cabinet completed, when the rival pretensions of M. Molé and Guizot began to display themselves in a degree which at once went to compromise its duration. M. Guizot, the champion of a retro-active policy, as being at present, in his opinion, required to give France time and opportunity to consolidate her institutions round the monarchy of July, had shown an indifference to popular rights, or what were considered as such, and to popular feeling, in the prosecution of his great scheme, as was neither calculated to make any administration, in which his genius predominated, acceptable to the country, nor to render him a very safe companion in the cabinet. M. Molé content to occupy himself with the exigency of the day, and perhaps studious rather of the present temper, than the future welfare, of the people, was supposed to have a more "*liberal*" tendency than his *Doctrinnaire* colleagues, and to be by no means a sincere associate in their reactionary plans. His views were believed to be shared by M. Duchatel, the minister of finance; while M. Persil, and M. Martin, who presided in the departments of justice and commerce, attached themselves to M. Guizot. But the recent decision of the chamber upon the Disjunction bill, evenly balanced as parties were upon that occasion, was evidently a declaration of resistance to the repressive system, to which M. Guizot stood pledged by that, as well as by the non-revelation bill still pending, and left it no longer a matter of much doubt, which section of the cabinet must prevail. In the mean time, the public amused themselves with speculating on the ministerial arrangements which were successively understood to be in agitation

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"Article 1. The crimes and offences enumerated in the 1st chapter of the 3rd book of the penal code, in the military laws and by the laws of the 10th of April and the 24th of May 1834 shall, in case of participation, or of joint commission, by soldiers and by persons belonging to the civil order be prosecuted and judged separately. Military men and persons assimilated to that rank, shall be tried by courts-martial, individuals belonging to the civil order, by the ordinary tribunals."

"Article 2. The individuals sent to be tried before either of the above-mentioned tribunals may be called before the other to give information, either during the examination of the question at issue, or during the trial. They are to be heard not as witnesses upon oath, but in the form of a simple affirmation or declaration."

understood to be in agitation, and the names of the Duke de Broglie, M. Thiers, M. Montalivet, Marshal Soult, M. Guizot, and M. Molé, with their inferior satellites, were shifted and shuffled backwards and forwards, and thrown into every possible variety of combination.

While the cabinet was yet in a state of decomposition, the business of the chamber proceeded. A majority of 218 to 47, on a bill authorising ministers to undertake certain public works on a scale of great expense, was hailed by their adherents as a mark of the uninterrupted confidence of the chamber. On the 10th of March, the report of the committee, on the dowry of the queen of the Belgians, came under consideration. The report being favourable to the bill, the president was on the point of ordering it to be printed, when M. L'Herbette opened a very irregular discussion by demanding, that the report should be sent back, and that in the mean time, the rent-roll of the king, and other documents which might throw light on the amount of his majesty's private estate, should be laid before the chamber. The king, said the honourable deputy, not only possessed the vast domains of the crown, and of the house of Orleans, but he also retained the estates belonging to the late Prince de Condé, under the name of his son, the young Duke D'Aumale. The twenty-first article of the law of 1832 stipulated, that only in case of poverty and inability in the king, to endow his sons and daughters — Here a violent storm of indignation interrupted the orator; M. M. Jaubert, Persil, Duchatel, and many more, stood up and denounced the speaker furiously, while others encouraged him to proceed. M. Guizot struck his desk with vehemence, and called to order. M. L'Herbette proceeded unabashed. The president rang his bell, and the uproar continued to increase; at last, the president succeeded in putting the order of the day; but the fray did not cease here, for after some farther altercation, M. L'Herbette turned upon the president himself in great fury. M. Dupin, he said, had himself set the example of calling for documents, at the time of a memorable debate on the civil list in 1832; the matter was then as delicate as now; the present conduct of that gentleman as president was most indecent. The scene at length terminated, and a division on the "royal roads" gave ministers a majority of 213 to 53.

On the 11th of March, a petition having been presented from an individual at Martinique, for the abolition of slavery, M. Guizot said, it was a question in which words were perhaps more perilous than deeds. There was no doubt, but that a great measure remained to be accomplished in the colonies; the government was engaged in the task, and was determined not to discontinue it.

The affairs of the French in Africa had been referred to the investigation of a committee, styled "of supplementary credits for 1836." The report of this body had been long expected with great anxiety, as rumours of considerable malversation and oppression, on the part of the French authorities, were in general circulation. It was not till the 22nd of March, that M. Janvier, the reporter of the committee, appeared in the chamber, with a very voluminous

report. Among other matters, it stated, that M. Clausel in attacking Tlemecen had acted in defiance of the orders transmitted to him from the minister of war, and had, farther, refused to abandon it, when directed to do so. With respect to the contribution raised in that town, and the petition connected with it, the committee were of opinion, after a careful investigation, that it amounted to a flagrant dereliction of all established rule; and recommended, that the inhabitants be reimbursed, as an act of common justice. They adverted to the want of discipline displayed by the army in Africa, the superior officers setting the example of misrule. With respect to Constantine, they considered, that Marshal Clausel, had not taken the proper means, nor selected a fit opportunity, for securing the success of the expedition. They concluded their report by affirming, that 6,000,000 francs had been uselessly expended; and declared, that they would have been wanting in their duty, had they sanctioned a supplementary grant of 5,240,000 more, without some severe comments on what had passed. Marshal Clausel had in the mean time stated his case in a pamphlet — a florid *fanfaronnade*, in which he declared, that while in Africa, he had been offered (by whom, he omitted to mention) 100,000,000 francs for France, and 5,000,000 for himself, in consideration of the evacuation of Algiers, and its dependencies.

About this time, an education bill, relating to secondary schools, occupied much of the time of the chamber. In the course of the discussion, M. Vatout, the King's librarian, objected to the instruction of youth in Greek and Latin, "a branch of education that only taught them to emulate Brutus and Cassius." Upon a proposal that the "jury of examiners" should include clergymen of dissenting denominations, as well as Catholics, M. Guizot explained to the chamber, that every jury of examiners would comprise a minister of each of the three recognized religions, the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish. He insisted moreover on one thing, viz. that the minister of instruction should have the nomination of these ministers.

In the mean time, the negotiations for a remodel of the administration were carried on with great activity, but with little apparent result. The King is described as having addressed himself in turn to M. M. Soult, Guizot and Thiers, but it was always found, that the difficulties in the way of any "combination," of which they respectively were to be the centres, were almost insuperable. These difficulties resulted partly from the conflicting pretensions and personal considerations of individuals, and partly from the almost imperceptible, but not the less diligently preserved, shades of opinion, which break into petty sections, and render incapable of any thing like unity of action, the great party at present constituting the support of the July dynasty. Some further obstacle might be found in the supposed determination of Louis Philippe, to predominate in his own cabinet. Perhaps also there is that in the character of the French people, which would bid us despair to find, among their brilliant, but egotistical, public men, that spirit of mutual forbearance and concession, by means of which the opinions, and prejudices, of a large body of indivi-

duals, acting with a common object, become as it were generalized and fused into a simple and consistent, formula, to be accepted and adopted by each member of the party, in the room of his own private preconceptions.

It was only on the 16th of April, that the *Moniteur* of that day contained an official announcement of the reconstruction of the administration. The new cabinet was composed as follows. Count Molé retained his situation as President of the Council and Minister of the foreign department. Count Montalivet, succeeded M. Gasparin, as Minister of the Interior, M. Barthe received the seals, vice M. Persil. General Bernard remained at the War office; and M. Martin (du Nord) continued to be Minister of commerce. M. Duchatel made way for M. Lacane Laplagne in the department of finance, and M. Salvandy succeeded M. Guizot in that of public instruction. Admiral Rosamel was not removed from the Marine.

On the 18th April, M. Molé communicated to the chamber of deputies, that a treaty of marriage was on foot, between the Duke of Orleans and the Duchess Helena of Mecklenburgh Schwerin. After informing the House, that the King was desirous, that the bill for granting an *apanage* to the Duke de Nemours should be for the present withdrawn, in consideration of the expenses which the legislature was now called upon to sanction. He proposed an additional grant, the amount of which the chamber was to regulate, to the Duke of Orleans, and also a jointure of 300,000 francs annually for the Princess Helena, in case of the demise of the Duke, in his father's life time. On the same day a communication to the like effect was made to the chamber of Peers, whereupon M. de Dreux Brezé took occasion to enquire, whether the political laws, which had been presented to the legislature during the session, were to be withdrawn? and whether those laws had led to the dissolution of the former cabinet? M. Molé denied in the most solemn manner, that the retreat of his late colleagues had any connexion with the laws in question. They had not been the subject of any discussion in the Cabinet. The new Minister of the Interior, Montalivet, assured the chamber, that the dissensions of that cabinet were not of a political nature. As to the "non-revelation law" it was in his opinion, but the complement of other laws, which had produced the greatest benefit; but he might perhaps have hesitated to recommend it, had he been Minister at the time it was brought forward.

The debate on African affairs came on in the chamber of deputies on the same day, the order of the day being the bill relative to the "African supplementary credits." Marshal Clausel was the first to address the chamber. He was, he said, the victim of misrepresentation, but his was the fate of those, who had done their country service. Nor had he forgotten, that Lally Tollendal perished on the scaffold. After some remarks on the want of discipline in the army, occasioned by the underhand practices of the government agents, he stated it to be his opinion, that the African possessions could only be preserved by an extensive military occupation. Africa would for some time to come be in rebel-

lion, and if France were not disposed to resort to the strongest military measures, the only alternative was to retire at once. The adoption of a middle course could but lead to useless sacrifices. He then proceeded to justify himself in regard to the contribution at Tlemecen. He had been invited by the Turks and Coulouglis of that city, to furnish them with military aid, they declaring their readiness to pay the expenses of the expedition. Under such circumstances, a contribution was a matter of course; remonstrances had been, no doubt, made against it, which could surprise none who were at all familiar with the character of the Arabs. The petition, which had been forwarded to France, contained a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end. The next subject was the affair of Constantine. He was accused of having undertaken that expedition without sufficient authority. Now although that expedition had been rather permitted, than ordered, by the ministry of the 6th of September; did not their subsequent conduct, and particularly the appearance of the Duke de Nemours in the ranks of the Army, amount to a formal approbation of the undertaking? The loss sustained had not exceeded 450 men who perished, more through the inclemency of the season, than the fire of the enemy. He had marched against Constantine with an adequate force, his military stores, and the *materiel* of the Army, were sufficient, though in a bad condition, and his calculations in respect of the weather were based on experience, though baffled by an exceptional result, for he had met with the snows of Russia in the climate of Africa. Buonaparte had failed at Acre; Wellington at Burgos; the great Condé at Lerida; but those commanders had not met with the treatment which he had experienced.

Count Jaubert, as a member of the committee, from whom the report on African affairs emanated, justified that report, and severely condemned the general administration of the Marshal, though he did full justice to his military talent. The Marshal was warmly defended by M. de Rancé, who attributed the want of success which accompanied the endeavours of the French to effect a settlement in Africa, to the vacillation of the different cabinets which had succeeded each other at home, and the incoherence of the plans they respectively adopted. The imputations cast upon Marshal Clausel were most unfounded; his failure at Constantine arose out of circumstances beyond his control. With respect to the contribution at Tlemecen, it was a mere friendly contribution (*contribution de famille*) and unaccompanied by violence; but even such as it was, Marshal Clausel had been very averse to the measure, and had only resorted to it, under the pressure of necessity.

M. Baude now appeared in the Tribune, and as he had been at the head of a commission, which had been sent out to Africa, and was known to have brought home impressions very unfavourable to the Marshal, he was listened to with great curiosity. He had, he said, returned to France, with a full conviction that the establishment in Africa might be maintained at a moderate expense, and that the violent and ill-advised system, which at present prevailed, must lead to an abandonment of that possession on the part of France. Of the contribution at Tlemecen he gave a

very circumstantial account. The population of that city consisted of two classes, the Coulouglis, who were the ancient inhabitants, and the Haders who were Moors. Between those races great hostility prevailed, the Coulouglis espoused the French interests, the Haders declared in favour of Abd-el-Kader. Upon the approach of the French division, these latter fled, and the rival faction pillaged their houses; but the fugitives were intercepted by the French Army, and compelled, with their baggage and treasure, to return to the city. Then came the contribution; but great was the dismay and astonishment of the Coulouglis, to find, that their contingent much exceeded that of their adversaries, and that the French dealt more severely with their friends than with their enemies. Nor did the injustice end here, for the jewels, in which the payment was made, were valued by a set of rapacious Jews, who were to be afterwards themselves the purchasers. This transaction had very much injured the character of France amongst the people of Africa. He then commented severely on the affair of Constantine, and attributed the failure of the French arms before that place, to the gross mal-administration which prevailed in every department in the colony.

M. Thiers advocated the reduction of the French occupation to the limits of Bona, Algiers, and Oran, the possession of which, would suffice to insure to France the guardianship, nay, the possession, of the Mediterranean. M. de Lamartine recommended a civil, instead of a military government, and declared, that he would vote against a grant for a new expedition to Constantine. M. Molé defended the measures of the government.

The debate, which was of several days duration, terminated with a vote (by a majority of 193 to 159) of the whole of the supplementary supplies required by government; and which left it to the discretion of Ministers to restore, or withhold, the 94,000 francs levied Marshal Clausel at Tlemecen.

It will be recollected, that the preceding year was signalized by two attempts upon the king's life. The second of these was made in December, as his majesty was on his way to the chambers. The assassin, by name, Meunier, was described as a young man of weak intellect, and inordinate vanity, as well as of very dissolute conduct. His condition in life was that of clerk in a mercantile house, but his licentious habits, and flighty disposition, rendered unavailing all the efforts of his friends to settle him in the world. He seems to have had a character for weak good-nature among his acquaintance, being thought to be incapable of hurting anybody, and by no means of the material, of which political conspirators are formed. On the contrary, his great delight was to excite astonishment by his mad pranks and absurdities. It seems probable, that his attempt upon the king's life was a feat of this kind, undertaken at a moment when such enterprises were the theme of conversation, and not unattended with a certain renown. Soon after his arrest he had denounced two other individuals, as his accomplices. One of them, his cousin, by name, Lavaux, a saddler and the other, Lacaze, a commercial clerk. On the 21st of April these three were arraigned at the bar of the house of peers. Meunier's

own statement, on being interrogated, was in substance as follows: after admitting, that it was he who fired at the king, he said, that the pistol belonged to Lavaux; that he had been led to the attempt by a natural antipathy to the Bourbons, and to the Orleans branch in particular; a sentiment strengthened by the perusal of republican journals. During the trial of Fieschi, Lavaux, Lacaze, and himself, were one night drinking together, when the project for killing the king was first started amongst them. They drew lots, and the task fell upon him. He had afterwards committed the act, in order to keep his promise. Had he succeeded, the government must have been overturned, and a republic substituted. He then detailed various conversations between Lavaux and himself, in which the former had instigated him to commit the crime.

Both Lavaux and Lacaze declared, that the statement of Meunier, as regarded them, was a mere fabrication, and denied, that they were at all acquainted with his murderous intentions. It appeared in the evidence, that Lavaux was in habits of great intimacy with Meunier, but there was nothing which brought home to him a knowledge of the design to kill the king, though his conduct was not without suspicious circumstances. With respect to Lacaze, the evidence seems to have failed entirely. The event of the trial was, that Meunier was declared guilty, and Lacaze, and Lavaux, acquitted. But it was said, that Lavaux had a narrow escape, and that of 132 peers present, 67 found him guilty, being an absolute majority for his conviction. But as five-eighths are required for a verdict of condemnation, he escaped. Meunier was sentenced to be put to death as a parricide; that is, to be brought to the place of execution bare-footed with a black veil over his head. The king commuted this sentence to transportation.

In the mean time, the preparations for the marriage of the Duke of Orleans were occupying the court. The chamber of deputies granted an additional income of 1,000,000 francs to his royal highness, whose annual allowance already amounted to that sum (40,000*l.*). The jointure of his bride was fixed at 300,000 francs (12,000*l.*), with 1,000,000 francs for her outfit. M. Dupin, the elder, was the chairman and reporter of the committee which had recommended this liberal provision to be made; and the zeal displayed by the *tiers parti*, of which he was considered to be the leader, on this occasion, was thought to be very significant of the good understanding, that prevailed between the Duke and that gentleman. The sum of 1,000,000 francs was also voted for the dower of the queen of the Belgians, though not until after an angry debate had taken place. M. Montalivet upon this occasion stated to the chamber the amount of the private property of the crown. It seems, that including the civil list and *apanages*, the ordinary revenue was about 21,000,000 francs, from which the necessary charges, &c. being deducted, there remained 10,000,000 francs, disposable income. Out of this sum were to be defrayed the personal expenses of the king and royal family, and the travelling and military expenses of the princes. The chamber was reminded of the king's munificence, and his patronage of the arts, which,

contributed so much to the glory and prosperity of the country; and it was affirmed, that it was not without necessity, that the present appeal was made. M. L'Herbette and M. Salverte, declared themselves to be by no means satisfied with the statement made by M. Montalivet which they characterised as vague and inconclusive; what was wanted was an exact account, and not a general statement in round numbers.

On the 2nd May commenced a debate concerning a supplementary grant of secret service money which was likely to prove a trial of strength to the new administration. M. Molé stated, that government desired the means of establishing an active *surveillance* in all the large towns of France, and especially on the frontiers, and if ministers were not furnished with the necessary funds, it was impossible for them to be answerable for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and for the safety of the king. It was also of importance, that they should know, whether they possessed the confidence of the chamber, without which they could not submit to the burden of office. Something had been said about the withdrawal of the *apanage* bill. That bill had been only withdrawn from a sense of delicacy and propriety, the king not wishing, that three family measures should come under discussion in the course of the same session. The non-revelation bill was at present before a committee, which had proposed a number of amendments; as soon as that committee had concluded its task, it would be for the ministers to decide upon the steps it might be proper to adopt. As to the transportation bill, it was the work of the chamber, being nothing but the necessary supplement to the September laws, and while those laws remained in existence, there was no alternative but to adopt its provisions. Count Jaubert said, that the explanations of the president of the council might be summed up in three words, "*sum qui sum*," or to vary the expression "we are at present in office, and mean to remain there." He censured the ministers for withdrawing the *apanage* bill, and reproached M. Molé for his feeble defence of the transportation bill. The secret service money bill might be divided into two parts, the first having reference to the king's safety, which he would support; the second implying confidence, on the part of the chamber, in the king's ministers, and he, for his part, had none.

M. Guizot began by announcing his intention to support the bill; he then proceeded to enter into some explanations relating to the late ministerial change. He had been reproached, he said, for too great an inflexibility of disposition, but he was convinced, that the state of parties required a firm and decisive line of conduct, and was determined, that his policy should be that which distinguished the cabinet of October, and no other; upon that basis a ministry had been formed; but other combinations had intervened, and his opinion had been overruled. He admitted, that the disjunction law had been a cause of embarrassment to that cabinet, who, while convinced of its necessity, could not shut their eyes to its unpopularity. He had often been reproached for a leaning to aristocratic opinions; a most groundless imputation; for the rights and privileges of the

middle classes had always found in him an advocate. It was his opinion, that in France, the revolutionary spirit was giving way to conservative principles.

M. M. Mauguin, and Odilon Barrot, expressed their want of confidence in the government. They also found fault with M. Guizot for his declarations in favour of the ascendancy of the middle classes; there would, indeed, always be three classes of society; as regarded property and talent, but the spirit of the nation should be one and individual. M. Garnier Pages condemned the repressive system which prevailed, and spoke contemptuously of the cabinet. He said the chamber presented a strange scene during that discussion; when M. Odilon Barrot spoke, one half the ministry seemed to rejoice, and when M. Guizot addressed the house the other half were delighted. After a speech from M. Thiers in defence of his own cabinet; and in which he declared, that in the present state of France, nothing more was to be expected from repressive legislation; that the country required calm and quiet more than anything else; and that the irritation attendant upon new laws must impair their efficacy; the chamber divided, when there appeared,

For the grant	250
Against it	112
Majority for Ministers .	138

This was a very favourable demonstration for the cabinet, and was thought to mark the chambers' approbation of the expulsion of the *doctrinaires* from power.

The king reviewed the national guards on the 7th May; but the remarkable precautions which it was deemed necessary to take, and the air of suspicion which prevailed, cast a gloom upon the spectacle. Houses, which commanded a view of the scene, were visited by the police; the inmates and their friends interrogated, searched, and rudely handled. The avenues leading to the ground, occupied by the troops, were blockaded; and everything seemed to indicate rather a revolt, than a review of citizen soldiers. A few days afterwards, a general amnesty was granted to all state prisoners—a measure not less politic, than popular, in France, where the fear of punishment operates less than the desire of being conspicuous, and the punishment of treason, by making men familiar with the idea, reproduces the crime.* The benefit of this ordinance did not extend to those who had absconded before trial; and the criminals of the more serious description were still to be subject to the *surveillance* of the police. By this measure, the government were thought to have marked their departure from the system prescribed by M. Guizot.

The only subject of general importance, which now remained for the chamber to deliberate upon, was the sugar bill; the object of which was to relieve the colonial grower by a reduction of the import duty on that article, the better

* It does not appear that the regicide Meunier was sensible of the atrocity of his conduct, until he experienced the king's clemency. The unexpected exercise of which, at once softened him. From that time, he is reported to have expressed nothing but regret and gratitude. Several times in the course of his journey to the sea port, whence he was to embark, he declared that he was now sorry to leave France; because it was a country in which they knew how to pardon, and in which he felt he could now have lived as an honest man.

to enable him to compete with the home manufacture from beetroot, which was free from all duty, and had of late been prodigiously extended. It was stated, that so much as one-half the sugar consumed in France was indigenous; and though all parties seemed to agree in the propriety of relieving the colonist, there was considerable difference of opinion as to the expediency of effecting the proposed equalization, by the imposition of a tax on home sugar. It was at length decided, that the beetroot manufacture should be taxed, in common with the colonial article. The duty imposed was $7\frac{1}{2}$ francs on the fine beetroot sugar, and 9 francs on the coarse.

On the 30th of May, the duke of Orleans was united to the princess Helena at Fontainebleau. The ceremony was thrice repeated—the civil marriage took place before the municipal authorities of the place; when Baron Pasquier, President of the chamber of peers, and M. Dupin of the deputies, attested the legal execution of the act. The nuptials were then successively solemnised according to the rites of the Lutheran, and the Roman Catholic churches; the bishop of Meaux giving the benediction. After some days of festivity at Fontainebleau, the royal pair entered Paris amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants; but a deplorable event threw a gloom over the city. A military spectacle and sham fight in the champ de Mars had drawn together an immense concourse of people; after the exhibition had concluded, the people moved to go away; but then began a frightful scene, for whether from some sudden panic or from the uncontrollable nature of a vast multitude once in motion, so fierce a rush was made by the accumulated masses towards the outlets, that many, men and women, fell and were trampled down, and some crushed to death. It is reported, that between twenty-five and thirty individuals lost their lives, besides the numbers that were wounded. This accident, lamentable in itself, made the more impression on the public mind, when it was recollected that a similar catastrophe had occurred in the festivities which followed the nuptials of Louis 16th and Marie Antoinette: nor were those wanting, who discovered another fatal coincidence, in the dreadful fire which broke out at the ball given by prince Schwartzenburgh at Paris, on the occasion of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise. Notwithstanding, however, this occurrence, a ball took place at the hotel de Ville, and passed off without accident; the king, queen, and rest of the royal family being present.*

On the 15th of July, the legislative bodies were prorogued, and early in October, the chamber of deputies was dissolved; a creation of fifty peers also took place, who were selected from nearly every class of public men without distinction of party.

It will be seen from the French debates, that the African conquest was a subject of much embarrassment. While public opinion was divided with respect to the value of the French possessions in that quarter, there was no doubt entertained but that affairs had been very ill administered by those to whom the province had been confided. Upon whom the principal blame was to attach, was, of course,

* Towards the close of the year, the princess Marie of Orleans was united to prince Alexander of Wurtemberg.

a matter of dispute. Marshal Clausel and the administration were at issue upon that point, being reciprocal accusers; the public was disposed to quarrel with both. General Damremont was appointed to succeed the marshal in the government of the colony; upon taking possession of that office, he addressed two proclamations to the French inhabitants and to the army respectively. In these, the intentions of France concerning the future management of the colony, with a view to a permanent establishment, were set forth, and the army was informed that a new expedition against Constantine was in preparation.

During the spring and summer, general Bugeaud was occupied in negotiating a treaty with Abd el Kader, and had met that chief in a personal conference, at the outposts of the Arab army. On this occasion, the French general was escorted by six battalions of infantry, his cavalry, and his artillery; but having arrived at the place of rendezvous without finding Abd el Kader, and being informed that the Emir was advancing to meet him, though at some distance, he left the main body of his escort, and rode boldly forward at the head of his staff. The conference terminated amicably, and the European and the Arab parted with mutual professions of amity.

The treaty, which it had been the object of this interview to facilitate, and which has since gone by the name of Tafna, was officially announced to the public on the 18th of July. Its principal provisions were as follows:—By the first article, the Emir, Abd el Kader, recognised the sovereignty of the French in Africa. It was then agreed, that, in the province of Oran, France was to retain Mostaganem, Masagram, and Arzew, besides a territory bounded to the East by the river Macta, and the marsh whence it takes its rise; and the South, by a line extending from the said marsh, passing by the southern lake of Sebghas, and reaching to Oued-Malah (Rio Salado), in the direction of Sidi-Said, from that river to the sea; so that all the ground comprised in that circumference was to be considered French territory. That in the province of Algiers, France should stand possessed of Algiers, Sahel and the plain of Metidjek, extending eastwards beyond Oued Khadrah; and bounded on the south by the first ridge of the first chain of the little Atlas as far as the Chiffa, and including Blida; on the west by the Chiffa. as far as the angle of Masafran, and thence by a straight line to the sea, including Coleah, The Emir was to retain the administration of the remainder of the province of Oran, of Tittery, and of that portion of Algiers, not included within the French territory. He renounced all authority over such Mussulmans as might live within the French boundary; they, on the other hand, remained at liberty to reside within the territory of the Emir, the inhabitants of which were also free to take up their abode on the French side. The Arabs within the French dominion, were to enjoy the full exercise of their religion, and might build mosques, &c. The Emir submitted to a contribution of wheat, barley, and oxen; and was to have permission to purchase, in France, arms and munitions of war—Criminals were reciprocally to be delivered up. The Emir bound himself not to cede any portion of

the coast to a foreign power without the consent of France.*

In their endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with Achmet Bey, the French were less successful. It was indeed reported, that at one time that chieftain was disposed to submit to the conditions insisted upon by France, and which required a recognition of superiority, the payment of tribute, and the continued occupation of Guelma by the French.† But finally, Achmet refused to consent to this last article, and demanded an instant evacuation of that place. The treaty thus broken off, both parties prepared for war. It was supposed, that Achmet Bey was not without hopes of assistance from Turkey. A squadron had sailed from the Dardanelles for Tunis, in the month of July, commanded by the Capitan Pacha, and consisting of three sail of the line, three frigates, besides some corvettes. This expedition could hardly be viewed by France with indifference, and accordingly a squadron was dispatched, under Admiral Gallois, to watch the motions of the Ottoman fleet. It was understood, that this latter armament was directed against the Bey of Tunis, and not without an intention of giving aid, if possible, to the Bey of Constantine. The French admiral, therefore, had orders to prevent the Turks from landing any troops or warlike stores at Tunis. He accordingly sailed direct to the Bay of Tunis, and there effected a junction with the squadron under the command of Admiral Lalande, who had received directions to that effect. The Turkish commander, however, whatever might have been his original purpose, contented himself with landing some troops at Tripoli, and returned in the direction of Constantinople, closely followed by the French combined fleet, which took care not to lose sight of him, till he was within the Dardanelles.

The Duke de Nemours, who was to accompany the expedition to Constantine, arrived at Bona on the 13th of September. The effective force about to march upon that fortress was officially stated to amount to 9,500 infantry, and 1,100 cavalry, exclusive of irregular native troops or Spahis. 1,000 men, with 12 mountain howitzers, 6 field and several batteries of heavy guns for the siege, composed the artillery force. The corps of engineers consisted of 700 sappers and miners. The whole army, including the waggon train and artificers was to form a body of 13,000 men. This did not comprise the troops in the respective garrisons; for the entire French force in the provinces of Bona and Constantine, amounted to 21,000 men and 5,000 horses.

On the 1st of October, the French army broke up its camp which lay on either bank of the river Seybouze, at a place called Medjez-Amar. The troops marched in two divisions; the one, consisting of the 1st and 2nd brigades, under the Duke de Nemours and general Trezel, was commanded by the governor in person. The

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* According to a table inserted in a French newspaper, the European population of that colony amounted to 16,244 individuals; of whom 9,822 resided at Algiers, 3,325 at Oran, 2,609 at Bona, 406 at Bugia, and 82 at Mostaganem.

† Guelma, it will be recollected, is about half-way between Bona and Constantine, and fell into the hands of the French on their march to the latter city.

other, composed also of two brigades commanded by general Rulhières and colonel Combes, was encumbered with the battering train and baggage; and falling far behind, only came up with the first division at the end of the march.

The army pursued its way through a country covered with verdure, and not unfertile where cultivated, but entirely destitute of wood, of which not a twig was to be met with; so that whatever fuel the troops had, was brought with them from Medjez-Amar, each soldier carrying a few fagots. As they approached the environs of Constantine, the face of the country changed, and the grassy wastes gave way to arid rocks and mountainous eminences, the peaks and ravines of which, as the army wound slowly among them, had they been occupied by the enemy, might have presented a formidable defence. But they passed through this dangerous district, without molestation, and on the 5th of October, Constantine appeared in sight. The road now again changed in character, and gradually emerging from the valley, extended itself through a green and undulating region. When they reached the Roman monument; which the natives call *Soummah*, they saw the first indications of the enemy, in an Arab camp, where, by the help of their glasses, they descried the colours of Achmet Bey. Here the first division halted, till it was rejoined by the second. Hitherto the weather had been very favourable; but on the 6th, as they came in presence of Constantine, the sky became lowering, and a heavy and tempestuous rain set in.

Constantine stands on a block of insulated rock, bare and precipitous, on the left bank of the river Hummel. A narrow tongue of land, like a bridge, connects it with the opposite height of Koudiat Aty, while its north front, 100 French feet perpendicular, faces a corresponding line of cliff, on which rests the plateau of Mansourah, separated from the city by a deep ravine or chasm, but connected with it by several vaulted projections of natural formation, beneath which the Rummel enters and disappears. Along the crest of the more inaccessible parts of the rock, on which the city stands, there was no other appearance of defence, than was exhibited by a line of crenellated houses: but bastions and batteries were erected at the points of contact with the Mansourah; and wherever else the less precipitous character of the rock, or the formations of earth and rubbish beneath, offered the least facilities of approach. There were two main points, however, on which the artificial defences were concentrated; the one opposite Koudiat on the south-east, where the tongue of land before noticed, connects the opposite cliffs; and where might be seen ramparts and casemated batteries of a very formidable, though irregular construction; and the other, where a bridge of great height, consisting of a double stage of arches of masonry, themselves elevated on a natural vault, afforded a regular communication with the Mansourah—this bridge was also strongly defended.

The French troops debouched on the plateau of the Mansourah, and were, at once, saluted by the enemies fire; while the cavalry of the Bey were seen observing their motions, on some heights which rise from the peninsula formed by

the Bou Mesrough and the Rummel, just above their confluence. The second division of the army was directed to occupy the heights of Koudiat; which it did at once, descending the Mansourah by a scrambling and rugged route, and crossing the rivers, some of the men above, and others below, their confluence. The weather now became terrible.

On the 7th, the enemy made some brisk attacks on the various points of the French position; their cavalry in particular were destructively active, and fought with a desperate gallantry and presence of mind, that made them very formidable. It seems that it had been determined, that the main attack should take place on the side of Koudiat; but three or four batteries were designed for the Mansourah, in front of the Casbah, at the south-west extremity of the town. It was with great labour, that these batteries could be erected and the guns mounted. On the Koudiat heights, the difficulties were even greater; the storm continued to rage with undiminished violence; and eventually, the work on this side was abandoned and the sappers dismissed. Meanwhile the condition of the soldiers was becoming desperate, they had little or no fire, and, without shelter of any kind, bivouacked in the mud, exposed to the unrelenting tempest.

On the night of the 7th, they contrived to establish a battery of howitzers on the Koudiat. On the 9th, the fire opened upon the town from Mansourah, and though it almost entirely silenced the enemies' batteries, and ruined the habitations, it was soon found that little progress towards the reduction of the place could be made on that side; and it was determined to concentrate all the resources of the besiegers on the Koudiat heights. Orders were given to transport the heavy guns from three of the Mansourah batteries to the opposite eminence, an undertaking of a remarkable character, when the nature of the ground to be traversed is considered; precipitous and rugged, and softened by the rain to such a degree, as would be deemed impassable in ordinary circumstances. But upon the execution of this operation the success, nay, the very being of the army now depended. It was clear, that unless batteries could be established on the Koudiat, there was no alternative but to abandon the siege; and, it is even said, that in the council of generals, the fatal word "retreat" was pronounced. For it was agreed on all hands, that, in the then state of the weather, delay must inevitably destroy the army. At this critical moment, the sky began to look clearer, and the soldiers set to work with astonishing energy, for they were too well aware of the importance of their exertions. The guns were carried down a mountain path, which descended on the left of Mansourah to the Rummel, about 600 yards from the town, and were conveyed across the river under the fire of the enemy.

At length the breaching batteries were completed on the Koudiat; the besieged far from being inactive in the meantime, and harassing the French with great pertinacity. The new batteries opened their fire on the 11th; the enemies' parapets were soon shattered to pieces, and the French began to batter in breach; but the wall was of such solid masonry, that they made but a

gradual impression. Towards evening, however, the stones began to loosen themselves, and the outlines of the breach became discernible. General Damremont now sent a Turk to summon the town; the reply of the besieged was very chivalrous. After declaring their resolution to hold out to the last, they are reported to have added, "if your powder fails we will send you some; if you want bread you shall share ours." The garrison was composed of Turks and Kabyles, in addition to the regular inhabitants; and these mercenaries being of a very warlike and ferocious disposition prevented the ordinary inmates of the town from listening to any proposals for capitulation.

On the 12th, the weather cleared up; about 8 o'clock in the morning of that day, General Damremont, and the duke of Orleans were on their way to the breaching batteries, when a cannon shot from the town killed the general on the spot; and at almost the same instant, a musket ball struck General Perregeaux, the chief of the staff, between the eyes. The command devolved upon Vallée, an old soldier of the empire.

The breach being declared practicable, and while preparations were making for the assault, a messenger came in from Achmet Bey, who was not in the town, but at a short distance, with a view to open a negotiation. The French commander, however, suspecting that his only motive was to gain time, insisted upon the preliminary surrender of the place. On the morning of the 13th, the breach was reconnoitred by two officers, and they reported it practicable, but difficult. Three columns were destined for the assault, under the direction of the Duke of Orleans. One after another, they rushed to the breach with all the fiery valour of their nation; but the enemy met them steadily, and the furious gallantry of the Frenchman made little impression on the obstinate ferocity of the Turk. Little by little, however, they made their way into the town; still it was found necessary to send reinforcements from time to time. A lodgment was, at last, effected within the rampart; yet the conflict was as murderous as ever, and the carnage was increased by the explosion of a mine. The garrison yielded step by step; every street and house were obstinately defended; and it was long before the great body of the inhabitants gave way, when rushing tumultuously to that quarter of the town, which was remote from the fire of the French, and hung beetling over the perpendicular precipice, they endeavoured to effect a descent to the ground beneath, by means of ropes, and such other contrivances. Many succeeded in this attempt, and so escaped; but others, men, and women, and children, threw themselves from the cliff, or, the ropes breaking midway, fell to the ground, and were seen from the summit of the rock, mangled and bleeding at its foot, in one confused mass, one upon another. Nor were even those, who had escaped the danger of the descent, suffered to depart entirely unharmed; for the French had the cruelty to fire upon the column of fugitives, as they fled tumultuously through the valley.

In the town, the usual scene of military outrage ensued—a rich booty fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the Bey's Harem with its inmates became their prey. How far they sullied their conquest by violence in that quarter

seems doubtful, but there is no reason for thinking that, in general, Constantine escaped any of the calamities incidental to such occasions. As soon as the horrors of the storm had subsided, General Vallée proceeded to establish comparative order to examine the public stores, and to re-assure such of the inhabitants as remained alive.

This conquest cost the French 19 officers and 86 rank and file killed, and 38 officers and 468 rank and file wounded; besides 43 deaths from disease; the horses had suffered exceedingly from the weather, and no less than 237 perished. General Vallée lost no time in taking measures for the return of the main body of the army and the battering train. The garrison he proposed to leave, was to consist of 2,500 men of all arms.

General Vallée, in a dispatch to the president of the council, estimates the advantages to be derived to the French from the occupation of Constantine, in the following terms:—"You are aware of the influence which Constantine has always exercised in this country; situated at the distance of 40 leagues from the sea, in the midst of a populous country, this city has become, at once, the market and the military centre of the province: and, although, at present, in the power of Christians, the Arabs cannot resolve to abandon all connexion with it. They can look upon no other city in the light of Constantine. The tribes in the neighbourhood, are less warlike and more agricultural than those of the rest of the regency; the country supplies abundance of corn."

In reward of this success, General Vallée was raised to the rank of Marshal of France. Shortly after the reduction of Constantine he returned, without interruption to Bona, bringing with him the sick and wounded, and the battering train. He left in Constantine, six months provision for the garrison, having connected the place with Bona, by three intermediate posts. For the present all promised tranquillity. Achmet Bey himself was a fugitive in the desert with no more than 200 horse.

While these events were taking place in Africa, the French at home were occupied with the approaching elections. All parties made great efforts. The legitimatists issued a circular, which contained instructions for the candidates of their faction, while on the other hand, the ultra liberals and republicans formed an electoral coalition. This step on the part of the latter, was much disapproved of by some of the most credit among them; and it was remarked, that the name of M. Odilon Barrot was not to be found in their committee. M. de Chateaubriand assigned, as a reason for not appearing as a candidate, the scruples he entertained against taking the oath of allegiance to the present dynasty. * The struggle between the government and opposition condidates in Paris was very severe, and the administration considered that the defeat of of M. Laffitte by M. Jaques Lefevre was a very satisfactory

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* M. Salvandy the Minister for public instruction declined to become a candidate for Bergues because his opponent would have been M. de Lamartine, and he "felt convinced, that the Minister for public instruction could have no chance, against the first living poet of his country."

indication of public opinion. And, in fact, the result of the general election was favourable to Ministers, who, it was clear, had secured a considerable majority in the new chamber. On the other hand the *extreme left* or ultra liberal party, received an accession of force, attributable, it is said, to the support their candidates received in many instances at the hands of the legitimatists. These last as well as the *Doctrinaires* were considered to be the losers by the dissolution.

The manufacturing and agricultural interests of France suffered severely during the greater part of the year. At Lyons, and other manufacturing towns, the distress was deplorable, and was evinced, among other forms, by the run upon the savings banks, which prevailed for some time.

A considerable misunderstanding existed between the Archbishop of Paris and the legislature, occasioned by the conversion of the site of the late archiepiscopal residence to a public promenade. This the Archbishop resisted, though ineffectually, in a somewhat angry protest. The same dignitary had again occasion to complain of a violation of the sanctity of consecrated things, by reason of the secularization of the Pantheon. It was, however, contended, that the Pantheon never properly belonged to the Church, that the Jesuits, indeed, had gained possession of it at the Restoration; but that this was an usurpation, and that it was proper to restore it to its original purpose, as a mausoleum for illustrious men.

A riot took place at Angoulême, in September, which was also connected with religion, It appears, that, at the Restoration, the Jesuits had erected a large cross in this town, which was removed in 1830. On the night of the 13th of September, the Bishop, and certain devotees of the city, ventured to restore this sacred emblem; which so incensed the populace, that it became necessary for the magistrates to order it to be taken down. But not content with this, the mob insisted upon its being delivered up to them, and the Mayor was obliged to surrender it into their hands; whereupon the cross was broken into pieces, and committed to the flames; while the Marsellaise hymn accompanied this horrible outrage, in full chorus.

The prosecutions of the press continued, from time to time, to occupy the courts of justice, but certainly it would appear, that in most instances the unpopularity, attendant upon this repressive policy, is hardly compensated by the occasional suppression of a journal, or the imprisonment of a nominal editor. In fact it often happens, that in accordance with the licence assumed by the French bar, the controversy is transferred from the columns of a newspaper to the courts of justice, and the obnoxious matter reproduced by the real editor himself, in the capacity of counsel for the responsible manager. The doubtful disposition of the soldiery, and particularly the supposed discontent of the non-commissioned officers, seem to have been a great, and very natural source of uneasiness to the government. The explosion at Strasburgh, occasioned by the mere appearance of one of the Bonaparte family, an absurd young man, was an alarming indication of the precarious hold maintained by the present dynasty upon the fidelity of the military. A calm observer of events would

hardly see anything unreasonable in the "disjunction bill," which is at least sanctioned by the analogy of universal practice. In all countries, excepting those in which a lawless soldiery has been allowed to predominate, it has been considered proper, that the military code should differ in principle, and in procedure from the civil. The greatest, and perhaps the only considerable danger, with which France is menaced, arises from her immense and turbulent army. The good spirit that generally pervades the ranks of the national guards, and the sober resolution to be, in future, free from political convulsion, which is so remarkably manifested by the middle classes, afford the only human guarantee against the sovreignty of the barrack; a guarantee, the efficiency of which, however, is seriously impaired by the licentiousness of the literature, the influence of the democratic press, and the great want of religious sentiment, sound principle, and practical sense, observable in the younger part of the community.

CHAPTER XVI.

SPAIN.—*Reception of the news of the relief of Bilboa at Madrid—Relative situation of Christino and Carlist forces after that event—Plans of Christino generals—Attack on the lines of Guipuscoa by General Evans—Anglo Christinos repulsed—Espartero—Sarsfield—Cabrera in Arragon—Second and successful attack on Carlist lines—Irun and Fuentarabia taken—Expedition of Don Carlos through Arragon—Catalonia and Valencia—Combats at Huesca and Barbastro—Carlists cross the Cinca, and are defeated at Guisona—Passage of the Ebro and junction with Cabrera—Account of Cabrera—Battle of Chiva—Expedition of Zariategui—Capture of Segovia—Carlists within five leagues of Madrid—Retreat of Zariategui—Operations of Carlos—Buerens and Oraa—Christinos defeated at Herrera—Advance of Carlos to the gates of Madrid—Retreat of Carlists—Cabrera separates from Carlos, and returns to Arragon—Carlists in Valladolid—Junction of Carlos and Zariategui—Combat of Retuerta—Carlists fall back on Navarre—Carlos at Durango—Cabrera and Oraa—General Evans leaves Spain—Legion dissolved and remodelled—Military insurrections at Hernani, Miranda, and Pampeluna—Murder of Sarsfield—Carlists take Penecerrada—Rout of Andoain—British Legion broken up—Espartero punishes Mutineers of Miranda and Pampeluna—Cuba—Cortes—General Narvaez—Mendizabal—Insurrection at Barcelona—Discussions in Cortes on new constitution—Constitution adopted—Queen takes the oath—Amnesty—Suppression of Convents—Suspension of diplomatic relations with Sardinia—Calatrava administration resigns—Mutinous conduct of officers—General Seaone and the guards—Bill for Clergy reform—New Ministry—M. Pita Pizarro—Further cabinet changes—M. Bardaji's administration—Quicksilver contract—Elections—Senators—Cortes dissolved—Meeting of New Cortes—Queen's speech and unpopularity—Resignation of Ministers—Ofalia cabinet—Ceuta invested by the Moors.*

THE intelligence of the relief of Bilboa was received at Madrid with the greatest enthusiasm. The minister of war read to the assembled Cortes the despatches, which contained the details of that auspicious event; and the minister of the Interior, Lopez, delivered a glowing eulogium, of which the following may serve as a specimen. "With such commanders and soldiers, nothing is impossible, nothing difficult. They can do what they like, and command destiny itself,

They scale heaven and realise the fable of the Titans. An inaccessible aureola of glory will play on the front of these brave warriors, and follow them to the grave, on which the monument of immortality will ever rest." It was determined by the Cortes, that a stone should be placed in their saloon, with an inscription in gold letters, to the honour of Bilboa. The Queen Regent on her part decreed, that the town of Bilboa should add to the titles of "very noble and very loyal," which it already possessed, that of "unconquerable and unconquered." Titles were by the same decree showered on the municipality of the town, and decorations on the military, and inhabitants, distinguished in the defence and the relief, and Espartero was created Count de Luchana. It was decreed, that such private buildings, as had been destroyed during the siege, should be restored at the public expense, and a monument erected in Bilboa; pensions were also assigned to the widows and orphans of its defenders and liberators. To the Carlists on the other hand, the event was completely disheartening. They had not only suffered a total defeat, with all its moral as well as material results, but a very severe disappointment. The possession of Bilboa was an object of great importance to them, as being a city of sufficient consideration to give dignity to the court of Carlos, and an appearance of permanence to its establishment. It was besides the capital of Biscay, and inseparably connected, in the eyes of the Basques, with their *fueros* and local parliament. But the Christino commanders did not follow up their success. The Carlists were suffered to remain unmolested in the occupation of the neighbouring heights of St. Domingo, of the road to Orduna, and the bridge of Castejana. Espartero did not move out of Bilboa; Sarsfield was contented to continue in Pampeluna; Narvaez and Ribiera, with their respective divisions, did not advance beyond Burgos; while Alaix remained at Vittoria.

The reverse, which the Carlist generals had experienced at Bilboa, gave rise to great dissensions among them. Eguia engaged in violent recriminations with Villareal, while Moreno, and Gomez, and the other subordinate chiefs, were free in their blame of both. In this state of things, Don Carlos was advised to re-appoint his nephew Don Sebastian to the titular command of the Army. Soon afterwards M. Erro, who acted in the capacity of principal Minister to Don Carlos, resigned his functions, and was succeeded by the Bishop of Leon.

Many weeks were spent by the Christino commanders, after the relief of Bilboa, in concerting a combined movement upon the Carlist lines in Guipuscoa. These lines, strengthened by entrenchments and redoubts, stretched along a chain of hills from Irun through Oyarzun, Astigarraga, Hernani, Tolosa, and Villafranca, into the heart of Biscay, and passed within a very short distance of St. Sebastian. Early in February, a re-inforcement of about 7000 Spaniards was detached to St. Sebastian, and placed at the disposal of General Evans. The effective force of the British Legion amounted at this time to between 4000 and 5000 men; so that Evans had a respectable corps d' armée under his command. It was proposed, that with this force he should make an attack upon the Carlist lines in his front,

with a view, if possible, to cut them in two, and by means of that operation to isolate the troops, who were on the left of the line at Irun and Fuentarabia, from the main body. At the same time Espartero and Sarsfield were, by a simultaneous movement, to operate upon other divisions of the Carlist army, and so keep them in play, while Evans was executing his plan. The former of these commanders was still at Bilboa with about 22,000 men, and Sarsfield's division at Pampeluna was reckoned at 10,000.

The Carlists, in the mean time, were busily engaged in strengthening their positions in the neighbourhood of St. Sebastian, and presented a very formidable front. The 10th of March was the day appointed by Evans for the attack, and he duly communicated his intentions to Espartero and Sarsfield. Accordingly, at day break, the Anglo-Christinos under his command made a rapid movement upon a fortified hill called the Ametzagana. General Chichester, at the head of the light brigade of the British Legion, turned the left flank of this position, while General Fitzgerald, with the 9th and 10th regiments, effected a corresponding manœuvre on the right. The hill was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the defenders, having made but a feeble stand, fled in confusion, and did not rally till they had reached the main body on the heights opposite. This was followed by the capture of the post of San Marco, which was effected by the Spanish troops under the command of Jauregui (El Pastor) and Rendow, covered by the British royal artillery. The following day was permitted to pass without hostilities on either side. On the 12th, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, and the troops much in want of shelter, two British regiments were detached to take possession of Loyola, a poor village scattered along a rocky eminence on the other bank of the Urumea, and then occupied by Carlist troops. A pontoon bridge was thrown across the stream, and the regiments passing quickly across, after a smart skirmish, dislodged the enemy; and the village became the quarters of the British Legion. Possession of the fortified height of Puyo seems to have been one of the results of this affair; a strong intermediate position also stormed and occupied by the Anglo Christinos, connected Puyo with the Ametzagana.

Very early in the morning of the 15th, the Anglo-Christino forces were collected at Loyola, with a view to a general attack. The right of the line was entirely composed of Spaniards; the artillery and royal marines formed on the Hernani road; and the British Legion was on the left. The first object of attack was a hill called the Venta, or Oriamendi. Here the Carlists were entrenched in a very formidable manner, this being the last barrier between the Christinos and Hernani. The assault was commenced by the crews of the British ships of war, who scaled the enemies defences sword in hand. The different columns followed in rapid succession. The Carlists maintained a furious fire, and it was not until after a five hours conflict, in the course of which they were driven from one position to another, always obstinately fighting, that finding themselves on the point of being outflanked, they abandoned their

last defence on the hill, and fell back to Hernani.

On the following day the Anglo-Spaniards, after some skirmishing, advanced their position as far as the bridge of Astigarraga, which lay to their left, and which, apparently by an oversight, the Carlists were permitted to hold. Matters were now however about to take a very different turn, for while the victorious troops were preparing to descend upon Hernani, which lay as it appeared, defenceless beneath them; on a sudden, solid masses of infantry were descried in the act of forming behind the town. These were fresh troops, amounting in all to ten battalions, brought up with great despatch, by a well executed manœuvre, of Don Sebastian's. Three of these battalions threw themselves immediately into the houses and gardens near the bridge of Astigarraga, while the remainder manœuvred with a view to outflank the Anglo-Spaniards on the right; an intention no sooner understood by the Spanish regiments in that part of the line, than they turned about, and fled outright. At the same time, the three battalions in Astigarraga made a rush over the bridge, and fell upon the left wing, where the British Legion was posted; and here might be seen exemplified the proverbial uncertainty of war; the very men who had hitherto displayed the most daring valour, were seized with the panic prevailing among their Spanish allies; and three entire regiments ran off the field in the most disgraceful confusion. The misbehaviour of these troops at once decided the fortune of the day; and though some of the other regiments stood firm, and the cavalry made brilliant charges, the example was fatal, and a very disorderly retreat ensued. Meanwhile, the original fugitives, English and Spaniards, intermixed, were hotly pressed by the Carlists; and the pursuers had nearly reached the high road behind the Venta, where part of the artillery was placed, and so were on the point of getting possession of the guns, and cutting off the retreat of that portion of the Anglo-Spanish army, which still retained some appearance of order, when, fortunately, they were met by a barrier not easily surmounted; for the British Marines, 400 strong, who had been drawn up upon the road, seeing what passed, made a charge upon the advancing Carlists; they, however, did not wait for their approach, but moved off to the right and left, in search of some more impressionable parts of the line. The Marines themselves, when nothing more remained for them to do, moved slowly off the ground by companies, and marched into St. Sebastian in good order.

Thus terminated this disastrous affair; serious enough in a military point of view, but, in its moral results, irretrievable. The loss sustained by the British, between the 10th and the 16th, was, killed, 61; wounded, 640; missing, 82. On the queen's side, the Spanish troops were the principal sufferers. The loss of the Carlists is supposed to have been still more severe, in consequence of the havoc made amongst them by the British Royal Artillery, which was served with a fatal precision, and was furnished with all the frightful appliances of the most recent invention. We may state, in extenuation of the misconduct of the delinquent regiments, that the men had, for several days, been exposed to constant privation; the weather

was very bad; they marched up to their knees in mud, and many, after a hard day's fighting, were forced to bivouac, at night, on the wet earth. Moreover, on the 16th, several regiments were entirely unsupplied with rations, and exhausted, as they were, with the hardships of the previous days, went famishing into action.

Neither Espartero, nor Sarsfield, afforded Evans any co-operation. The character of Spanish generals is now too well known, to make it necessary to investigate the causes of this default on their part. Certainly no very intelligible explanation was alleged, or even attempted at the time. Pampeluna is about 35 miles from St. Sebastian, and Sarsfield was informed by Evans, that the attack would take place on the 9th. But the 11th had arrived before the Spaniard commenced his march in the required direction. He proceeded with no farther interruption than was offered by a few scattered outposts to Irurzun, which he reached the same night. Receiving no intelligence of Evans, and disheartened by the rainy weather, he returned with his army to Pampeluna on the following morning, having encountered nothing worse than a severe wetting. Espartero, on the other hand, seems to have got as far as Durango, where he continued, for some days, without advancing beyond it; when he likewise thought it better to return to his quarters at Bilboa; Less fortunate, however, than Sarsfield, he did not effect his retreat without molestation. For the Carlists, under Don Sebastian, harassed his line of march, and, at Tornosas a partial affair took place, very much to the disadvantage of the Christino general.

Cabrera, meanwhile, was, after his fashion, marching up and down Valencia and Lower Arragon, with a force of not much less than 10,000 men, very well clothed, armed, and disciplined. He completely defeated a Christino division at Bunol, in Valencia, and then, while some of his scattered partizans spread themselves over Catalonia, marched into La Mancha, and signalized his progress by great severities. Alvarez, with a view to protect that province, marched from Madrid, at the head of the few remaining regular troops there in garrison, but being too weak to cope with the Carlists, who ranged at will over the wasted country,was obliged to halt for reinforcements at Ocaña.

In the beginning of April, the movements of the Christinos gave notice, that another attack upon the lines of Guipuscoa was in contemplation. A reinforcement of eleven battalions arrived at St. Sebastian, by sea, from Portugalette. These were part of Espartero's division, and were shortly to be followed by that general, who meant to superintend the projected operations in person. The Anglo-Spanish force, thus concentrated at St. Sebastian, amounted to 30,000, at the least. The Urumea was again passed, and Loyola re-occupied. The Carlists, on their part, made a show of preparation for the coming storm; new works were thrown up on the Venta, and troops collected in Hernani and Astigarraga. On the 6th of May, they made a spirited attack upon the newly-acquired position of Loyola, but were repulsed, after some hard fighting on both sides. In the course of a few days, however, to the surprise of every one, it

became evident, that they had resolved to abandon the chain of positions which had been the occasion of so much contention, and placed them in so formidable an attitude. Don Sebastian withdrew from Hernani with eleven battalions, leaving the lines to their fate. Accordingly, on the 14th of May, the celebrated Venta was captured by the Christinos, commanded by Espartero, who led the attack in person, though, it was understood that he had, in a spirit of great consideration, adopted the dispositions of general Evans. The enemy made little resistance, as the attacking force was overpowering. The reduction of Hernani and Astigarraga followed, as a matter of course.

Evans now proceeded to complete the execution of his plans, by an attack upon Irun and Fuentarabia. He marched out of St. Sebastian on the 16th, at the head of 10,000 men, and supported by the Royal Marines and British seamen, under lord John Hay. Irun, which is little better than a walled village, was stormed, after a short, but very bloody resistance. The fortress of Fuentarabia then surrendered, though in a condition to have held out several days. In the meanwhile, the Carlists made an abortive effort to prevent the fall of these places. Seven battalions, dispatched for this purpose, and marching with great speed, had proceeded as far as Astigarraga. Being there informed that the Christinos were already masters of Irun, they turned back, and fell suddenly upon the village of Urrieta, which was the advanced post of the Anglo-Spanish army. They gained possession of this place, and kept it for a short time, when they were driven out, after a sharp struggle.

After these successes, Espartero issued a proclamation, stating, that he was authorized by the queen's government, to guarantee to the Basque provinces, and to Navarre, the continuance of their franchises; a proceeding which gave great offence to the Cortes, where it was contended, that in so doing, he had greatly exceeded his powers.

We may now return to the infant Don Sebastian, whose sudden march from Hernani in the direction of Arragon, became a subject of general interest and conjecture. It seems, that a project for carrying the war out of the Basque provinces into the heart of the country, had for some time been in agitation in the councils of Don Carlos, and that the removal of Erro from the ministry, and the appointment of Don Sebastian to the nominal command of the army, were connected with a determination in favour of a more extended plan of operations. They had seen what could be effected by an irregular corps in the case of Gomez, and it remained to be tried whether an expedition of disciplined troops would be equally successful. The defeat of Evans before Hernani, as it was the means of bringing Espartero with his whole force to St. Sebastian, and so left Castile and Arragon exposed, favoured the execution of the plan. The Carlist commanders seem to have been divided in opinion as to the route of the expedition, some suggesting a rapid advance on Madrid, while others, whose opinion prevailed, were for a march through Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. By this means, it was said, they

would collect round their colours the various independent bands of insurgents, and so, their force increasing as they advanced, might, in the end, have it in their power to move upon the capital, with an almost absolute certainty of success. The division destined for this adventurous expedition consisted of about sixteen battalions, with 1200 horse, and a few guns. The titular commander was the Infant Sebastian, who was accompanied by Don Carlos in person. On the 19th May, they crossed the Arragon at Galipienzo, three leagues below Sanguessa. On the 24th, they arrived before Huesca in Arragon, and on the same day, were attacked by Irribarren, who had succeeded Sarsfield in his command, as well as in the vice-royalty of Navarre. After a brisk combat, the Carlists made good their entrance into the town, and the Christinos retired. In this affair, General Irribarren was mortally wounded, and General Leon, a very distinguished officer on the same side, was killed.

General Buerens was appointed to Irribarren's command, and hastened from Saragossa with 5000 men to put himself at the head of his division. From Huesca, the Carlist army marched to Barbastro, with the intention of crossing the Cinca. On the other hand, Oraa, captain-general of Arragon, brought up his division to the neighbourhood of Barbastro, to prevent the passage of the river, while the Baron de Meer, who commanded in Catalonia, was posted on the left bank. On the 2nd June, an affair took place in the suburbs of Barbastro, which seems to have been very sanguinary. In this combat, Colonel Conrad, who commanded the French Legion, was mortally wounded. The victory was claimed by both parties, but on the 5th, the Carlists crossed the Cinca, notwithstanding the presence of Oraa and De Meer; and entering Catalonia, pursued their course in a North Easterly direction. Oraa, meanwhile, was recalled, and the Baron de Meer, upon whom the command of his division devolved, came up with the Carlists in the environs of Guisona, and after an action of four hours, put them to the rout. But they rallied at Solsona, and turning to the South, showed an intention to pass the Ebro, and to effect a conjunction with Cabrera, who, on his part, was marching with great dispatch from Lower Arragon. Oraa, now at the head of another division, was posted on the right bank of the Ebro, and made his dispositions with a view to keep Cabrera in check, as well as to prevent the passage of that river, by the army of Don Carlos. Here again, he was baffled by the skill and activity of the enemy, who, marching to the very Southern extremity of Catalonia, crossed the Ebro at Xerta, not far to the North of Tortosa, by means of a bridge, which Cabrera had in readiness for the occasion. That celebrated chief was posted on the other side, and when the two armies had affected their junction, it is said, that they presented a very striking contrast. Such had been the severity of the campaign, that the army of Don Carlos, which, when it passed into Arragon, made a respectable appearance, now offered the miserable spectacle of a wan, and wasted multitude; and seemed rapidly approaching a state of entire disorganization; but Cabreras troops were well clothed,

armed, and disciplined, and far from being the mere roving banditti, they are sometimes represented to be, were free from disorder and insubordination, while their general appearance attested a well regulated commissariat. The benefits of this latter department were speedily extended, as far as was possible, to the exhausted battalions of Don Carlos, and combined with the good example displayed in the camp of Cabrera, had the effect of reestablishing the *morale* of the expeditionary army.

Cabrera is described as a very remarkable person. His father was of obscure condition, and died, leaving his widow in very reduced circumstances, to support and educate their son. By dint of great sacrifices, she sent him to the University, with a view to his taking holy orders. But Cabrera showed little aptitude for that profession, and by his general conduct, seems to have been the cause of much anxiety to his mother, for whom, nevertheless, he is said to have entertained a passionate and almost romantic affection.

On the death of Ferdinand, while yet a student, he publicly advocated the pretensions of Don Carlos, in the city of Tortosa, and in consequence of this sally, found it expedient to retire from his residence in that University. He at once attached himself to a band of Guerillas, and became in time himself a partizan leader, till he at last, by his unquestionable superiority, succeeded in uniting a multitude of independent chiefs into one army, under his absolute command. He is at this time about eight and twenty years of age — below the middle stature, slim and active—his features are described to be of a very ordinary cast, but their insignificance is redeemed by the extreme vivacity of his dark and brilliant eyes. With a character for romantic bravery, he is said to combine the reputation of great practical ability; yet his talents are believed to be rather of an administrative than a military cast, and although upwards of two and thirty engagements have made him master of a rich and extensive territory, he is heard to speak with great diffidence of his attainments in the art of war, and to regret the inconvenience of being unfamiliar with the routine principles of his profession. But the man who created a regular army out of such materials as he had at hand, and with such imperfect means, and who has taught his wild guerillas and bandit soldiers to stoop to the yoke of an unrelenting discipline, securing to them a comparative abundance, although forbidding and punishing all pillage, must needs possess qualities, moral and intellectual, very superior to those of the generality of his fellow countrymen. It is said, that he gave no indications of a cruel disposition, until the murder of his mother, an act almost without a precedent in military annals, stamped his character with a terrible ferocity, which the occasion might almost palliate.

The combined army of Carlists now burst upon the province of Valencia full 12,000 strong. The utmost obscurity preceded the progress of the expedition, and the eyes of all Spain were fixed upon its eccentric course, which baffled conjecture as to its daily movements, as well as its ultimate destination. Indifferent alike to victory and defeat, it swept along, followed, rather than opposed, by the several

divisions, which were deputed to arrest its march, and exhibiting a series of skilful operations, which utterly disconcerted the Christino commanders. The baron de Meer, now far in the rear, for a time abandoned the pursuit, and contented, apparently, with his fruitless success at Guisona, confined himself within the limits of Catalonia. Buerens, however, was marching to the assistance of Oraa, and had reached Saragossa, when Carlos was entering Cantavieja, which town had recently fallen into the possession of Cabrera. From thence he took the direction of the sea, and skirting the coast, arrived before the city of Valencia. After a halt of three days within sight of that place, during which he made no demonstration against it, he received information that Oraa by a forced march, had entered Leiria with 8.000 infantry, and 600 cavalry. Upon this, he retired in the direction of Bunol, and Oraa marched into the city of Valencia. Having made the necessary arrangements for the defence of that capital, in case of attack, and securing the promised co-operation of the commander of a British ship of war, that chief proceeded in pursuit of the Carlist army, taking with him from the garrison a reinforcement of nearly 4,000 men. He came up with the enemy on the 15th July, and after an obstinate engagement, which lasted from eight in the morning, till five in the afternoon, compelled him to fall back upon Chiva. This retrograde movement was attended with considerable loss to the Carlists, who, after a second combat, were driven from their position at Chiva, and retired over a mountainous district towards the Ebro.

Meanwhile, Espartero had been appointed generalissimo of the armies of Catalonia, Valencia, Arragon, and Castile, retaining, at the same time, command of that of the north which he intrusted to Escalera. On his march with some troops for Oraa's head-quarters, he was joined by Buerens with his division; so that soon after the battle of Bunol, or Chiva, the three Christino geneals had combined their forces. In the meanwhile, Carlos, without much farther molestation, was allowed to reach Cantavieja, where he halted for some time, while the utmost uncertainty prevailed as to his future movements.

While the war was thus conducted in Catalonia and Valencia, a new theatre of operations was suddenly opened in the very centre of the Peninsula. A Carlist column, with a battery of artillery, broke forth out of Navarre, and baffling all the efforts of Escalera, and the baron das Antas, who commanded a strong body of Portuguese auxiliaries in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, made a rapid march upon the Ebro, which they crossed on the 22nd July, between Haro and Miranda, leaving Escalera and das Antas in full pursuit behind them. This expedition was commanded by Zariartegui. After passing the Ebro, the column traversed Castile with unchecked rapidity; while a demonstration made by the Carlists in Navarre, on Penecerrada, weakened their pursuers, by making it necessary to detach a strong force to its relief. On the 5th August, they were in possession of Segovia, and its strong Alcazar or Moorish Castle, which they captured by a bold *coup de main*, the defenders making a very feeble resistance. On the 11th, their advanced posts

were within five leagues of Madrid. In that capital, all was consternation.

Martial law was proclaimed, and Espartero summoned to bring relief, who hurried towards Madrid with a strong division, and arrived there on the 12th, while troops were poured in from all sides upon the Carlist line of march, and the points which they menaced. Zariategui, however, drew back to Segovia, which he soon afterwards evacuated and followed, as usual, by the Christino forces, pursued his march in a homeward direction.

The army of Don Carlos meanwhile remained for some time in and about Cantavieja.* In order to subsist the troops with less difficulty, two divisions only were left with Carlos, while Cabrera hovered between the confines of Valencia and Arragon; and Sanz and Quilez, each with a large division, were detached in different directions, but at no great distance. Meanwhile, Oraa, in his usual cautious way, was projecting an attack upon Carlos, and had concerted a combined movement with Espartero, who was at Daroca with 18,000 men. Could he have effected this junction, he might have attacked Carlos with every prospect of a very decisive success, since the army of that prince was by no means in a condition at the moment to cope with him, though in daily expectation of convoys and re-inforcements. But at this critical time, the well-executed march of Zariategui on the capital, called Espartero with his force to Madrid, and the time so gained, saved the Carlist army, which was very soon afterwards sufficiently recruited to be enabled to advance upon Oraa, who, on his part, retired to Daroca, leaving one division of his army under Buerens to watch the movements of the enemy. That commander deeming that a favourable opportunity for attack had at last arrived, dispatched a messenger to Oraa with a view to inform him of his own intentions, and to propose a simultaneous movement on the part of the other. But this despatch fell into the hands of the enemy, while Buerens, taking for granted, that Oraa had received his communication, advanced to Herrera in the full confidence that he was to meet with Oraa's co-operation. The Carlists were posted at Villar, between which place and Herrera, a long and uneven valley extends itself. Buerens was marching up this valley, with a force amounting to about 7000 infantry, and 500 cavalry, when he unexpectedly came upon the Carlist army, which was drawn up to receive him behind a rising ground. Their numbers were about 6000 foot, and 600 horse; Cabrera's division not having yet rejoined Carlos. After a little hesitation, Buerens commenced the attack, and an engagement ensued, which, after some very hard fighting, ended in the entire defeat of the Christinos, who fled in complete confusion. Buerens himself admits in his dis-

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* Cantavieja, in Lower Arragon, was the stronghold of Cabrera. There were his hospitals, a foundry, and a manufactory of arms, and gunpowder. The town is inconsiderable in point of size, and is more indebted to nature for its strength, than to its artificial defences. On three sides it rests on a perpendicular rock. Before the fourth is extended a wide surface of table land, favourable to the besieger, but itself only to be approached through difficult anddangerous mountain defiles.

patch, that his men were utterly dispersed. Three pieces of artillery, and an immense quantity of muskets and stores, besides 150 horses, and 2400 prisoners, remained with the victorious Carlists. The Christinos left 300 dead on the field. The loss of the Carlists, by their own statements, amounted to 340 killed and wounded. Among the officers who fell, they had to lament Quilez, a very able soldier. This battle took place on the 24th August. Moreno, chief of Don Sebastian's staff, had the chief credit of this victory, and was promoted to the rank of captain general immediately afterwards.

The Carlist force of Zariategui having retired from Madrid, Espartero, with all speed, returned into Arragon, and effected a junction with Oraa. Their united divisions were said to amount to 18,000 infantry and 2,500 horse. Before this force the army of Don Carlos retreated across the mountains, in the direction of Frias, a small mountain village. From thence they advanced to Campillo, a town on the high road from Valencia to Madrid; and having, by their movements, as usual, baffled the Christino commanders, they commenced a rapid march upon the capital, preceded, at a small distance, by Cabrera, who had fallen into the same route, with a division of 6000 men, besides 1,200 cavalry. On the 12th of September, Don Carlos was at Arganda, four leagues from Madrid, and Cabrera's cavalry, with Forcadell's brigade, pushed on to the very gates of that city. At Balechas, a village within two miles of the capital, a skirmish took place between Cabrera's irregular horse, and a party of Christino dragoons and cuirassiers, which ended in the flight of the latter, who did not turn upon their pursuers, till they were within 500 yards of the city. The Carlist cavalry then retired to a short distance, and were joined by Forcadell's brigade. Don Sebastian and his staff rode up, and the remainder of the army was anxiously expected. But no other force appearing, the order to retreat to Arganda was given at the very moment that Madrid seemed within their grasp: the capital was, in fact, garrisoned by nothing better than eight battalions of the Urban guard, and with a disheartened and divided population. On the 13th, the army retreated to Mondejac, where Carlos reviewed it. Four days after Guadalaxara was summoned, and the garrison retired into the castle, leaving the town to be occupied by Sanz and Cabrera, who almost immediately evacuated it, having received intelligence of Espartero's advance, who had been reinforced by Lorenzo, with a division of 5000 men, and by Buerens, with the remnant of his corps. After an ineffectual attempt to surprise that general at Alcala, the Carlist army continued its march northward, with the intention of uniting itself to the division of Zariategui. It was closely followed by the Christinos, and a skirmish, which ensued was very much to its disadvantage. It passed the Douro at Gormas. On the 20th, Cabrera separated himself from the main body, and marched with his division in the direction of Valencia. Oraa pursued him, and coming up with him in the environs of Cuença, struck a severe blow upon his rear, and drove him, in disorder, into the mountains of Albaracin.

Zariategui had, in the middle of

September, obtained possession of the important city of Valladolid, which the garrison, at the entreaties of the citizens, had yielded, without a blow, thus preserving it from the risk of an assault, while they themselves retired into the castle, where they were besieged by the Carlists. As soon as this disaster became known, generals Carondelet and Lorenzo marched, with great celerity, to deliver Valladolid; they found the Carlists barricaded in the city, and evidently prepared for a resolute defence. A very sanguinary combat took place, but, after some time, the Christinos made their way into the place, and having dislodged the Carlists from their positions, drove them through the streets, with great loss. It seems probable, that only a detachment of the army of Zariategui was engaged in this enterprise; and, according to some accounts, he was not himself present. At all events, it is related, that when, a few days afterwards, he effected a junction with Don Carlos at Aranda, he was at the head of 7000 excellent and well-disciplined troops, perfectly equipped, and well supplied with necessaries. These constituted part of the original army with which he marched out of the northern provinces. But he had, in addition, collected upwards of 4000 Castilian recruits, upon whom, however, from their want of discipline, little reliance could be placed.

Zariategui is described as one of the most skilful of the Carlist officers, though sometimes accused of carrying caution to an excess. He commenced his military career as a serjeant in the regiment of Zumalacarregui, who, observing his capacity, procured him a commission in the regiment, and, on Ferdinand's death, made him his military secretary, and retained him constantly about his person.

The combined forces of Carlos and Zariategui continued but a few hours at Aranda, when they retired into the mountains, having left the town a very short time before Espartero and Lorenzo entered it, and halted at Covarrubios in Old Castile. From this place they continued their march towards the Ebro, and on the 5th of October, had reached St. Domingo de Silos, when, suddenly turning on their pursuers, they fell upon Lorenzo at Retuerta. That general managed to keep his ground until Espartero could come up to his assistance, upon whose appearance, the Carlists made a hasty retreat, and again took up their quarters at St. Domingo. In this affair, which seems to have been ill conducted on the part of the Carlists, three of their best officers, Reyna, Sofelana, and the count of Madeira were severely wounded.

Although the main body of the Carlist army was thus rapidly retiring from the provinces into which it had made so fierce an irruption, the stragglers and guerilla bands, who detached themselves from the line of march, roamed over the country in the neighbourhood of the capital, and committed terrible excesses, sacking small towns and villages, plundering and kidnapping the inhabitants, and cutting off all the communications; while the miserable people in vain appealed to government for protection against the ravages of these implacable freebooters.

On the 7th, Don Carlos fell back from St. Domingo de Silos to Ontario. In that town several councils were held, and, after much discussion, it was resolved, according to

Carlist accounts, that the army should be divided into two corps, one of which, under Don Sebastian, was to continue in Old Castile, while the other, commanded by Don Carlos and Moreno, should operate in Lower Arragon, New Castile, or Andalusia; at the same time, general Sanz was superseded in the command of the Navarrese battalions by Zariategui. But these plans were doomed to be frustrated. On the 14th, Espartero attacked the Carlists in their position at Huerta del Rey, in the Sierra de Soria, not far from Burgos, and seems to have put them into great disorder, though without obtaining any signal advantage. Disunion now began to prevail in the Carlist camp. The Basques and Navarrese were desirous of returning home, being utterly weary of expeditionary warfare. It would appear; that they gained their point; for, separating themselves from the rest, they marched straight upon the Ebro, under Don Sebastian and Zariategui, in all about twelve battalions, with a large convoy of booty. On the 19th of October, they passed that river, at the fords of Revenga and Camero, and soon afterwards arrived at Estella.

Whatever might have been his original intentions, Carlos now found that he was compelled to adopt the same course. Many of his principal chiefs, and Moreno, in particular, insisted upon an immediate termination of the expedition. Accordingly, the army was put in movement, and after much suffering of all sorts, they also passed the Ebro; and Don Carlos found himself once more at Durango. Here, it is reported, that he made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the latter part of the campaign. He removed Moreno from his command, and went so far as to put certain officers of rank under arrest, besides disgracing several others.*

It will be recollected, that Cabrera, on the 20th of September, separated his division from the corps of Carlos, and commenced his march towards his old quarters in Lower Arragon and Valencia. Oraa directed his course in the same direction. Early in October we find Cabrera making preparations for the defence of Cantavieja, then menaced by Oraa; and not long after, investing the city of Valencia, from which he was driven by the Christino general, and again retired upon Cantavieja. Oraa, however, seems to have been compelled to abandon his intended operations against that town,-and remained inactive; while the enterprising Cabrera carried his excursions as far as the gates of Saragossa.

We may now return to the contending parties in Biscay and Navarre. Soon after the reduction of Irun and Fuentarabia, in the month of May, the time expired, for which the British Legion had volunteered its services, and preparations were made to disband it. The Spanish government, at the same time, declared their desire to renew the engagement with such officers and men as might choose to remain. In the condition in which the Spanish finances then were, it is not surprising that a considerable part of the arrears due to the Legion remained (as it still does) unliquidated. General Evans lost no

* Sanz, La Torre, and Villareal were prisoners on parole; and, it is said, that Moreno himself, having refused to avail himself of permission to quit the Carlist territories, was arrested

time in bidding farewell to a country which could now, at least, present few attractions to him; and early in the morning of the 10th of June he embarked for England, leaving the miserable remnant of his men to follow or stay, as they might. Of these, the few, who chose to re-enlist, were remodelled at St. Sebastian; the remainder were shipped off to England, at intervals, where they arrived in the most miserable condition that can be conceived.

On the 4th of July a mutiny took place among the Spanish troops at Hernani, who fired upon their officers; general Rendon was very severely wounded, and colonel Ebsworth, a young Englishman of very distinguished bravery and great promise, was killed. General Mirasol, their commander, was obliged to fly, and the mutineers proclaimed O'Donnell as their future chief. A similar insurrection broke out at Miranda del Ebro in August, in which general Escalera, and some other officers of rank perished. The example of these excesses was not lost upon the garrison of Pampeluna. On the morning of the 26th of August, a body of 700 or 800 troops, commanded, by colonel Don Leon Iriarte, broke out of their cantonments in the suburbs, and forced their way into the city. When summoned by the authorities to explain their conduct, Iriarte stated, that he and his officers were not free agents; for that the non-commissioned officers had that morning mutinied, and insisted on being led into Pampeluna to obtain their arrears of pay. The non-commissioned officers were now sent for, and they agreed that, in consideration of immediate payment of one month's arrears, out of three, they would lead the soldiers quietly back to their quarters. But, in the mean time, a party of the mutineers had arrested General Sarsfield, and carried him before the authorities at the Town-hall. Here he was released by order of the magistrates, but, as he rode home, he was murdered by the troops. Several officers shared his fate, and Leon Iriarte received, for a moment, the title of governor from their murderers. It was with some difficulty that the troops were at last persuaded to return to their duty, in consideration of an amnesty; and general Carrera, became viceroy and colonel Pena governor by common consent.

Towards the end of August Uranga made himself master of Penecerrada, which had been for some time invested. On the 8th of September, general O'Donnell attacked Andouain, and carried it after a smart skirmish. Having fortified the place, together with the neighbouring heights, and made it a tolerably strong position, he considered himself strong enough to wait till a reinforcement might enable him to pursue his operations. But in the meanwhile the Carlists received a considerable accession of force; and towards noon, on the 14th, made an unexpected attack upon the Christino position, the works of which were as yet unfinished. The Spanish troops shamefully fled at once, and dispersed, without even giving notice of what was passing to two British regiments, the remnant of the disbanded Legion, who were posted in the town. These last, supported by two companies only of Spaniards, defended themselves to the best of their power; but, at last, being

driven into a church, they were entirely surrounded by the Carlists and compelled to surrender; and the greater number are said to have been put to the sword. As usual, the British Marines and Royal Artillery were at hand in the hour of need, and their presence saved Hernani. A few insignificant operations on the coast, which had for their object the capture of the small seaport of Guetaria, and some neighbouring villages, seem to have been all, that, during the remainder of the year, was effected by the queen's forces in Guipuscoa.

The command of the new British Legion had devolved on general O'Connell, who soon found it impossible to keep it together. The Spanish government having failed, as he alleged, on their part, he declared the contract to be at anend; and told his men they were free to leave the service as soon as they pleased. They accordingly laid down their arms; and the British Auxiliary Legion ceased to exist.* Its fate requires no comment, for, in such cases, words but weaken the language of facts. This much we may say, that nothing happened but what had been foretold by those whose experience, at least, might have given authority to their predictions.

Espartero was at Miranda on the 30th of October; here he punished the murderers of general Escalera. Having drawn out his division on the road, which leads from that place to Vittoria, he harangued the men, and, at the end, ordered the regiment of Segovia to deliver up to him the parties concerned in the general's death. The command was obeyed with some hesitation, and out of thirty of the ringleaders, who were brought before him, ten were shot on the spot. After this act of justice, he marched upon Navarre, while Lorenzo and general Ulibarri concentrated their divisions round Haro. When Espartero arrived at Pampeluna, he prepared to vindicate military discipline, as he had already done at Miranda. The troops were formed on the glacis of the citadel, and such was the terror inspired by their commander, that at his demand, twelve soldiers were, without demur, denounced by their comrades, as being Sarsfield's murderers. At this moment colonel Leon Iriarte, under whose orders the mutineers had placed themselves, made his appearance. No sooner had Espartero beheld him, than he cried out in a loud and stern voice, "The public believe you guilty!" "I am innocent, general," was Iriarte's reply. "I would be glad you were," said Espartero; "but if you are not, you will have atoned to God in two hour's time." A table, and a few chairs, were hastily set out in the centre of a square formed by the troops, a court martial was convened, witnesses examined, and the prisoner heard in his defence. The sentence of death was then passed, and on the following day the brave Leon Iriarte and his accomplices were executed. The intelligence of his death was a subject of rejoicing to the Carlists, who had suffered much at his hands.

The following is reported to have been the strength and the disposition of the army of which Espartero was commander-in-chief on the 1st of December. In

* Part of the cavalry and artillery were persuaded to remain in the Spanish service.

Navarre were collected 29,800 men, including the garrisons. In Guipuscoa under O'Donnell 5,660, in Alava under Buerens 9,000; in Biscay 9,100, besides a corps of reserve, in the valley of Mena, consisting of 6000 infantry and 600 cavalry. This return does not include the national guard.

We have thus endeavoured, from very imperfect and scattered materials, to present the reader with something like an outline of the principal military operations of which Spain was the theatre in 1837. But it must be remembered that the entire surface of the country was at the same time ravaged by a desultory warfare more destructive in its effects upon the inhabitants, than the regular operations of an army. *Brigandage*, never viewed with much disfavour in Spain, had now become common as agriculture in other countries; while the most remorseless cruelty signalised the practices of all parties; and civil life, except in the larger towns, seemed for the time suspended.

Before we enter upon the civil and parliamentary history of Spain in 1837, we may notice a singular affair which took place in the island of Cuba towards the end of 1836. Of the two provinces of which that island consists, that of the West, and which goes by the name of the Havannah, was governed by general Miguel Tacon, while general Manuel Lorenzo, acting in subordination to the former, commanded in Cuba, or Santiago, which is the eastern division of the island. Lorenzo had been long notorious for his attachment to the constitution of 1812, and no sooner had the events of La Granja become publicly known in Cuba, than he proclaimed that constitution, and obtained the adhesion of the troops. This was on the 29th of September. A few days afterwards Tacon, the captain general, received despatches from home which communicated to him a royal decree whereby it was ordained, that, until the meeting of the Cortes, the colonies were to remain under the old system. These tidings Tacon forwarded to Lorenzo with an order to replace things upon their former footing. Upon the refusal of Lorenzo, Tacon had recourse to arms, and proclaiming Lorenzo and his adherents public enemies, he despatched a force to reduce them to obedience. Lorenzo made a shew of resistance, but when he found, that the soldiery could not be relied upon, he accepted the mediation of the captain of an English man of war and embarked for Spain.

The Cortes, during the earlier part of the year, were principally occupied by the New Constitution which had been submitted to their consideration. The conduct of the war was likewise, as usual, a fruitful and unremitting source of discussion, but the languid operations of the campaign seemed to catch little spirit from the ardent declamation and energetic sentiments of the chamber. Some ministerial changes took place in the Spring, the minister of War, M. Vera, being succeeded by M. Almodovar, and M. Pita Pizarro superseding Lopez in the Interior. M. Mendizabal himself, who presided in the Finance department, had become very unpopular with the people whom he had so egregiously duped with his pompous promises; and his influence in the Cortes and the Council diminished rapidly.

It will be recollected, that in the preceding November a misunder-

standing had arisen between the generals Narvaez and Alaix, who were both in command of divisions in pursuit of Lopez.* According to the statements of Narvaez, it was only through the culpable inactivity of Alaix, and the relaxed discipline which he had permitted to exist in his battalions, that Gomez had escaped their combined forces. At the time, the ministers seem to have sided with Narvaez, to whom they ordered Alaix to surrender his command, an order to which Alaix flatly refused obedience, and with entire impunity. Narvaez naturally indignant at this successful contumacy, in the beginning of the year, made his appearance in Madrid, having quitted his division without leave, and loudly proclaimed his intention of appealing to the Cortes, and there denouncing the imbecility of the government, and of Vera, then War minister, in particular. The ministers, on their part, put Narvaez under arrest, and sent him to Cuença, while Alaix, still remained at the head of his corps. On his arrival there, Narvaez, in spite of his disgrace, was received with the most distinguished honours by the military and civil authorities of the place, where he made a sort of triumphal entry, and afterwards harangued the assembled populace. The government were satisfied with reprimanding the authorities of Cuença for this manifestation of feeling, but how little impression that reprimand produced may be conceived, from the fact, that, shortly afterwards, the official journal of Cuença contained an order of the day of the commander general of that province (Narcisso Lopez) wherein he announced to the inhabitants, that being on the point of taking the field against the enemy, he had thought proper to invest with the command of the place, in his absence, "the worthy brigadier Don Ramon Maria Narvaez."

But no one perhaps had more reason to rue the vicissitudes of things in Spain, than the renowned Sergeant Garcia, the hero of La Granja and the champion of the present constitution. Considering that his patriotism had been but inadequately remunerated, the sergeant had waited upon M. Mendizabal, the finance minister, with a view to expostulate; and it appears, was encouraged to employ with the minister similar means to those, which had so well succeeded with the Queen. For, after his military fashion, he presented a pistol at the Spanish Chancellor of the Exchequer, but with different success, being taken into custody for this act of violence, and committed to solitary confinement. He afterwards retired to Cuellar, in old Castile, his native town, but on the approach of Zariategui fled to Valladolid. The governor of that town, imagining that the sergeant had come with a purpose of heading an *exaltado* movement, arrested and ultimately sent him a prisoner to Corunna.

The Cortes made a matter of privilege of the following circumstance. Partly with a view to compliment Espartero, who was becoming very intractable, and partly to keep a watch on his proceedings, two deputies of the Cortes M. M. Lujan and Del Valle, had been appointed commissioners of the government at the head quarters of that commander. Before they repaired to the army, they

* See 1836, page 380.

thought proper to request leave of absence from the Cortes, who decided by a majority of 69 to 67 voices, that the ministry had no right to confide any private mission to deputies, without the previous sanction of the House.*

General Lopez was presently superseded in his command at Cuença, and the government ventured to order Narvaez to proceed forthwith to Palencia, but that officer, having, as he alleged, "sprained his elbow," was unable to obey the mandate.

Soon after the cabinet alterations we have before mentioned had been effected, on the 30th March a motion was discussed in the Cortes, with closed doors, having for its design the removal of M. Mendizabal from the ministry. The debate was warm, and no one was more distinguished for his violent denunciations of the minister of Finance, than his late colleague Lopez. The result was a majority of no more than nine in favour of M. Mendizabal. But that minister was more fortunate on a subsequent and more serious occasion. On the 3rd of May the committee of Finance brought up its report on the accounts produced by M. Mendizabal, in which they were declared to be unsatisfactory and insufficient, and the committee required to be furnished with a variety of documents, without which they said it would be quite impossible to form an idea of the financial situation of the country. The minister, thus impeached was not present at the reading of this report, but he is described as shortly afterwards entering the chamber, accompanied by M. M. Calatrava and Pita Pizarro, and followed by six porters loaded with papers, which were deposited on the table. M. Mendizabal having expressed a wish to be heard, the house passed from the order of the day, upon which it was occupied, and the accused minister began his defence with an appearance of great emotion. After a debate of three days' duration, the report of the committee was rejected by a majority of 101 to 62; a triumph on the part of Mendizabal not more signal than unexpected, such was the prejudice entertained by the public mind against this once all popular financier. The committee was directed to prepare a fresh report. But the enemies of the accused were not discouraged by this repulse. They now pressed him to account for the credits which had been placed at his disposal by the vote of confidence formerly obtained, and desired him to produce his vouchers. It would seem, that Mendizabal demurred to this demand, for we find M. Fontan renewing the same challenge, on the 16th May. M. Fontan declared, that he had no intention of embarrassing government, his only wish was to compel the cabinet to fulfil an obligation imposed upon it by the Cortes, when they clothed it with the extensive powers contained in the vote in question. M. Mendizabal explained at considerable length the nature of the powers vested in the government by that vote, and contended, that ministers had not abused them in a single instance. The government had a right to procure funds for

* It seems that M. Lujan ultimately was allowed to undertake this mission, and soon afterwards, with the sanction of the Cortes, M. M. Santa Cruz and Arana, were also despatched on a "conciliatory mission" to Espartero.

the public service, and to modify the financial system, as they might deem expedient. After defending the financial operations of the administration, he contended, that on his own part, he could not be made answerable for occurrences subsequent to the overthrow of his cabinet on the 15th May 1836, and for the depression of Spanish securities during the administration of his successors. But the committee was now engaged in verifying the returns he had given in, and it would then be time for the chamber to interfere. The publication of those accounts should have at once removed all suspicions, and it was not fair to make him answerable for monies of which he never had the management. It seemed to be always forgotten, that ministers had only the ordinary resources of the nation at their disposal, and that in 1829 when the taxes were the same, there existed a deficit of 190,000,000 reals, and that from 1826 to 1833, Spain had contracted a debt of 3,000,000,000 reals (30,000,000*l.*) although that was a period too, when some regularity prevailed in the finances, and order reigned in the country. Ever since the latter year, civil war had ravaged the kingdom; not more than 200,000,000 reals of the forced loan had been paid in, and it was really hard, that, in a moment of such difficulty, the minister of finance should be required to produce a certificated copy of the whole of his accounts. He might have objected to such a course, had he not above all things desired to clear his reputation of the charge of dishonesty, with which it was so often reproached; and had he not supposed, that what he had already produced to the public would be considered a full justification of his conduct, he should have lost no time in submitting the documents required to the inspection of the Cortes. This appeal to the chamber seems to have been unsuccessful, since it was ultimately resolved, that he should within a given interval render an account of the vote of confidence. This limitation in point of time was considered as an unfavourable symptom of the disposition of the assembly.

On the 4th of May, an insurrection broke out in the turbulent city of Barcelona; the governor-general, Parreno, supported by the troops of the line, and aided by the co-operation of several companies of English marines, who appeared with colours flying, in the streets, attacked the insurgents, consisting principally of the national guards, and dislodged them from some houses, into which they had thrown themselves, though not without a combat attended by very considerable loss of life. But the spirit of the ultra-liberals was not discouraged by this check, and without again resorting to open violence, they laboured steadily to disseminate their anarchical doctrines, and to enlist the surrounding towns and municipalities under the banner of revolt. They were so far successful, that various symptoms of sedition were displayed in different quarters of Catalonia, and even beyond the borders of that province. The national guards of six towns, including Girona and Rosas, signed an address to the queen, in which, premising their regret at the seditious conduct of the revolters at Barcelona, they told her majesty, that the occurrences in that city evidently proved, that the military agents in her service were but

executioners, and that they could not behold without indignation, English soldiers, calling themselves allies, steeping their bayonets in the blood of Spaniards. "Those *cruel auxiliaries* had deserved the *implacable hatred* vowed against them by the national guards." After proceeding in a strain of great violence, they "humbly begged of her majesty to replace the civil and military authorities of Barcelona, by men combining patriotism with humanity, and demanded, that the English vessels, stationed in that port, for the last two years and a half, might be immediately withdrawn; or, at least, "that orders might be given forbidding a single man to be landed on the soil of Catalonia." Meanwhile the two ringleaders of the late revolt, were seized, and one, Xandero, executed. But the city still continued in imminent peril, and General Parreno transmitted a melancholy statement of the condition and prospects of the place to the government. "The events of the 4th," he wrote, "the favourable termination of which was solely due to the aid of the English corps from the Rodney, have so exasperated the people, that I apprehend at every instant the desertion of all my soldiers. I have already been abandoned by the national guard. The civil authorities though apparently wishing to second the measures I have taken to restore tranquility, are devoid of good feeling and courage. At the approach of night, they are no longer to be seen, and God only knows where to find them. Their example is followed by all the citizens, who have anything to lose." On the 24th of May, the municipality of Barcelona, addressed a letter to the general, in which they declared thei nability to preserve public order, and their desire to ensure their own personal safety, and in conclusion requested to be released from their functions within eight days, and they intimated their intention of dissolving themselves, should that request not be complied with. A nearly similar letter was presented to the general by the provincial authorities.* Several small towns actually hoisted the revolutionary colours, Reuss being the centre of the insurrectionary operations. They were only checked by the approach of Carlos and his army, which for a moment united all parties against the common enemy.

In the course of the session, a singular present was received by the Cortes, from a citizen of Madrid, being nothing else than the identical fetters worn by the celebrated Empecinado, when he was conducted to the scaffold. This relic, together with the letter which accompanied it, was handed over to the committee of rewards and national recompenses.

The month of May was drawing to a close, when the Cortes terminated their debates on the new constitution. That subject had occupied them during the greater part of the session. On the 23rd of May the president of the council, M. Calatrava, congratulated them on the completion of the reformed constitution, and "the brilliant prospect" which the promulgation of that measure must create in the minds of all good Spaniards, and he recom-

* Some doubts were thrown at the time upon the genuineness of these two last documents, which appeared in the newspapers of the day.

mended, that the remainder of the session should be, for the most part, devoted to the following important subjects. 1st. The standing rules to be adopted in the two chambers. 2nd. The electoral laws. 3rd. Finance. 4th. Regulation of the clergy. 5th. Public instruction. 6th. The suppression of tithes.

The draught of the new constitution had been laid before the Cortes, by the special committee appointed to prepare it, so early as the 24th of February. It was adopted with some slight modifications by the assembly. The articles, which gave rise to most discussion, we will now shortly notice, referring the reader for the rest to the Appendix, where the entire document will be found. The subject of a second chamber, of course occasioned much discussion, but as it had been so fully debated,and the principle was so entirely recognized in the preceding year, that article was established with comparatively little resistance on the part of the ultras. The 7th, 8th, and 9th articles, relating to the personal liberty of individuals, led to a good deal of discussion; it being contended on the one hand, that they effectually involved the principle of the English habeas corpus act, while, on the other, they were complained of, as vague and insufficient, and as providing no guarantee against illegal confinement. In the course of the debate on the 11th article which pledged the nation, "to maintain the worship and priesthood of the Catholic religion, as adopted by Spaniards." The minister of justice, Landero, remarked, that at the present moment, when the Cortes were engaged in establishing guarantees for the civil rights of Spaniards, those of a religious nature, ought not to be forgotten, and he proposed as an amendment, that the following words should be added to the article, "no Spaniard shall be in future prosecuted or tried for his religious opinions." This clause, he contended, was the more necessary, as by the existing law, the prosecution of citizens for their religious tenets, was authorised. The amendment met with opposition in a quarter, where it might not have been expected, but whence it came with considerable weight, for M. Arguelles, himself a member of the committee, said, that in his opinion, the time had not arrived when it was practicable to adopt such a suggestion with any good effect. A remarkable declaration, as showing how deeply rooted the old Spanish Catholicism remains in the national mind. The amendment consequently fell to the ground.

We have already seen in the case of Cuba, that the Spanish government was in no hurry to extend to the colonies the constitution, which the populace of Spain had extorted for itself. And accordingly, the new constitution, as recommended by the committee, refused to the transatlantic provinces the privilege, which the old constitution of 1812 had bestowed upon them, of sending representatives to the Cortes. This modification of the constitution was adopted, though not without opposition, by the assembly, and soon afterwards a decree was promulgated which provided, that the transatlantic provinces should be subject to special laws, and that the deputies elected by them should not be permitted to take their seats in the present Cortes. By the 23rd article, the clergy were excluded from the Chamber of

Deputies. This led to a lively remonstrance, on the part of those members of the present Cortes, who belonged to that order. It was answered, that good priests were rare, that a spirit of illiberality pervaded the clerical class, and that its members wanted the independance that should be found in a representative of the people. M. Arguelles endeavoured to prove from history, that the clergy had never established a claim to such a privilege, "but," added he, "to show the spirit of toleration which actuates me, I am ready to concede the point to the members of our clergy."

On the 27th of April, the revised constitution was adopted, including two additional articles, the one already referred to, relating to the provinces beyond the seas, and the other to trials by jury.

On Sunday, the 18th of June, the Queen Regent, with her daughter, proceeded in state to the Cortes, and there swore fidelity to the new Constitution. Her majesty afterwards delivered a long discourse, in which she "declared afresh before them, and in the face of Heaven and earth, her spontaneous adhesion, free and entire acceptation, of the political institutions she had just sworn to in the name and presence of her august daughter, whom they had before them, and whose sentiments she hoped would never differ from her own." The queen and her daughter were well received by the multitude and soldiery. In the evening, the Constitution was solemnly proclaimed in various quarters of the city. A decree had been published the day before, fixing the mode by which the new order of things should be promulgated. The oath tendered to public functionaries, including ecclesiastical dignitaries, was as follows: — "I swear before God, and on the holy Gospel, to keep the Constitution of the Spanish monarchy decreed, and sanctioned by the Cortes general of 1837, and to be faithful to the queen." Her majesty, "anxious to perpetuate the memory of the promulgation of the Constitution, by an act of clemency, equal in some degree to so great an event," was pleased to decree a "general amnesty;" but it is not easy, from the document, to discover, what sort of delinquents could possibly benefit by it, except smugglers, who are expressly named. By the first article, indeed, it is declared, that the amnesty shall be granted to all persons imprisoned throughout the kingdom, and adjacent isles, "no matter for what crimes," but we find, that by the second clause, all "ringleaders or accomplices in high treason, sedition, homicide, arson, sacrilege, blasphemy, piracy, bribery, coining, forging documents, resistance to public authority, violence, bigamy, robbery, false weights and measures, swindling, &c." are excluded, as well as all public functionaries under prosecution for abuses committed in the exercise of their duties.*

* Yet some individuals implicated in the republican uproar at Barcelona, and who had been banished to the Balearic Islands, were permitted to return home in consequence of this amnesty. Certainly they had been guilty of "resistance to public authority." The Cortes, however, soon afterwards passed an amnesty bill more effectual than the royal decree was meant to be, and which, among other important provisions, removed the sequestration laid on the property of emigrants, by a decree of September, 1836, on condition of their taking the constitutional oath within a specified time.

In the course of the summer, a bill was passed for the suppression of all convents, monasteries, and other religious houses for both sexes, within the Peninsula, the adjacent islands, and the African possessions; with an exceptional clause in favour of the colleges of missionaries, for the provinces of Asia, established at Valladolid, Ocana, and Monteagudo. This measure was followed by another, which abolished the payment of tithes. A bill also passed, which provided, that the orphans of all those who died "martyrs to the cause of liberty," since 1823, should be adopted by the nation; and that the following names should be inscribed on the walls of the chamber, — "Riego," "Empecinado," "Manzanes," "Millar," "Mariana," "Pineda," "Torrijos," and "Mina."

The ministry had been long tottering, as well from internal intrigues, as from the violent assaults of the opposition, and the expedition of Don Carlos delayed, while it insured their fall. The party in the Cortes, who were represented by M. Olozaga, withdrew the support they had hitherto afforded to the government, and a formidable club composed of opposition members of the Cortes held evening meetings at the house of M. Ferrer, ex-minister of finance, where they concerted their measures of attack.

The most unpopular person of the ministry, appears to have been M. Pita Pizarro, and he accordingly was sacrificed by his colleagues, and replaced in the home department by M. Acuna, deputy of Jaen.

In the meantime, Carlos was spreading dismay by his progress through the provinces, and ministers, in their financial distress, were forced to appeal to the Cortes for an extraordinary war-tax, to be levied on all sorts of property, a very unpopular proposal, but which the necessity of the times sanctioned in the eyes of the majority.* The committee to whom the subject was referred, fixed the amount of this contribution at 500,000,000 reals,—(5,000,000*l.* sterling).

Upon the advance of Zariategui to Segovia, in the month of August, martial law was proclaimed in the Capital, and the greatest agitation prevailed both in the streets, and in the Cortes. The Castilian members proposed a vote of censure on the ministers for having, by culpable negligence, left the province they represented, at the mercy of the rebels. In the course of the debate, the ministers were severely blamed "for want of energy," by M. M. Herrera, Vila, Madoz, Ferrer, and Olozaga; but they obtained a majority of 76 to 53 on a division. M. Olozaga asked the president of the council, if the editors of papers charged with spreading disheartening reports, were to be tried by martial law? M. Calatrava replied by declaring, that "patriotic" writers would have nothing to fear; an assurance which did not satisfy the other. M. Olozaga, however, gave ministers his support on the bill for authorizing them to levy immediately one moiety of the extraordinary war contribution; and when it was suggested, that in conformity with the rules of the House some delay should be allowed between certain stages of the bill, he

* According to a statement of the minister of war, the regular army amounted to 200,000 men, and the monthly expense 65,000,000 reals.

observed, that " those regulations were binding only in ordinary times." If the government insisted, the discussion on the report of the committee, should proceed without delay, " for," said he, " if we deny the ministers the resources they demand, how can they be answerable to us? My intention was to speak against the extraordinary war contribution bill, and to investigate all the acts of the government: but at present, such a proceeding would not be patriotic, and I give my full approbation to the report of the committee." M. Soler said, he should vote against the report, because he had no confidence in ministers. M. Mendizabal observed, that it was not surprising, that he inspired no confidence in M. Soler, since his own zeal for the suppression of abuses, was notorious, and he had not heard, that M. Soler had ever proposed a measure of the kind. " The first reform," retorted M. Soler, " which I should propose, would be to take the department of finance out of the hands of M. Mendizabal."

Espartero, summoned to the assistance of the capital,arrived on the 12th of August, and on the 13th, his division, consisting of between 10,000 and 12,000 men, entered Madrid, and marched past the Palace, in the presence of the Queen Regent and her daughter. The general had not yet taken the oath to the Constitution, and had thereby excited the hopes of the partisans of the Estatuto real. But as the column defiled beneath the balcony, on which their majesties stood, he uttered the cry of " Viva la Constitucion," which was repeated by the whole army. On the 15th, martial law ceased, the Carlists being in full retreat. And soon afterwards, Espartero, having been prevailed upon to take office in the Cabinet understood to be in a course of formation, returned to the duties of the campaign. The Calatrava ministry resigned on the 17th. Among the immediate causes of this event was reckoned their great unpopularity with the officers of the army. A large body of whom had, in fact, refused to act with their regiments, while the cabinet remained in power ; and Espartero, who was suspected to be privy to the transaction, was satisfied to punish their proceeding, by superseding the delinquents, and filling up their places by sergeants.

This event was noticed in the Cortes, by M. Madoz, who, on the 18th, moved a vote of censure on the behaviour of the seventy-two officers, whose insubordination, he said, had brought about the dissolution of an administration, which the votes of the Cortes had failed to overturn. He attributed the whole transaction to Carlist intrigues. The motion was opposed as useless and irregular, and was subsequently withdrawn by the proposer, but not before general Seaone had delivered a speech, which made a very great impression both at the time and afterwards. He said, that as the friend and companion in arms of the count de Luchana (Espartero), some persons had supposed him privy to the late events; which, however, no one deplored more than himself. Although he had become captain general of old Castile, in consequence of a military insurrection ;* no one was more inimical to revolutions, and military revolutions in particular.

* See the volume for 1836, p. 372.

In a free and representative government, the soldier must be a mere machine, who neither thinks nor discusses, and should have ears only for the orders of his chiefs, and eyes but to see the enemy. Not a single honest man had taken part in the revolution of La Granja.

"I will now tell you," continued the general, "the cause of that scandalous occurrence, and why the soldiers allowed themselves to be deluded. The officers did not join in the events of La Granja, but encouraged them underhand, because they did not wish to quit Madrid, and to be led against the enemy. Those officers, whom I must stigmatize as cowards, although they have given some proofs to the contrary, beheld their captain general (M. Seaone) with his breast open, intreating the rebels to fire upon him, and yet not a single one of them came forward to aid him in quelling the insurrection. I alone put an end to it. The officers silently approved of it. In the scenes of La Granja, when a brutal soldiery tumultuously surrounded the throne of a queen, did a single officer make an offer to defend her?" With respect to the late revolt of the officers, he could inform the House, that the count de Luchana had mentioned to him in private, that some agitation was observable among his troops, and had enquired, if the ministry was popular. His reply was, with all the frankness of a father addressing a son, that such questions were beyond his (Luchana's) sphere, and that all he had to do, was to mount on horseback, repair to the quarters of the disaffected, and blow out the brains of the first man who uttered a seditious cry. The count de Luchana had displayed no energy whatever. Had he (Seaone) been in his place, he would rather have lost his life, than have permitted sixty officers to dictate to the country. He defended the late cabinet, who, to his personal knowledge, had repeatedly assured the queen of their readiness to resign their functions to whomever she thought more worthy of filling them: but the pretext, put forward by the revolters, was entirely groundless, as her majesty had ever been at liberty to call whomever she pleased to her councils. "No," concluded the general, "such was not their real object; their desire was to return to the court, and to enjoy the pleasures of the capital. A year ago, I said the same thing in the presence of three battalions of the guard, and they knew that I was telling the truth."

This speech gave, as was natural, great offence to the officers of the guards, who by way of reprisal, abused general Seaone in one of the newspapers. The general rejoined in another journal, in no very conciliatory strain, and stated that although, as general and deputy he had no answer to give to his assailants, he would lay aside his rank for the occasion, and hold himself ready to answer, as a gentleman, all who considered themselves offended. The result was, a *rencontre* between the general and M. Manzano of the guards, in which the former fell, severely wounded. Nor did the count de Luchana remain silent, he published a long vindication of his own conduct, accompanied with severe strictures on M. Mendizabal. With respect to the conduct of the guards, he admitted that the officers of the 1st brigade were not altogether free from blame but denied that they merited the

unmeasured terms in which Seaone had spoken of them. The Cortes, however, took side with Seaone, and, as a mark of their approbation, elected him president for the month; a step which gave great umbrage to the army.

The queen, by a decree dated the 18th of August, appointed the following ministers in the room of her late cabinet. Count de Luchana, minister of war and president of the council; M. Jose Maurel Vadillo, home secretary; M. Ramon Salvato, minister of justice; M. Pito Pizarro, minister of finance; and M. Evaristo San Miguel, minister of marine. Of these, M. Vadillo could not be prevailed upon to take office, and his place was filled up by M. Gonzales Alonzo. The count de Luchana declined the presidency of the council, which was thereupon placed in abeyance, but consented to undertake the war department for the present.

While these cabinet arrangements were in progress, the Cortes were engaged in deliberating upon a bill for clergy reform. Among other things, the measure would have established the primacy of the see of Madrid, and created four new bishopricsat Ciudad Real, Albaceto, Huelva, and Vittoria, suppressed a great number of sees altogether, and made considerable alterations in others. The clergy were to be paid by the nation. The salary of the archbishop, primate of Spain, was fixed at 150,000 reals (1,500*l.*) the other metropolitan bishops were to have each 120,000 reals (1,200*l.*), and each of the thirty-nine suffragans 80,000 reals (800*l.*) But the Cortes were dissolved, without this bill receiving the royal assent. The right of states to make ecclesiastical reforms without the concurrence of the Pope, was broadly asserted, during the debate, and met with no opposition.

The Cortes did not omit to signalize their disapprobation of the conduct of the officers of the guards, by an address to the queen regent, in which, the interference of the military in civil matters was denounced in strong language. On the 25th of August they sat with closed doors, when a scene of great excitement took place. Espartero was violently attacked, and Louis Philippe found an assailant, who threw the whole blame of what was passing upon him. M. San Miguel, the new minister of marine, after entering fully into the particulars of the late military revolt, informed the house that the guilty officers had come to a sense of their misconduct, and had implored the queen's forgiveness. The crown had availed itself of its prerogative, and moved by their entreaties, had directed the count de Luchana to reinstate them in the rank, which they had respectively forfeited. M. Pita Pizarro, as minister of finance, then addressed the Cortes, to whom, as home secretary, he had given so little satisfaction, and by way of propitiating their disposition towards him in his new capacity, assured them that he was then engaged in drawing up a financial statement, which he hoped soon to lay before them, and pledged himself solemnly, that no financial measure should be carried into execution by the cabinet, which had not previously obtained the sanction of the Cortes. Espartero's resignation of the war department was soon afterwards announced, as well as the succession of San Miguel to that office.

It will be recollected that at an

earlier period of the year, Espartero had guaranteed to the inhabitants of the Basque provinces, the maintenance of their "*fueros,*" or privileges. That promise gave offence to the Cortes, at the time, and it would seem that his declaration, that he had authority for giving it, was made unadvisedly, since the Cortes, in the beginning of September, decreed the abolition of the local parliaments in those provinces.

On the 5th of September, M. Pita Pizarro made his financial statement which exhibited calculations very different from those which M. Mendizabal had presented to the assembly. The deficit, according to M. Pizarro, would amount to 1,477,000,000, reals (14,770,000*l.*) which by the end of the year would, in all probability, be increased to 1,715,000,000 reals. To cover this, he saw no other alternative than to suspend all payments directed or authorised by the late administration; he also required to be empowered to raise the whole of the extraordinary war contribution, it being extended to Cuba and Porto Rico; to sell national property, and to contract loans.

Don Carlos was now, in the manner before described, advancing rapidly upon the capital, and once more it was found necessary to proclaim martial law, (11th of September) and to put the city in a state of defence. The frightened citizens again received assurances of relief from Espartero, and again he made his appearance in a city, which nothing but his approach had preserved from pillage. While these things were passing, the Cortes were calmly deliberating upon the liberty of the press, upon which, in the circumstances of the country, it was proposed to place some salutary restrictions. But in the intervals of their legislative toil, they assumed a military attitude; * and having formed themselves into two companies of infantry, regularly officered and appointed, took their part in the duties of the garrison, till the retreat of the Carlists, and the tranquillisation of the public mind, relieved them from their martial labours, and permitted them to return to their persecution of the unfortunate M. Pizarro, who seemed to be an object of unremitting hostility. However, a direct vote of censure upon that obnoxious minister was lost by a majority of 58 to 53. On the 22nd of September, they decreed that all Spaniards residing abroad in Europe without leave of government, and not taking the constitutional oath, within the next three months, should cease to be Spaniards, and be deprived of their decorations, honors, and pensions. General Seaone, having recovered from his wound, took the presidential chair, on the following day, amid the acclamations of the assembly.

The approaching elections, under the revised constitution, now fully occupied public attention. General Quiroga the captain general of the province, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Madrid, in which he assured them of his intention, with the means which he possessed, to protect the freedom of election; and to hand over all persons who should be guilty of violence, to the permanent council of war, to be tried within twenty four

* Mendizabal had for some time previously been amusing the citizens by mounting guard &c., as a private soldier of the national guard; having been a candidate for a captaincy, and failed.

hours of the arrest of the offender. The minister of the interior also issued a circular to the political chiefs of the provinces, in which he announced, that government meant to abandon thenceforward the indulgent and merciful system which had prevailed, and to leave all political offenders to the utmost rigour of the law.

But another ministerial change was at hand; a report of the finance committee, in which, "the presence of M. Pita Pizarro in the cabinet" was denounced "as highly dangerous and detrimental to the commonwealth," and various acts of that minister were strongly censured as unconstitutional, was carried by a majority of 84 against 27 votes in the Cortes, and led to his resignation and to the substitution of M. Jose Maria Perez in his room. At the same time, his colleagues in the several departments of war, justice, and the interior, retired from office. M. Balauzat, M. Castijon, and M. Raphael Perez were, at first, appointed to succeed to their vacant places. But of these, the two former, at once, refused to take office; and it was found impossible to arrange matters to the satisfaction of the new minister of finance, who ultimately made way for M. Seijas, an old clerk in that department, and who had gradually ascended, from the lowest station in the office, to the post of intendant of Madrid. M. Bardaji became president of the council, the war office was confided to General Ramonet, and M. Matavigil took the ministry of justice, while M. Ulloa went to the admiralty. These appointments were not very popular in themselves, and it was suspected, that the new ministers were not intended to be permanent, but merely to occupy the period which must intervene before the new Cortes would give the Regent an opportunity of once more having recourse to M. Pita Pizarro. Nor were the Cortes pleased with the terms of approbation, in which her majesty spoke of the services of that minister, in the decree which notified his abdication of office.

The elections began in the middle of October. In most of the large cities of the south, the ultra-liberals were, on the whole, unsuccessful. But the polls were thinly attended. At Cordova, a city of 45,000 inhabitants, no more than 282 electors presented themselves, and it was said, that throughout the provinces, hardly a tenth part of the citizens, entitled to the franchise, exercised their right. At Barcelona great excesses were committed, and one elector lost his life at the polling place. Yet the authorities seem to have thought it a favourable opportunity for striking a blow at the national guard of that city; and an ordinance to disarm that formidable body was issued, and strange to say, executed without opposition. On the whole the elections were considered favourable to the moderate party. Ten or twelve bishops were among the senators.

A discussion took place in the Cortes on the 26th of October, the result of which is not likely to promote public credit in Spain. In the year 1834, the house of Rothschild had entered into a contract, for the Almaden quicksilver, with the Spanish government, Toreno then being the finance minister. This contract turned out very profitable to the Rothschilds; and the Cortes, on the pretext of departure from the terms of the bargain by

the contractor, besides the allegation of fraud in the origin of the transaction, thought proper to annul it, nine members only voting in the negative against 104.

Among the senators selected by the Queen from the candidates presented to her, in pursuance of the provisions of the new constitution, were M. M. Calatrava, Ferrer, Arguelles, Bardaji; the dukes of Frias and Hijar; and M. Pita Pizarro. Generals Almadovar, Balauzat, Seoane, Quiroga, Espartero: and the archbishops of Valencia, Mexico, and Toledo. M. Mendizabal, a defeated candidate for the representation of Madrid in the second chamber, was passed over by her majesty, but, being almost at the head of the list of substitutes for that house, felt pretty secure of a seat in the new legislature, as several deputies of the capital were raised to the dignity of senators.

On the 1st of November a strange question was mooted in the Cortes; a deputy suggested the propriety of requesting from the Queen Regent some explanation respecting the real or alleged existence of a secret marriage, on the part of her majesty. The assembly, however, refused to entertain the motion. The Cortes were dissolved on the 4th., with no other ceremony, than the reading of a royal decree, to that effect, by the president of the council.

The new Cortes, consisting of two chambers, assembled on the 13th of November. On the 19th the Queen Regent, being accompanied by her daughter, opened the session with a speech of considerable length. Speaking of the quadruple alliance and the foreign relations of the kingdom generally, she said, "These monarchs (of England, France, and Portugal,) still favour our cause with as much interest as ever. To their generous assistance we owe, in a great degree, the safety of our frontiers, and of the vast extent of our coast, secured by the vigilance of the allied squadrons, exclusive of other efficacious and opportune aid which daily merits my most profound gratitude. Amongst the measures of the greatest advantage to our cause, are those adopted by his majesty, the king of the French, to prevent the exportation of warlike stores and provisions to the rebels, on the extensive line of the Pyrenees, as well as the permission given, in some instances, to some of our troops to pass through the French territory.

"The cabinets with whom we are not upon the same terms of amity, do not show themselves positively hostile to Spain, and it is to be hoped that, better informed by recent events so favourable to our arms, and the unanimous determination of all Spaniards to support to the utmost the throne of their queen, they will change their policy, especially when they shall have learned the atrocious conduct of the Pretender during his invasion of the centre of the monarchy." She then adverted to the recent steps taken to acknowledge the independence of the South American states, and to the treaties which had been the consequence. She noticed the existing misunderstanding between Spain and Sardinia, and expressed her desire to restore matters in that quarter to their former amicable footing. Speaking of the navy she must have rather surprised her hearers by a reference "to its proverbial zeal and constancy at all times." It was then protecting

"in the most satisfactory manner, the north coasts of the Peninsula and Catalonia," as well as the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and the Gulph of Mexico. She then called the attention of the Cortes to the projects of law reform in contemplation by the government. With respect to the conduct of the war, she said, "the rebels vanquished in the country which was the cradle, and is still the principal theatre of the war and insurrection, sought, in the provinces, the fortune that had abandoned them, but, pursued continually, and beaten in Catalonia and Valencia, they came, at last, and received, under the walls of the capital, the heaviest blow and the bitterest disappointment. Many of you witnessed the imposing spectacle which Madrid displayed when the enemy dared to present himself in sight thereof. I, also, witnessed that imposing spectacle. Never will the lively acclamations of patriotic enthusiasm be effaced from my memory, with which loyalty manifested itself, when, with my august daughter, I traversed the ranks of the gallant men who were so anxious to engage." After honourable mention of the services of the British squadron, and a remark on the military massacres of the year, she came to the subject of finance, which did not present so flattering a prospect as could be desired, but which should be one of the principal cares of her government.

This speech was received in silence, and it was clear that it made but an unfavourable impression. The queen was suspected of insincerity, and of a design to restore the estatuto real. Nor was she more favourably received by the assemblage in the streets, through which she passed to and from the Cortes, than within the walls of that assembly, and her appearance no where elicited a single cheer. She appointed M. Moscoso D'Altamira, president of the senate. The choice of the chamber of deputies fell upon the Marquis de Someruelos. The latter chamber, after a warm discussion, in which M. Lujan inveighed against the French government for allowing munitions of war to be supplied to the rebels, and M. M. Fontan and Olozaga attacked the ministers for their conduct in influencing the elections, voted an address to the Queen, which was a mere echo of the speech. This was considered to be an indication of the strength of the estatutista party in that assembly, and of a reaction in the public mind. The address itself was the composition of M. Martinez de la Rosa, whose speech in support of it was very favourably received.

On the 30th of November the ministers, as had been anticipated, resigned. A new cabinet was announced on the 16th December, of which the Count Ofalia (who had been a member of the Zea Bermudez administration) was the chief, with the foreign department. Espartero again accepted the war office, the functions of which were committed to General Espinosa in his absence. M. Mon became minister of finance, the Marquis de Someruelos went to the home-office, M. de Castro y Orosco was appointed minister of justice, and M. Canas of marine.

In the course of the autumn, the Moors, taking advantage of the distracted condition of Spain, invested Ceuta. And, although they failed to make any impression upon

the place, they distressed the garrison exceedingly by a land blockade. The English sent howitzers, rockets, and ammunition into the fortress from Gibraltar. But the Spanish government, notwithstanding the pressing demands of the garrison, which was hardly adequate to the defence of the works, and unable to act on the offensive against the blockading troops, afforded little, if any, assistance, till the Moors of their own accord raised the siege.

We may here mention that, by way of reprisal, for a similar act on the part of the Sardinian government, the ports of Spain were, by a royal order dated the 25th of July, closed against the Sardinian flag, and all diplomatic relations with that country suspended.

CHAPTER XVII.

PORTUGAL.—*Expectations of an Insurrection—New Tariff—Meeting of the Cortes—Discussion on the Eligibility of the Ministers—Queen's Speech—Unpopularity of the English in Portugal—Claims of British Auxiliary Troops—Budget—Debates in the Cortes—Resignation of Ministers—Difficulties in forming an Administration—New Cabinet—National Guards—Queen enceinte—Financial Difficulties—Prince Ferdinand's Unpopularity—Remechido—Guerillas—Military Insurrection in favour of the Charter—Measures of Government—Resignation of Ministers — Progress of Insurrection—Saldanha—Bom Fim—New Cabinet—Duke of Terceira joins Insurgents—New Ministers resign—Provisional Regency—Advance of Chartists—Baron das Antas—Suspension and Renewal of Hostilities—Accouchement of the Queen—Defeat of Chartists by Das Antas—Convention—New Cabinet—Alterations in the Constitution—Senate*—HANOVER.—*Accession of King Ernest—Letters Patent announcing the King's Intention to abrogate the Existing Constitution—Early History of Hanover—Constitutions of* 1819 *and* 1833—*Letters Patent abolishing the Latter— Protest of the Seven Professors—The Chambers of* BADEN, BAVARIA, *and* SAXONY *Protest against the Abolition of the Hanoverian Constitution* — PRUSSIA.—*Cholera—Death of Ancillon the Foreign Minister—Commercial Treaty with Holland—Policy in* POSEN—*Religious Differences—Archbishop of Cologne.*

IN PORTUGAL, the ministry which the revolution of September, 1836, had placed at the head of affairs, and whose power had been confirmed by the events of the November following, were not long in disappointing the hopes of the turbulent faction, to which they owed their elevation. Their tenure in office, being founded on the most exaggerated notions of the people's active supremacy, was quite inconsistent, with any rational administration of the government; and the hostility of the clubs, and the national guards, was soon provoked by what was considered a dereliction of the principles upon which they had accepted office. Early in January rumours of an intended insurrection excited great uneasiness in Lisbon, and the ministers increased their unpopularity with their

former friends by the recal of a large body of troops, from the province of Alemtejo, to the capital, under the command of the Baron de Bomfim. The Cortes were to assemble on the 18th of January, which was the day assigned, by general expectation, for the apprehended movement of the Septembristas. Sir William Gage, who commanded the British fleet in the Tagus, gave a verbal intimation to the English consul, that he had made arrangements for the protection of the British residents, and that in the event of any disturbance taking place, armed boats would be in readiness to convey them on board his squadron. Similar provision was, at the same time, made for the security of the merchant vessels in the harbour.

In the preceding year, a tariff of custom-house duties had been framed upon principles very popular with the large body of shopkeepers and mechanics in the capital. Its provisions were founded on the rudest and most unartificial notions of the restrictive system, and amounted to a prohibition, in many cases, of commodities and manufactured articles, not of Portuguese production. Some, however, of its articles were so extravagant, that the ministers displayed no alacrity in carrying them into execution, and their delay in this matter provoked a memorial from some battalions of their formidable friends, the national guards. This led to the desired effect, and the new tariff was published on the 14th of January, as about to come into operation on the 11th of April.

The 18th of January arrived, unaccompanied by the disturbances which had been anticipated, and the Cortes met without interruption. Their first business was to verify their respective qualifications, with other preliminaries of a similar nature. It will be recollected that the ministers had found it convenient to suspend that article of the constitution, which denies seats in the chamber to ministers of the Crown, and had been themselves returned as deputies for the city of Oporto. This illegal act naturally provoked much censure on all sides, and a debate took place on the eligibility of M.M Sa Bandeira, Passos, and Vieyra da Castro, the three ministers, who represented Oporto. The division, which ensued, was favourable to them, the numbers being

For their eligibility . .	44
Against it	17
Majority	27

M. Anselmo Braancamp was then elected president, and M. Manoel da Castro, vice-president, of " the sovereign congress," as it was styled, for one month only, conformably to the practice enjoined by the constitution.

On the 26th of January, the Queen, accompanied by her husband, Prince Ferdinand, proceeded in state to the Cortes, and delivered a speech from the throne, which commenced as follows, " Senhores, in satisfaction of the wish expressed by my subjects, I have convoked the general, extraordinary, and constituent Cortes of the Portuguese nation. It is now sixteen years, since Portugal witnessed the meeting of an assembly so distinguished as the present. The Cortes of 1821, keeping in view the ancient fundamental laws of the monarchy, and the new social necessities, framed a constitution which was spontaneously accepted and sworn to by my august grandfather of blessed memory. After a few months of experience, a

great part of the nation called for some alterations and modifications in the new fundamental law, in order to bring it into harmony with the principles of the other constitutional monarchies of Europe. The promise made by my august grandfather, in his proclamation of the 31st of May, 1823, could not be carried into effect, during the life of that venerable monarch. For this reason, the constitution of 1822, though lost as a fundamental law of these kingdoms, never ceased to live in the memory and the hearts of good Portuguese. On the accession of my august father to the throne, there existed almost no hopes of its speedy redemption. Nevertheless that generous and excellent prince, wishing to do honour to the memory of the king his father, and to fulfil a promise of so solemn a nature, published the constitutional charter of the 29th of April 1826, which the nation received with transports of the most ardent enthusiasm. But I must not reopen wounds not yet completely cicatrized, by calling to your recollection the horrors of a period of misfortunes and crimes. You all know the causes, which gave birth to the important events of the 9th and 10th of September. The worthy and excellent Portuguese nation were of opinion, that it was necessary to revert to the origin of all legal power; and for the remedy for their evils, and the relief of their sufferings, they have looked only to the wisdom of the constituent congress. It is with singular satisfaction, that I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the people; I trust, that you will make those alterations and modifications in our constitutional institutions, which the new wants and lights of the present day have rendered necessary. In this way you will consolidate public liberty, and public happiness, to accomplish which is the principle object of my thoughts and cares." Her majesty then adverted to the measures of the government during the recess of the legislative body, briefly directed the attention of the Cortes to the state of the public finances, and assured them of the concurrence of her government "in a system of rigorous economy."

On the following day, the Cortes assembled for the despatch of business. To a question put by Dr. Barjona, respecting the state of affairs in the kingdom of Algarve, and the progress of the Guerilla Remechido, M. Passos, the home secretary, replied, that the guerilla faction in Algarve was existing when the present ministers came into office, that the government were without money, troops, or national guards, to defend the revolution against its assailants in that quarter, and that no resource was left them, but an appeal to such as would generously and voluntarily enlist in the service of their country.

The address to the throne, in answer to the Queen's Speech, was referred to a committee, and another committee was deputed to take into consideration the changes to be introduced into the constitution.

The address was a mere paraphrase of the Royal speech. On the 11th of February the Cortes passed a vote, authorizing the Minister of Finance to contract a loan for 800 contos of reis in coin. But it was much easier to obtain the vote from the Cortes, than the money from the capitalists; and the very urgency of the occasion

added to the difficulty. Portugal was literally in a condition of bankruptcy, without money, or credit; while commerce, owing to the impending tariff, was completely at a stand.

In the mean time, the unpopularity of the English increased daily, and the ambition and selfishness of Great Britain were the constant themes of the popular press. The English Admiral, so odious were our countrymen, thought it necessary to issue the following general order to his captains. "The unsettled state of the country, and the differences known lately to have existed between her most faithful Majesty and her present Ministers, as well as the difficult position in which his Royal Highness Prince Ferdinand is placed with regard to the Portuguese people, and the great suspicion with which all foreigners he brought here into his service are viewed, renders it necessary, that the utmost caution should be observed by the English residing in Portugal, with respect to private interviews either with her most faithful Majesty, or her august consort, that neither the Government nor the people may have a pretext for entertaining any undue impressions of the intentions of England. It is therefore my most positive orders, that you do not yourself call at the palace, nor permit any officer under your command to do so, without my previous sanction." Lord Howard de Walden, the British Ambassador, continued, though in vain, his exertions to obtain justice for the officers and soldiers who had been in Don Pedro's service, and whose claims upon the Portuguese government remained unliquidated. In our preceding volume (page 408) some notice of those claims will be found, as well as of the kind of redress proffered by the Queen's government. A royal order now appeared (in March) which informed "the foreigners lately in the service of her most faithful Majesty," that if they were dissatisfied with the decision of the commissioners, to whom their claims stood referred, "the law was open to them." Those who are acquainted with the procedure and abominable corruption of the Portuguese courts of law, will know the value of this resource. By virtue of early treaties, repeatedly confirmed, the British residents in Portugal, and its dependencies, enjoyed many very valuable privileges, personal as well as commercial. These privileges now ceased to be respected, and while taxes were levied, which the British contended they were not bound to pay, they were restrained from carrying on retail trades, as they were entitled to do by law, and exposed to various similar encroachments. At the same time disputes were occasionally taking place on the river, between the crews of British vessels and the custom house officers.*

The administration still remained incomplete, several deputies,

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* On one occasion the people of the custom-house, having taken forcible possession of an English brig, and proceeded to discharge her cargo, under the pretence of some irregularity in the Captain's conduct, were driven out of her, in their turn, by an armed boat's crew, from a British Man of War. On another the crew of a boat belonging to a man of War, were, on their way from their vessel to the land, compelled to submit to the indignity of a personal search, at the hands of the custom-house officers.

when offered a place in the government, declined, on the plea of the necessity they would thereby incur of vacating their seats; while others prudently determined to wait, till the constitution, as revised, had been finally arranged. M. Passos as Minister of Finance, presented his budget to the Cortes on the 20th of March, showing a deficit of about half a million sterling. He remarked that his predecessor, M. da Silva Carvalho had in his budget exhibited an annual deficit of 3000 contos of reis, but had speculated upon an increase of 800 under the future tariff, while he, M. Passos, had contented himself with taking the present revenue into account. The general estimate of income and expenditure, for the financial year from July the 1st 1837, to June 30th 1838, was as follows:—

INCOME.

	Reis.
Revenue from domains	513,593,688
Direct imposts.	2,710,365,501
Indirect ditto.	4,093,997,947
Miscellaneous revenues	1,832,447,943
Amount of one third of a loan, made for husbandmen, in conformity with the law of October 4th 1834	143,957,660
Total	9,294,362,753

EXPENDITURE.

PART 1.

	Reis.
General charges	4,556,447,842

PART 2.

Ministry for the Home department	1,349,176,591
Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice	454,244,536
Ministry for War	2,963,460,540
Ministry for Naval Affairs	989,727,830
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	203,664,200
Total	11,217,596,366
General deficit	1,923,233,613

In the course of his financial exposition, M. Passos admitted, that he had increased the expenditure of the state, in some departments; for instance, in the Pantheon alone, he had laid out a considerable sum. He had thought it requisite to establish a school for the fine arts, in order to create emulation, and an ambition to compete with foreign Industry. The disbursements of the board of Public works and the custom-houses, were also augmented, as he considered it impossible that these offices could be well con-

ducted, when the persons employed were not properly paid. For the theatres there was likewise an increase of expenditure, as he advocated innocent amusements, which tend to the refinement of the public taste.

The 11th of April the day appointed for putting the new tariff into operation, was now near at hand. The reluctance of the Ministers to see it in force was notorious. They were convinced of its impolicy, but such were the prepossessions of the multitude in its favour, that it was conceived, that even a temporary delay, for the purpose of giving the Cortes an opportunity of reconsidering it, was too dangerous an expedient to be adopted. All that remained, therefore, was the hope, that at some not distant period, it might be possible to introduce modifications, which should in some degree correct its noxious tendencies. However, the islands of Madeira, and Porto Santo were provisionally exempted from some of its articles, and the governor, in the mean time, directed to appoint a commission, to enquire, with as little delay as possible, in what respects the tariff, on account of the peculiar circumstances of that province, required to be modified. The Cortes at home, appointed a permanent committee, for the purpose of taking the whole subject into consideration.

The *Triumvir* cabinet surrendered the reins of government, rather sooner than had been anticipated. The difficulties which they met with in their attempts to fill the vacant posts in the ministry, as well as the reproaches of their democratic allies, and the financial embarrassments which beset them, naturally disposed them to seek an occasion to retire from office, which in the present posture of affairs had few substantial charms. The ostensible cause of their resignation was the unfavourable turn of a debate upon the navy estimates in the month of May, which occupied three days, and was not conducted without a good deal of violence on all sides. In the course of the discussion, a point had arisen as to whether the ministers should be indulged with paid under secretaries of state. The chamber divided upon the question, when the numbers were—for ministers 39, against them 47—majority against them 8. After this defeat, the ministers, at once, waited upon the queen with their resignations. They were accepted, and M. Dias de Oliveira, the president of the Cortes for the month undertook, at her Majesty's request, the task of forming another cabinet. M. de Oliveira was for a long time, unsuccessful in his endeavours to effect the desired arrangement. Indeed it seemed to be the determination of a large party in the Cortes, and out of it, to make the formation of any cabinet whatever a matter of impossibility ; the queen at length had recourse to a very simple expedient to surmount the difficulty. She communicated to the Cortes the embarrassment of her condition, and submissively requested them to appoint a ministry, since she herself was not permitted to frame one. This frank declaration had its effect. The Cortes were flattered and propitiated, and assured her Majesty, that nothing could be farther from their intentions, than such an invasion of the Royal prerogative. Upon this encouragement M. Dias de Oliveira renewed his negotiations, and at length, on the 1st

of June, the following appointments were announced. M. Antonio Dias de Oliveira, president of the council, and Home Secretary, and (ad interim) minister of justice. (This gentleman was a lawyer of considerable private fortune.) M. Manoel de Castro Perreira e Mesquita, minister of foreign affairs. The viscount de Bobeda, minister of war, and (ad interim) marine. M. Joao de Oliveira (a Madeira landholder) minister of Finance. This latter was objected to by the ultra liberal party, as having signed a protest against the revolution of September.

The new ministers published a manifesto, which assured the nation of their entire devotion to the existing constitution, and in very general terms, stated their intentions and views. "Advancing," said they, "with prudence and moderation, but also with firmness and energy, our endeavours will be directed, especially towards the maintenance of public order, tranquillity, and individual security, which are, in the opinion of government, the only means to ensure legal liberty, and the advantages of a constitutional monarchy. Public credit, and the affairs of finance, require our most serious and particular attention, as also the fate of all public officers, towards whom the present administration will proceed with the greatest circumspection; bearing in view their good services, their social and moral conduct, and never dismissing them from their employments, without strong, just, and reasonable motives."

It soon became a matter of discussion in the Cortes, whether, by their acceptance of office, the new ministers were to be considered as having vacated their seats, as deputies. This question was settled in the affirmative, and an arrangement was made, by virtue of which ministers enjoyed the right of speaking in the Cortes, without being allowed to vote; their seats, in the meantime, being occupied by their substitutes, to be resumed upon their abdication of office. Another question arose with respect to the deputies for the colony of Mozambique, who had been returned while the charter of 1826 was in force, and whose functions might therefore be thought to have determined; but after much debating, they were permitted to retain their seats, on the understanding, that no part was to be taken by them in the discussions on the reform of the Constitution.

Since the revolution of September, the garrison duty in Lisbon had been supplied by the national guard. A very onerous service to handicraftsmen and shopkeepers, and from which, with the return of tranquillity in the city, many very naturally desired to be released. A petition was accordingly circulated for signature, calling upon the government to take their case into consideration, and to recall the regular troops. This step, however, gave great offence to the *ultras,* and to a few individuals, whose insignificance derived a transient relief from their rank and influence in the national guard.

On the 3rd of July, the pregnancy of the queen was officially announced, and the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon was requested by the president of the Council to give directions, "that in all parish and patriarchal churches, as also in the cathedral, prayers be offered up *pro felici partu* at all high and low masses."

The condition of the finances was becoming every day more hopeless. The public coffers were quite empty; and it was in vain, that both ministers and private persons, exhausted their ingenuity in devising means for their replenishment. Loans it was almost impossible to negociate on any, even the most disadvantageous terms, and of taxes and duties, old as well as new, the little that could be extracted from the people, became still less, before it found its way into the exchequer. All public servants, down to the poorest clerks, remained unpaid; and the national indigence was such, that the Cortes were at times, for lack of money and credit, compelled to dispense with the services of their printer. Under these circumstances, the queen made a voluntary cession of 60,000 contos of reis (12,000*l.* sterling), from her allowance—a sacrifice which the Cortes accepted, with the proper acknowledgments.

The queen's consort, the prince Ferdinand, had never been popular with the people of Lisbon. His conduct had, perhaps, from the first, not been altogether judicious, though more blame may be due to his advisers, than to the prince himself. Nothing could be more impolitic than his assumption of the office of commander-in-chief, in defiance of the popular clamour; and there seems to have been more of frankness, than of wisdom, in the little pains he took, to conceal his distaste for the new order of things. The consequence was, that he was not unfrequently exposed to insult, and even menaced with violence in public; all which he seems to have treated with a good humoured indifference.

Portugal, in one respect, more fortunate than Spain, was not the victim of an organized civil war. But there was no want of guerillas, swarming in every district, and combining the callings of the Partizan and the Bandit. In the South, the formidable chief Remechido had collected a considerable force, and ravaged the country at discretion, seldom or never molested by the queen's troops, and constantly enlarging the circle of his operations.* Such, indeed, was the impunity which the Miguelite bands enjoyed, that, in the month of May, they made their appearance between Cintra and the capital, and it was found necessary to protect the communication between the two places by military posts.

The revision of the Constitution, as recommended by the Committee to whom it had been referred, was, of course, a very prominent subject of deliberation in the Cortes. The debates, however,

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* The following curious receipt was given by this freebooter's aide-de-camp to the agent of the tobacco contractors at a small town, which he visited, "by order of the most illustrious and most excellent Senhor José Joaquim de Souza Reis Remechido, Brigadier of the royal armies of his majesty, our Sovereign, Don Miguel I, governor of the kingdom of Algarve, commander-in-chief of the royalist forces south of the Tagus, and knight commander of the Tower and Sword, I declare to have received from the most illustrious Senhor Joao Martins de Matta, of the village of Grandola, 1 pound of paper cigars, 4 pounds, 12 ounces of roll tobacco, 48 quarter pounds of cigars, 6 and a half pounds of smoking tobacco, and 31,200 reis in coin (6*l.* sterling), all from the shop of the said most illustrious administrator, for whose discharge I have passed, and signed, the present receipt, at Grandola, the 5th of December, 1837. Marcalo Jose Espada aide-de-camp and secretary, ad interim."

diffuse and violent as they often were, led to scanty results, and the business proceeded very slowly, till it was interrupted by an event which, for a time, occupied the attention of all Portugal.

During the spring and summer, rumours of an intended movement on the part of the chartists had been in frequent circulation, and however vague and undefined in themselves, they were sufficient to keep up a good deal of uneasiness in the public mind. A military rising in the northern provinces, towards the middle of July, proved that these presages were too well founded. The revolt began in the neighbourhood of Braga, where a battalion of Caçadores imprisoned their officers, and proclaimed the charter. This event was immediately followed by the appearance in arms of the baron de Leiria, (general Vasconcellos) who issued a proclamation, and was not long in collecting a considerable body of troops, with which force he took possession of Valença.

When telegraphic intelligence of this insurrection arrived at Lisbon, the government sent orders to the baron de Almargen, the military governor of Oporto, to put his disposable force into movement. At the same time, the viscount Sa da Bandeira (the late minister) embarked in a steamer for Oporto with 500 men, having been appointed to the lieutenantcy of the northern provinces. At a council of the ministers, held on the 13th of July, they decided to take upon themselves to issue instructions to M. Francisco Soares de Caldeira, the civil governor of Lisbon, (styled the Lusitanian Lafayette) to arrest about ten individuals of the city upon whom suspicion had fallen. This functionary thought he could not do better than entrust the execution of this duty to the "arsenal battalion" of the national guard; a corps distinguished for its ultra-revolutionary propensity, and which in this instance, did full justice to its reputation for turbulent violence, by taking into custody whomever it thought proper; while in its zeal to extend the limits of its mission it permitted the original culprits to make their escape.

On the 14th the ministers obtained an indemnity from the Cortes, on account of the measures which, in the exigency of the moment, they had been compelled to adopt; and a bill was immediately passed, for investing them with extraordinary powers, during the present crisis. It provided for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and liberty of the press, and empowered the government to raise by whatever means they might think proper, a sum amounting to 500,000*l.* sterling.

The police and national guards displayed great activity in making arrests, and amongst others, the baron de Campanhaa, one of the prince's aides de camp, was seized, under the very windows of the palace, and carried off to prison. The prince sent an aide de camp to request his release, pledging his word for his appearance, whenever it should be required, but met with nothing but a rude, and indeed brutal refusal.* A deputation from the Cortes with an address on the present state of affairs waited upon the queen, who replied in general terms.

* Among the individuals arrested at this time on suspicion of being concerned in the revolt was General Bacon, an English officer, who had served with some distinction in Don Pedro's army.

Meanwhile the Marquis de Saldanha had declared for the insurgents, and seized Coimbra, and the adjacent villages. Here he was joined by the baron de Setubal (General Schwalbach) who was in command of a small body of men, and by several other persons of credit and distinction. His force altogether did not, it is said, exceed 760 infantry and 530 cavalry, besides a numerous staff. As soon as his troops had taken possession of the place, and marched off to the quarters assigned them, he proceeded to review the national guard, whom he formed into a hollow square, and harangued from the centre, with great effect, eliciting hearty cheers for the queen, the charter, and Saldanha, "the saviour of his country."

That nothing might be wanting to complete the public confusion, the ministers, probably distrusting the politics of the court circle, thought proper to tender their resignations in a body. However, with the exception of M. Dias de Oliveira, their chief, whose health was feeble, they were persuaded to retain their portfolios, till a fresh arrangement could be accomplished.

An incident, which took place in the Cortes, may be mentioned, as exemplifying the extreme prejudice entertained by the ultra-popular faction against the English. A member had censured the government for not availing themselves of the services of a British steamer, which happened to be in the harbour, for the transport of troops to the north. M. Dias de Oliveira, replied, that the opportunity had not escaped the notice of the government, but that the Viscount Salda Bandeira had declined to embark his troops in a British vessel, as he conceived it quite possible, that the master might carry him and his 500 men to a different port.

While these things were passing at Lisbon, Sa da Bandeira invested the Chartists in Valença without effect. From Coimbra, Saldanha, on his part, had moved upon Leiria, on the road to Lisbon, his force accumulating as he advanced, and on the 19th of August he was at Rio Major, having passed through Alcobaça, and Caldas, and increased his division to 1300 infantry, and 670 cavalry. The baron de Bom Fim, who commanded the constitutionalists in this quarter, felt himself too weak to make any active demonstration upon the Chartists, and was satisfied to observe their movements at a safe distance.

Early in August, the following new ministerial arrangement was announced in Lisbon. The Viscount Sa da Bandeira was reappointed to the presidency of the council, with the department of the marine. M. Julio da Silva Sanchez went to the home-office, and M. Alexandro de Campos, became minister of justice. M.M. Joao de Oliveira, and Bobeda, retained their departments of finance and war; but Sa da Bandeira being absent, it was uncertain whether he would accept office.

On the 18th of August, the Duke of Terceira, publicly quitted Lisbon, followed by 500 persons, many of them of the first distinction, and established himself at Mafra. It is said, that he took with him no less than forty horses, from the royal stables at Belem, a circumstance, if true, which coupled with the fact of his having paid his respects to the queen im-

mediately before his departure, very naturally gave rise to a suspicion, that the court was privy to his plans. Under this impression the new cabinet waited upon the prince collectively, and requested him to submit their resignations to her majesty, whom they were unwilling to disturb in consideration of her delicate condition of health. Their resignations were accepted by the queen, upon the understanding, that they were to continue in the exercise of their functions, during the interval that must elapse before their successors could be found.

At this time, desertions on the part both of the national guards and the troops of the line were going on to a very alarming extent at Lisbon, while the ultra party on their side spared no means to excite and infuriate the populace.* But while the Cortes within doors, and the demagogues without, were scolding and threatening, Terceira and Saldanha had effected a junction, and were rapidly advancing upon Lisbon. They were at Torres Vedras on the 21st of August, and having, in conjunction with Mousinho de Albuquerque, constituted themselves a provisional regency, they issued a long proclamation, in which the evils of the revolution of September were recapitulated and their own purposes and desires set forth. The Cortes on their part published a still longer manifesto.

The Chartists troops had at one time advanced as far as Loires, within eight miles of Lisbon, to the considerable inconvenience of the national guards, who were called from their exertions in the streets, and from the persecution of suspected Chartists, to active service night and day in the lines. A duty so distasteful, that not half the number was forthcoming, though default was threatened with imprisonment and an amercement of dollars.

The constitutionalists engaged in the siege of Valença, finding that they made no impression, but on the contrary suffered severely from the fire and the sorties of the garrison, retired to Oporto.—On the other hand Saldanha and Terceira fell back upon Villafranca from Loires. On the 26th of August, the baron de Bom Fim was at Leiria, and the baron de Casal at Santarem, with the intention of

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* A Proclamation was placarded in Lisbon, which contained the following, amongst other passages in a similar strain: "Let us imitate the Frenchmen of July, and the barricades of Paris. To arms! you have chiefs, a patriotic club watches over your safety. Artisans, people of Lisbon! war to the death against the devoristas. When those murderous Janissaries approach our walls, let their palaces be reduced to ashes, as it happened to the splendid habitation of the infamous archbishop of Paris. There is no lack of combustibles at the arsenal and in the druggists shops; they must be sought for every where.

"Portuguese! you are going to combat the dilapidators of the national property, the men of compensations and loans—a gang of thieves and miscreants, who proclaim the abolition of tariffs, and the burning down of your manufactories. Let your weapons be whatever comes to hand, daggers, knives, sticks, pikes, stones, all will serve to beat down the enemy, and if any miserable wretches, in any public department, should dare to utter cries of anarchy or terror, immolate them promptly, and make barricades of their bodies." The sentiments contained in this manifesto, of course disgusted reasonable men of all parties, and M. Soares Caldeira issued a counter proclamation condemning it in strong terms.

a combined movement upon the Chartists. Meantime the viscount Das Antas, who was in command of a Portuguese auxiliary division in Spain, was understood to be in full march to the frontiers, with a view to act against the insurgents. His march was preceded by a letter to the queen, dated from Burgos, which was signed by all his officers, and expressed the intention of the army, "to hasten to reiterate their oaths to her majesty, and to the fundamental law of the monarchy, which had been sworn to by all Portugal, subject to those modifications, which harmonizing with the national dignity and a full recognition of all the rights of the throne, a wise and just system of representation could not fail to secure."

The Chartist generals sent a letter to Bom Fim, in the name of the provisional regency, summoning him to place at their disposal all the forces at his command, "without the least delay or tergiversation," and threatening him with the consequences of "an obstinacy as criminal as it was hopeless."—This paper was dated Torres Vedras, the 20th of August. Bom Fim, of course, transmitted it to the secretary at war, adding that the rebels "did not cease to importune him, notwithstanding the contempt with which he had treated their writings." On the 28th of August the contending parties met at St. George, near Carvalhos. The transactions, that ensued, are strangely enveloped in much mystery, but the following seems to be a tolerably correct outline of what actually took place. After a musketry engagement of two hours duration, Saldanha seized a favourable opportunity for sending his cavalry against the enemy, who were much inferior in that arm; and the troops were actually charging, when they perceived that the Constitutionalist horse, so far from presenting a hostile front, were about to receive them with undrawn swords, and cheers for the charter of 1826. Upon this they pulled up their horses, exclaiming that they could not cut down their unresisting comrades. At this moment Bom Fim seeing his men waver, not only in their military but their political disposition, galloped forwards towards the duke of Terceira, and called out to him, in God's name, to spare the effusion of Portuguese blood; for that he was prepared to meet him in an amicable settlement of their differences. The duke consented, and according to the Chartist accounts, the troops of Bom Fim were only prevented from at once declaring for Saldanha, by the entreaties of their officers, who represented to them the disgrace they would incur by going over to those who were still the enemy; though terms were on the point of being agreed upon, and the moment was at hand, when they might join them without dishonour. The troops yielded to this appeal, but yet, for the instant, the two armies were intermingled. Both armies then formed again on their respective positions, and according to the terms of the armistice which ensued, Bom Fim retired to Leiria and Saldanha took up his quarters at Alcobaça; here he remained a couple of days to await the result of the negotiations, which on the 30th of August were opened at Aljubarrota.

The following was the proposal of the Chartist commissioners:—That the constitutional charter of the monarchy accepted and sworn

to by the nation in 1826, and subsequently reconquered from the usurper, should be proclaimed as the law of the kingdom, and that the Cortes, who might be elected thereby, should be empowered to take into consideration any reforms that it might be thought necessary to introduce, according to the regulations and forms, stipulated in that instrument. No intention, it was added, was entertained by the Chartists to dismiss from their situations any civil or military officers, or to reinstate such as had been dismissed, since the revolution of September; nor to repeal any legislative enactments, respecting the finance of the country, since that period. To these terms the commissioners on the other side replied, that they could not admit any proposals touching the alteration of the present political system, as proclaimed by the nation, and accepted by her majesty; a system that could only admit of change by the sovereign congress itself. It was therefore found impossible to come to an arrangement. The baron de Bom Fim intimated to Saldanha that the armistice was at an end.

Both parties now resumed a hostile attitude. Saldanha made a forced march upon Santarem, which he was on the point of entering, on the 4th of September, when despatches from the baron de Leiria, who was then moving upon Oporto, induced him to change his route, and advance to Coimbra. Bom Fim marched into Santarem on the same day, and quitted it the next.

The movements and intentions of Das Antas were, at this time, a matter of anxious speculation to all parties. It has been already stated, that despatches had been received from this general, which announced his approach to the frontiers of Portugal. The ministers, however, whether moved by the entreaties of the Spanish government, who wished the troops to remain in Spain, or, which is more probable, distrusting the general, and his division, sent orders to him to remain where he was. These orders, however, "for reasons," said the minister of the interior, "which the ministry did not exactly know, and of which it was not then proper to speak," though despatched on the 12th of August, did not reach Das Antas, till the 25th, by which time, he and his division were very near the frontiers. The communication of the order to remain in Spain, was the signal for insubordination; and one of the three columns, in which the division marched, raised a cry of "to Portugal, to Portugal!" Accordingly, they took the road to Braganza, in considerable disorder, proclaiming, it is said, the charter as they went. But the main body of the division, 2,000 strong, remained in obedience to its commander, who, nevertheless, continued his march upon Portugal, without letting it be known what he meant to do upon his arrival at the scene of action. It was, however, currently rumoured, that he was favourable to Saldanha's party.

In the midst of all these troubles, the queen was safely delivered of a prince on the 16th September. The birth of an heir to the throne conferred on prince Ferdinand a right to the title of king, and as such he was addressed by the Cortes, when they tendered him their congratulations on the auspicious occasion.

The inhabitants of Lisbon were still full of anxiety; terrified with

reports of the increasing power of the Chartists, and in hourly expectation of learning the defection of Das Antas, they were astonished by the intelligence that the rebellion was at an end. Saldanha and Terceira had been routed by Das Antas, and in their discouragement, had abandoned any farther contest. The action, which led to this decisive result, took place on the 18th of September, not far from Chaves. The Chartists, it seems, were posted* in a strong position, in front of the village of Ruivaes; this Das Antas contrived to turn by a flank movement, while he attacked it in front. After some hard fighting, the Chartists were compelled to give way, and soon dispersed in all directions; and here ended the campaign. On the next day, the defeated generals sent a message to Das Antas, to request a personal interview, "in which, without effusion of blood or destruction of their comrades, they might be enabled, with honour to themselves, to put a stop to the misery which surrounded them." Das Antas replied, that the question of stopping farther effusion of blood rested with them. The only terms he could admit as the preliminary of any subsequent arrangement, were, that the forces, under their command, should submit themselves to the queen's government, and lay down their arms. On the 20th September, a convention was signed, of which the principal articles were to the following effect. All the troops under the orders of the duke of Terceira, and the marquess Saldanha, as well at Chaves, as at Valença and elsewhere, were to remain at the disposal of her majesty. The Portuguese officers, of whatever rank, who were not principals in the revolt, were to retain their pay and rank, but to be no longer considered as forming part of the effective army. The officers, who were known as principals in the revolt, were to quit Portugal. The benefit of these articles was extended to officers taken prisoners.*

It is impossible not to admire the moderation, good feeling, and good sense, on both sides, which the articles of this capitulation display. Less could hardly have been required by the victorious party, or accepted by the vanquished. Indeed, the whole history of this little civil war is very far from discreditable to the Portuguese character, and affords a pleasing contrast to the savage proceedings in the other part of the Peninsula.† A similar disposition to moderate and conciliatory measures marked the demeanour of public men at Lisbon. Das Antas, however, flushed with triumph, issued a very grandiloquent proclamation, of which the following passage, directed against England, is the only one of much

* According to some accounts, only an advanced body of the Chartists was engaged under de Leiria, who was waiting at Ruivaes for Saldanha with instructions to avoid fighting; and Saldanha himself did not come up till the action was over.

* The barons Setubal and Leiria, refused to assent to this convention, and retired upon the Spanish frontier with a body of troops, attracting, from time to time, numerous deserters from the Constitutionalists, national guards, as well as regulars, to their colours.

† The Chartist generals were, however, blamed by many of their friends for so soon abandoning the contest; but surely the difference between the two parties was not such as to justify a prolonged civil war.

interest. "We have recovered our ancient rights, in despite of the infamous policy, and pernicious golden influence of the ministry of a powerful nation, which, from her insular position, would willingly reduce all others to vassalage, and would corrupt, as she formerly has done, our patriotism, and make us cringe to her caprices, acting towards us as a conquered colony."

The sentiments expressed in this offensive paragraph, were, however, promptly disavowed by the government. A circular was sent to the members of the diplomatic corps, reprobating in the severest terms, "expressions attributed to the gallant general Das Antas, utterly unworthy of his noble and elevated character, and extremely unjust and offensive, if they be intended to allude to the British government."

The Cortes now resumed their deliberations on the reforms of the constitution. The important question of a second chamber came before them, and after long and sharp debates on the various plans presented to their notice, it was decided, by a majority of five, that the senate should be temporary, and elected by the people. It was thought, that the recent insurrection had given public opinion an unfavourable turn on this question, and that, but for that occurrence, the second chamber would have been composed of persons at least appointed for life, and that even the principle of hereditary succession might possibly have been carried.

Sa da Bandeira returned to Lisbon in triumph, the approach of the steamer, which conveyed him, was announced by a discharge of rockets, and he was received, on landing, by nearly all the officers of the national guards, in full uniform, amidst loud acclamations. Das Antas who arrived shortly afterwards, met with similar honours.

Negotiations, for a new ministerial combination, had been for some time on foot. On the 10th of November, the following appointments were gazetted. The Viscount Sa da Bandeira, president of the council, and minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron de Bom Fim, the Admiralty, and (ad interim) the War office, Julio da Silva Sanchez, Home Secretary, Alexander Jose de Campos, minister of Justice, and Joao de Oliveira, of Finance. This announcement seemed to give general satisfaction; the men were not unpopular in themselves, and the public was disposed to be pleased with any arrangement that wore an appearance of permanence. Das Antas took his seat in the Cortes, as deputy for Vianna, and delivered an harangue, not remarkable for modesty, on his own prowess and patriotism. He then set out for Oporto, to resume the command of his division.

The following is the constitution of the Senate, as it was finally arranged. The members of the Senate were required to be of the age of 35, and to possess about 300*l.* per annum, in land or funded property. A certain military or diplomatic rank was also admitted as an official qualification. It had been proposed, that all Princes of the blood, on attaining the age of eighteen, should take their seat as Senators, but after a debate, it was decided, that the privilege should be limited to the hereditary Prince. The number of Senators was to consist of fifty, to be elected in triplicate, by the people; and the Crown was to select one of

the three names from each list. The senators were to keep their seats for six years, no nomination was to take place without a vacancy, nor any individuals to be appointed whose name was not found on the electoral lists; except such as should have rendered important services to the nation, in which case, an appointment might be made by the Crown, with the consent of the Legislature.

While the nations of the Peninsula were thus victims of internal dissensions, the happy termination of which seemed daily to become less practicable, the other continental kingdoms continued to enjoy almost undisturbed tranquillity. Among the states of Germany, the only exception to this remark is to be found in the instance of HANOVER, a country whose long connexion with our own, may be thought to give us a peculiar interest in its affairs. By the law of that state, the Crown devolves in the male line; William the fourth, therefore, was succeeded by Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, his eldest surviving brother, who was proclaimed King of Hanover, on the 24th of June, and four days after, arrived in his capital. In his reply to the complimentary address, of the chief magistrate of the city, the King contented himself with expressing his love for a land, and a town, in which he had passed his youthful days: and promised to be a just and a gracious King, to the Hanoverians. One of the first acts of his reign, was to prorogue the general assembly of the states of the kingdom.

The *Letters Patent*, by which, in conformity with the constitutional practice, the King announced his accession to the throne, appeared on the 8th of July, and afforded his Majesty an opportunity of communicating to his subjects his intention of superseding the existing constitution. "We do not hesitate to declare," was the language of this somewhat remarkable document, "that we cannot find in the constitution, (which neither in form nor substance is binding on us) a sufficient guarantee for the permanent prosperity of our faithful subjects. Your welfare it will be our most earnest endeavour to promote, according to the duties imposed upon us by divine Providence. Meantime it is far from our intention to take our Royal resolution on this important matter, without a careful examination of all the circumstances. It is, on the contrary, our Royal will, to devote the most careful consideration to the question, whether, and how far, a modification of the constitution must take place; or whether the constitution should be brought back to what it was before the promulgation of the present constitution; after which, we shall convoke the general assembly of the States, and impart to them our Royal resolution. Our faithful subjects formerly enjoyed happiness and satisfaction under the ancient hereditary constitution of the kingdom; a bond of attachment, and loyalty and confidence in their sovereign, descending from generation to generation, promoted the happiness of the sovereign, and the welfare of his subjects: we most earnestly wish to establish such a happy state of things."

This declaration of the "Royal will" attracted, as may be supposed, the attention of all Germany, and furnished ample matter for controversy. But the subject

will be better understood, if before proceeding farther, we take a short view of the constitutional history of Hanover.

It should be recollected, that the old Electorate now forms by no means the whole, but an unimportant part of the Hanoverian dominions. The present kingdom comprises, together with the Bishoprics of Hindelsheim, and Kalenberg, originally parts of the Electorate of Mentz, the estates of nobles, once members of the German Empire; a portion of the territories of the Hanseatic league; and the larger part of the country of the Diethmarsic confederation; and thus collects under a common sway the former vassals of feudal lords, and princely Ecclesiastics, with the members of republican and democratic confederations. Even of the original Electorate, the organization was far from being uniform. The several provinces composing it, seem each to have been possessed of its own assembly, consisting, for the most part, of representatives of the Prelates, Barons and Knights; as well as of the Towns. Thus the various divisions of the Electoral territory, clinging respectively to their old provincial laws, and practices, might in some sort be considered as so many confederate states, though acknowledging a common superior. The feudal customs and institutions which in Hanover, as in every other German state, prevailed in their full integrity of abuse, and inconvenience, were swept away at the period of the French occupation. On the expulsion of the Invaders in the autumn of 1813, every thing resumed, as nearly as possible, its ancient footing. The privileges of the nobles thus recovered, were, in themselves, odious and inconvenient, as well as quite inconsistent with the temper and habits of the age, Under the dominion of the French, hateful as it was, the inhabitants of Hanover had, for nearly six years, enjoyed advantages, which they could not lose, without a feeling stronger than regret. The invader had bestowed upon all classes, equality in the eye of the law, an impartial administration of justice, the equal partition of the burdens of the state, and an equal obligation, to military service.

With the return of the dynasty of Brunswick, these reforms gave way to the practices, which they had superseded, and considerable discontent ensued. To provide a remedy for the growing dissatisfaction of the people, it was resolved to convene a general diet. Under the old system, each of the provinces, into which the kingdom was divided, had, as has been remarked, its separate assembly. These it was now attempted to merge into one great assembly, to be composed of deputies from the several estates in the following proportions:

DEPUTIES

From the prelates and ecclesiastical foundations . . .	10
From the nobles and knights	43
From towns	29
Form certain districts, in which landed proprietors, not noble were privileged	3
In all	85

The representative chamber, thus established in 1814, was only provisional, and the constitution of 1819, was, in fact, the result of its deliberations. That constitution recalled the provincial assemblies into existence, while it confined their functions within very narrow limits, and divided the general diet, constituted as above, into two chambers, in the upper of which sat certain mediatised princes, the prelates, the nobility, and the knights; and in the lower, the deputies of the towns, ecclesiastical consistories, and the university, and a considerable increase of members from the free, though not ennobled, proprietors of land.

This constitution, however, seems to have been followed by no material change in the social system. The privileges of the nobles and the administrative and judicial abuses, remained with little or no alteration, and the French revolution of 1830, as it affected almost all Europe, so it led to an explosion of the discontents which had long been silently gathering. The popular movement, on this occasion, did not amount to much more than a riot at Göttingen, which town for a short time remained in possession of the students and insurgents; the revolt was easily suppressed, but the rulers of Hanover did not consider it prudent to disregard this indication of public feeling, and William the fourth, who had six months previously, ascended the throne, desired the states to apply themselves to a reform of the existing constitution; a concession which was followed by the resignation of Count Münster, a very unpopular minister

The plan recommended by the states, and submitted to the king in 1833, contained no considerable change in the organization of the legislature, with the one important exception of the proposed transfer of the equestrian order from the upper to the lower chamber. The introduction of a portion of the privileged class, among the representatives of the commons, was ardently desired by many, as a means of imparting to the lower house more consideration and influence than it then enjoyed. But the king replaced the knights in their former situation, and having made several other alterations in the draught of the constitution, with, as is alleged, a far fuller reservation of the royal prerogatives, than his predecessors had claimed, ordered the plan thus arbitrarily modified to be put in execution, without any further reference to the chambers, which he had already dissolved.

Under this constitution (being the same which king Ernest denounced, and eventually annulled) the frame of the legislative bodies was as follows. The upper house was composed of the king's sons, the heads of collateral branches of the royal family, certain great officers of state, noblemen, and ecclesiastical dignitaries; and thirty-five members elected from the knights. Besides, the king had the right to nominate an indefinite number of hereditary peers, and four occasional members for every session, for the express purpose of representing the interests of the crown. Ministers had admission to either house, *ex officio*, without the right of voting as such.

The lower chamber consisted of deputies from ecclesiastical constituencies, thirty-seven members for towns, and thirty-eight for the freeholders and peasants. It was

denied the privilege of refusing the supplies, but might reduce the items. Laws which concerned the entire kingdom were only to be issued, abrogated, changed, or authentically interpreted, with the consent of the general assembly of the states, which was to be annually holden. The ministers were responsible for every infringement of the laws, and in such case, were to be arraigned before the supreme court of justice.

It had been long contended, that the crown lands were the property of the state. A concession to that effect was engrafted in the new constitution, but accompanied by a condition, that the produce should be primarily applicable to the civil list.*

Whatever improvement the new constitution might exhibit, when contrasted with that which preceded it, it was open to a serious objection, of which king Ernest, who had been its enemy from the beginning, was not slow to avail himself. It was contended, that so far from being the joint act of the crown, and of the states, as it had been agreed, on all sides, that it should be, it had been materially altered by the king, who instead of returning it, with his amendments, to the states, for their ratification, had dissolved the legislature, and then promulgated the constitution thus arbitrarily moulded to his own sense of expediency. Whether or no this original defect was cured by the ratification which it received from a subsequent legislature, was one of the points of the controversy, which arose upon the subject.

It seems to be undeniable, that this constitution was valued by few. Of all the reforms, which had been anticipated, scarcely any took effect; for the aristocracy, entrenched in the upper house, refused to surrender the privileges, so oppressive to the community at large.* And when, in November, the king carried into effect the resolution which he had proclaimed in July, little exception was taken to the measure.

The grounds upon which Ernest founded his pretensions, and which form the main argument of his apologists, are fairly and distinctly set forth in the *Letters Patent* of the 1st of November.

"The general assembly of the states," proceeds that document, "according to the *letters patent* of December 1819, in their letter to the cabinet ministry of April, 1831, proposing the introduction of a new constitution, laid down the principle, that so important a work could be accomplished, only by the unanimous co-operation of the king and the estates. The government adopted this principle; consequently, the question was not of a constitution to be *given by the king*, but of one to be introduced *by a compact* between the king and the estates."

"But this principle of a joint

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* It seems, that the present king together with the duke of Sussex, and other *agnati*, entered a protest at the time against this transaction. But how far this protest extended, whether to the entire subject, or only to certain less material parts, such as the surrender of the crown revenues, we believe to be one of the points in dispute; nor do German jurists appear to be quite agreed as to the rights and powers of collaterals in transactions of this description.

* One of the first acts of the lower house was to vote about ten shillings *per diem* to each of its members during the session.

co-operation was violated in various points, for several of the proposals made by the general assembly of the estates, relative to the new constitution, did not receive the approbation of the royal government; but it was promulgated by the king on the 26th of September, 1833, with the changes, which the government deemed to be necessary and useful, *without their having been first communicated to the general assembly of the estates, and approved by them.*"

It is therefore evident, that the unanimous co-operation of the sovereign and the estates was wanting, with respect to those points contained in the new constitution, by which the constitution of 1819, *which had till then been recognised as in effective operation, was to be abolished.*

"The manner of introducing the constitution evidently contains an actual violation of the positive enactments of article 56 of the final act of the Vienna congress of 1820.* But the constitution is not only invalid, and consequently not binding upon us, generally speaking, when its origin is considered; but it contains several enactments and decisions perfectly invalid, and not binding on us, because they deeply prejudiced our rights as a collateral, and even essentially impaired our rights as a sovereign.

"Now, as we do not consider the constitution as valid, and binding on us, we cannot, in any way, treat with estates, convoked by virtue of this constitution, respecting the establishment of a new one.

"Under these circumstances, we thought it our duty, on the 30th of October, this year, to dissolve the general assembly of the estates, prorogued by us on the 29th of June, and now hereby declare, *that the legal authority of the constitution of the 26th of September, 1833, is extinct henceforth.* It naturally follows, from the ceasing of the said constitution, that the *general and provincial constitution,* which was in force till its promulgation, is again restored."*

The letters patent then went on to establish the legality of all laws and ordinances, promulgated under the repealed constitution, "till they should be abolished in a legal way." They announced his majesty's resolution, immediately to convoke, and to communicate his proposals to, the general assembly of the estates, according to the letters patent of the 7th of December, 1819; and presented the public with an outline of such proposals, which were in effect as follows:—1. The crown revenues were to contribute to the public expenditure. 2. The estates were to meet but once in three years, and the session not to exceed three months. 3. The crown might convene extraordinary meetings of the estates. 4. The functions of the provincial assemblies were to be enlarged. 5. An abatement of the tax on persons and trades, to the amount of 100,000 dollars annually, was promised. At the same time that these letters patent

* By which article it is provided, that a constitution established, and acknowledged, cannot be altered by other than constitutional means, that is to say, by consent of the existing authorities. But it was contended, on the other hand, that this article is limited, in its application, to constitutions *then* in existence.

* The passages in italics are so distinguished in the original document.

were issued, others appeared which informed the public of the dissolution of the cabinet ministry. These documents were countersigned by M. G. Von Schele, the prime minister.

Not long after the promulgation of the ordinance of November, seven professors of the university of Göttingen, which sends a deputy to the states, addressed a protest to the academical senate, declaratory of their resolution, to take no part in the ensuing election, by reason of the suspension of the constitution. This protest found an extensive circulation throughout Germany, and excited a lively interest. Three of the professors, whose names were attached to it, Dahlmann, Grimm, and Gervinus, were sent into banishment by a royal ordinance, as having been the most active in its promulgation; while the remaining four were dismissed from their professional functions. This led to disturbances at Göttingen; the students warmly espousing the cause of their professors; and the riots were not suppressed without military force. The lecture rooms of the other professors were deserted, and the business of the university suspended, while the exiles were accompanied across the frontiers by a very large band of students, so that their journey became a triumphant progress.

At Rothenkirchen the king received a deputation from the university; and the pro-rector delivered an address upon this occasion, which, if we are to receive as genuine, the version which appeared in the official journal,* condemned the conduct of the seven professors. This called forth a fresh protest from six other professors, who denied, that they had ever expressed themselves in terms of censure, with respect to their seven colleagues, or that they in any way concurred in the address presented to the king at Rothenkirchen.

The proceedings of the king of Hanover gave great disquietude to some of the legislatures of the minor states in Germany, who were conscious on how frail a foundation their own representative privileges were erected. The states of Baden voted that the abrogation of the Hanoverian constitution was in violation of the federal act of the Germanic league, and their example was followed by Bavaria and Saxony.

The kingdom of Prussia, in common with others of the eastern and southern parts of Europe, suffered severely from the cholera, which re-appeared, in the months of August and September.

The council of the king of Prussia was deprived, by death, in the month of April, of the services of M. Ancillon, the minister for foreign affairs, a statesman who possessed considerable influence with all parties in Prussia, and was equally distinguished as a man of letters and a minister of the crown. In the course of the year a commercial treaty was executed between Prussia and Holland, having for its object the entire abolition of all distinctions between the vessels and commerce of the two nations. With respect to her Polish possessions, Prussia seems to have been pursuing a wise and

* It was pretended, that the address, as it appeared in the Gazette, was very far from resembling that which was actually pronounced by the learned pro-rector.

benevolent policy. Among other measures, having the welfare of the people for their aim, is the purchase, by the crown, of the estates of noble proprietors, when sold by auction, for payment of debts in the provinces of Posen and Bromberg. The lands so purchased being released from feudal dues and impositions, a rapid improvement in the condition of the tenantry is the obvious consequence.

In the course of the year Prussia became the scene of a controversy between the Roman Catholic church and the civil government, which will, perhaps, be more intelligible after a rapid survey of the relations, which exist between the king and that church as established in his dominions.

The concordat* between Prussia and the pope, is dated on the 16th July, 1821. It provides, that the pope shall, for six months of the year, have the nomination of all prebendaries, deans, and provosts; and that during the other six months, the appointment to such preferment shall rest in the bishops of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Münster.†

The endowment of the Roman Catholic church was provided for by a resolution of the Imperial Diet, of the 25th of February, 1803, which appropriated the revenues of such sees and ecclesiastical corporations possessing votes at the Diet, as were at that time secularized, to its service and to the support of the schools connected with it. This resolution was recognized, and carried into effect, by the Germanic confederation; and the archbishoprics and bishoprics created afterwards in Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria, were very amply endowed from the funds thus made applicable to that purpose.

At the time, however, of the establishment of the archbishopric of Cologne, the land destined to its support was in mortgage by the government; the king bound himself to redeem it before the year 1833, and in the meantime to furnish a full equivalent. But his majesty, it seems, has hitherto taken no steps to fulfil his engagement, a default on his part, followed by protracted negotiations with the Roman see, which were only broken off a few weeks before the occurrences we shall presently relate.

The Catholic church in Prussia is described as having been placed by the *concordat*, and by the legislation of the Diet, in a state of, at least, theoretical independence of the government. No wonder, therefore, if parties both so impatient of interference should have come to a rupture at last.

The dispute regarded two subjects; the doctrines of a certain Professor Hermes, and mixed marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The history of the quarrel respecting this latter question seems to be in substance as follows. Ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century mixed marriages have taken place in Germany, not merely frequently and exceptionally, but as matters of custom, and

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* The papal bull, *de salute animarum*, of the 16th of July, 1821.

† By the same instrument two metropolitans, with two canons, and two suffragan bishops, with chapters, were allotted to the Catholico-Prussian dominions, whose united annual revenues amounted to 180,000 Prussian dollars (30,000*l.*), exclusive of lodgings, &c.

without impediment upon the part of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. By an old decree of the council of Trent, these marriages had been prohibited, except on the condition, that the children should be educated in the Catholic faith. This decree, however, had become obsolete in practice; and the bishops had, with few exceptions up to the present time, sanctioned such alliances, though without having any express authority to that effect. But a considerable Protestant population having arisen in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, where, formerly, Catholicism was the exclusive creed, the priests, jealous of the progress of the rival religion, began to throw difficulties in the way of mixed marriages, and to insist upon putting into practice the decree already referred to of the council of Trent. To remove this inconvenience, the Prussian government requested Pope Pius VIII. to grant to its Catholic subjects a dispensation from the revived law; and a papal brief, dated March 25th, 1830, was obtained to that effect.

This brief, after describing the heavy sin that Catholics commit, when they intermarry with Protestants, and stigmatizing such alliances, if unconditional with respect to the children, as illicit, admits them to be valid and leaves to the priests a discretionary power to bless such marriages, or not, as they may think proper. But, it seems, that throughout the document no mention appears of any engagement to be made by the Catholics with respect to the point in dispute, though the clergy are directed to spare neither admonition, nor other means of spiritual influence with the parties, especially females, provided they do not carry their interference so far as to bring odium on their church.

Two days after the emission of this brief, a pastoral letter of instructions on the same subject was addressed by his holiness to the archbishop of Cologne and the bishops of Münster, Paderborn and Treves, in which it was expressly declared, that mixed marriages, which should in future be celebrated without the formalities prescribed by the council of Trent, should be considered as valid and true marriages (*pro ratis ac veris connubiis habeantur*).

It is alleged, as the fact seems to be, that these documents are of equivocal import, and that the pope so worded them, that in reality no concession at all was made to the Prussian government; for while the declaration, dispensing with the formalities ordained by the council of Trent, seems to yield all that was required, the discretionary power to withhold their benediction, as given to the priests by the brief, renders the boon entirely nugatory.

It seems, farther, that the pope, on being applied to for that purpose, declined to afford explanations which might clear his instructions from the ambiguity which appeared upon their face. As a remaining resource, therefore, the Prussian government desired the late archbishop, Count Spiegel, and M. Bunsen, its resident at the papal court, to endeavour to come to a mutual understanding on the subject, and to make the working of the brief as little objectionable as possible.

The result of the negotiation was a series of explanatory articles, which were acceded to, and subscribed by the bishops of Münster, Paderborn, and Treves, in

1834, and were known by the name of the "convention." These articles, in substance, declared, that every passage in the brief was to be received in its most moderate signification; in fact, that the bishops might permit whatever it did not specifically prohibit, that no promise with respect to the religious creed of the children, should be exacted; and that the cases in which the mere passive assistance of priests takes place, that is, when the rites of the church are withheld, should be as restricted as possible.*

Spiegel soon afterwards died, and the present archbishop, Clement Augustus Droste von Vischering, was preferred to the vacant see in 1836. But before he obtained the sanction of the government to his promotion, he gave, according to the statement of the Prussian minister, Von Altenstein, a written declaration, that he would be careful to maintain the "convention" above mentioned. However, he had been but a short time established in the see, before he evinced a refractory disposition; and, in December, 1836, addressed a communication to the provost of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, containing instructions to his clergy, entirely at variance with the terms of that compact. In reply to the remonstrances of the Prussian government, he denied all personal knowledge of the "*convention*," and virtually set the civil authorities at defiance, openly avowing to the commission, directed by the government to require from him an explanation of his conduct, that he had given *secret* orders to the clergy to exact a promise from the parties, in cases of mixed marriages, to bring up their children in the Catholic faith, because he considered the omission of that engagement to be inconsistent with the Papal brief.

With respect to professor Hermes the matter may be stated in a few words. This divine was professor of theology at Münster, and afterwards at Bonn. Under the apprehension, that Catholicism, and indeed Christianity were in danger, from the assaults of Rationalism on the one side, and of the Kantian metaphysics on the other, he undertook to reconcile the Roman Catholic doctrines with reason, and to establish their truth by an *a priori* demonstration. His theory on this subject he developed in a work, the object of which was to prove, that certain general principles of universal and absolute truth, lead inevitably to Catholicism.

These doctrines, as might be expected, were considered dangerous by a church, whose postulates rest on authority alone. But the Hermesian theology would appear to have taken root in the University of Boun; and although the Prussian government went so far, as to prohibit the use of the publications of that divine, as text books, in the University, they did not think proper to interfere to a greater extent.

The archbishop, however, with

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* We subjoin this article on account of its importance. The *asistentia passiva* is only to be resorted to in cases where the Catholic bridegroom or bride shall not only signify a decided determination not to bring up their children in the Catholic faith, but shall likewise evince a wanton indifference to the responsibility thereby incurred. But in all cases where such culpable sentiments are not positively asserted, or are accompanied by extenuating circumstances, the *assistentia passiva* is not to take place.

his accustomed zeal, did not hesitate to denounce the doctrines as damnable; and forbade the students of theology at Bonn, to attend the academic courses, lest they should be infected with the heresy; though an obedience to this mandate must disqualify the students for holy orders, according to the Prussian law. Not content with this strenuous proceeding, he actually, as it is reported, commanded his clergy to refuse absolution to all who attended the lectures of the obnoxious professors. These divisions had nearly proved fatal to the welfare of the University.

The government, finding the Prelate inflexible on all the points in dispute, began to act with determination. They required him to abdicate his see; a demand with which he declared, it was quite impossible to comply; at the same time he signified his readiness to surrender his salary, and quit his palace, "being accustomed to live frugally, and relying on the charity of the faithful."

On the 20th of November, the quarter of the city of Cologne, in which the archiepiscopal palace is situated, was invested by a large body of troops, and shortly afterwards the archbishop was arrested, and conveyed to Minden, his native town. There he remained, a prisoner of State, but treated with all due respect, and ceremony.

This energetic course, on the part of the government, gave rise to disturbances in Cologne and elsewhere in Rhenish Prussia, which occasionally wore a serious aspect. In the town of Münster masses of infantry and cavalry were required to disperse the multitudes, who, paraded the streets, and collected in the public square, with acclamations in favour of the Archbishop of Cologne, and shouts of "down with the Prussians." Prayers also, it is said, were offered up in all the churches of Westphalia for the captive prelate, and the clergy generally seem to have thrown themselves into an attitude of hostility to the civil power, while a spirit of animosity divided the laity of the rival creeds, who had hitherto lived together in harmony.

The government published a manifesto, in which the offences of the archbishop were set forth; it alleged that the prelate had attempted "ever since his elevation to the see, to exercise his functions in a manner entirely incompatible with the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and as no other bishop had ever attempted, and as is not tolerated in any of the states of Germany." It remarked that the conduct of the archbishop was at variance with his written promise, that he had set himself above the laws of the kingdom, and had "excited troubles and scandals in what was regularly established;" and the Catholics, both clergy and laity, were thereby forbidden to hold any communication about public affairs with him.

Of course these proceedings opened the way to interminable negotiations with the papal court. There the contumacious prelate met with the approbation, which so unflinching a champion of his creed was not likely to solicit in vain. Pope Gregory XVI, in an address to the secret consistory, held on the 10th of December, speaks thus of the archbishop. "He sought to observe no other rule in the matter of mixed marriages, than that contained in the apostolical letters, addressed to the prelates of Western Prussia by Pius VIII, our

predecessor of happy memory, bearing date the 25th of March, 1830. And yet in those letters the Holy See carried indulgence to the extreme limit. You are not ignorant that our predecessor was brought to these concessions with regret, and solely from the necessity of saving the Catholic clergy of those countries from the two certain evils with which they were menaced. Who would have foreseen that this pontifical declaration, indulgent as it was, and assented to by the king's envoy at Rome, would be executed in a manner to overthrow the inflexible principles of the Catholic church, and contrary to the intention of the Holy See? Yet this very thing, impossible to imagine or believe, and to suspect which would have been a crime, has been done by the artful influence of the secular power. No sooner had we been warned of this, than we sent remonstrances, declaring that our apostolical mission obliged us to tell the faithful, not to consider a rule to proceed from the Holy See, which it held in horror." His Holiness went on then to protest against the conduct of the Prussian government, "as a violation of ecclesiastical liberty, and an outrage on the Holy See," and concluded with a solemn expression of disapproval of the custom prevailing in Prussia, with respect to mixed marriages.

We have dwelt rather longer on this affair than the limits of our work would, generally speaking, permit, because it is connected with a subject of obvious importance. Hitherto it has been the practice to cite Prussia among other instances, as affording testimony of the innoxious qualities of Catholicism, when properly managed, though placed in subordination to a Protestant power. Without advancing any opinion upon that topic, we may be allowed to remark, that the testimony of Prussia must, to all appearance, be hereafter transferred to the other side of the controversy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUSTRIA—*Spirit of Reform in Hungary—Resolution of the Germanic Diet respecting the Surrender of Political Offenders—Cracow—* HOLLAND—*Opening of the Session—King's Speech—Death of the Queen—Budget—Treaty with Great Britain—* BELGIUM—SWITZERLAND—*Insurrection in the Canton of Berne—Meeting of the Diet—President's Speech—Revision of the Federal Constitution—Census—Expenditure—Close of Session—re-organization of the Military System—Currency—Religious Dissentions—Louis Bonaparte—* ITALY—SICILY—*Ravages of the Cholera—* NORWAY—*Differences—between the King and the Norwegian People—Reply of the King to the address of the Storthing—Death of the deposed King of Sweden—* GREECE—*Establishment of Departmental Councils—Law Reform—Return of the King—Dismissal of Count Armansperg—Appointment of M. Rudhart to the Head of Affairs—Diplomatic Differences Emiglio Usigli—Sir Edward Lyons and M. Rudhart—Restoration of the City of Athens—* RUSSIA—*Circassian War—General Williamneff's Correspondence with the Circassians—Capture of the Vixen—Emperor's tour in his Southern Dominions—Russian National Debt —* TURKEY—*School of Anatomy opened—Improvement in the Administration of Mercantile Law—Curdish War—Sultan visits Silistria and other parts of his Dominions—Cabinet changes—Vassaff Effendi disgraced—Perteff Pacha removed from Office—Redschid Pacha—Moldavia—Wallachia, and Servia.*

THE AUSTRIAN dominions maintained their accustomed composure, during the present year, if we except some manifestations of an independent spirit in Hungary. District diets of that nation assembled themselves in the autumn at Buda, Presburgh, Pest, and other places, at which the nobility made a point of attending, and national questions of great importance were freely agitated. Among the concessions, demanded from the Austrian government, were, the substitution of the Hungarian for the Latin language, in all official acts; the removal of the Jesuits from the direction of public instruction, and a discontinuance of the practice of quartering the Hungarian troops, beyond the limits of their native country.

On the 5th of December, an imperial patent appeared, which

promulgated a resolution of the Germanic diet, dated the 18th of August, 1836, by which the states of the confederation bound themselves to each other, "to deliver up, when required, to the State injured, or threatened, any individual guilty of planning an undertaking against the Sovereign, or against the existence, integrity, constitution or safety of another state of the confederation, or of belonging to an association tending to such object, or of partaking in, and favouring the same."

The *protection* of the three great powers continued, as heretofore, to be extended to the republic of *CRACOW*. The senate was moulded according to the peremptory directions of their residents, and members admitted, and expelled, as they thought proper.

Neither HOLLAND, nor BELGIUM, during the present year, afford incidents of importance for our history. The States general of the former kingdom, assembled on the 16th of October. The royal speech was delivered by the minister of the interior, in the absence of the king, who was prevented from attending by the very recent death of his consort.* The speech, after intimating, that the Belgian question remained unsettled, announced, that the general interests of the kingdom, at home and abroad, were in a flourishing condition, and called the attention of the Legislature to certain projected changes in the organization and procedure of the courts of justice, and to the expedience of a modification of the tariff of import, export, and transit duties. It informed the chambers, that a commercial treaty had been made with Prussia,* and that another, with Great Britain, was in course of negotiation. It further announced the intention of the government, to request their co-operation, in the course of the Session, in measures for the improvement of the internal communications of the kingdom. The minister of finance, on presenting his budget, (October 19th), did not fail to dilate upon the prosperity of the country. The expenditure was estimated at 44,687,045 florins. Amongst the items were 1,425,000 florins for the civil list, 4,750,000 for the navy; 11,000,000 for the army, and 15,214,895, for the national debt. The ways and means were computed at 44,671,668 florins, being 47,493 less than for the previous financial year.

This statement, it appears, failed to give satisfaction to the second chamber; and several members intimated the necessity, they felt, of voting against the ministers on this subject, though by no means desirous of withholding their general support. A better management, and more economical application of the finances, were what the dissidents required.

A treaty of commerce and navigation, between the Netherlands and Great Britain, was signed at the Hague, on the 27th of October. Its provisions placed the people of the two countries on a reciprocal footing, and accorded to each, all privileges enjoyed by the subjects of the most favoured nation.

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* Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina, a daughter of Frederick William the second of Prussia.

* See ante under the head of Prussia.

The Session of the chambers of *BELGIUM* commenced on the 5th of October. Their proceedings were destitute of general interest. The circumstance chiefly worthy of remark, seems to be the omission of a speech from the throne. But the want of more striking occurrences will probably be thought not ill supplied, by the exhibition of a tranquil and prosperous nation, intent, apparently, on little else, than the developement of the abundant resources of their rich country, and exerting successfully, and to the utmost, their intelligence, industry, and capital.

Although the annals of SWITZERLAND hardly present more matter for record than those of the two countries last noticed, the state of affairs in the cantons of the Helvetic confederation is less satisfactory. For, as on the one hand, the spirit of religious, and political animosity, seems to be in full activity, within the limits of the greater number of the states; so on the other, the federal constitution, which unites these independent commonwealths, falls short of its object in various respects; neither affording a guarantee to public order, nor being competent to secure to Switzerland that position among the powers of Europe which it is very desirable she should assume.

An insurrectionary movement on the part of the Aristocratic faction, disturbed, in the Spring of the year, the tranquillity of the canton of Berne. A large party still existed in that State, who could not reconcile themselves to the new order of things as established in 1831, and who never ceased to frame machinations for the restoration of the ancient system.

Accordingly they continued to have recourse to the usual practices, of which in free communities, a discontented party is at liberty to avail itself. They wrote, harangued, combined, sometimes evaded, and sometimes defied the law; always, as it should seem rather giving trouble to the authorities, than advancing themselves in public opinion. At length they resolved to hazard a bold stroke; and with this view they convened a great meeting of their partizans at Brienzwyler, not far from Brienz. About 800 people assembled on the 30th of April, the appointed day, in the open air. One M. Scharer, sometime recorder of Interlachen seems to have been the chief orator, and his address was as little remarkable for forbearance, as might be expected. The meeting did not separate, without indications of an approaching revolt. But the cantonal government took immediate measures to prevent it. Scharer and some of his accomplices, were arrested; and troops were directed, along the lake of Brientz, upon the malcontents, who were collected in some force, at its extremity. This military demonstration had the desired effect; after some parley the insurgents quietly dispersed.

The Helvetic Diet opened their session, at Lucerne, on the 5th of July. The speech delivered, on the occasion by the Avoyer of Lucerne, M. Amryhn, as president, was only remarkable for his observations, respecting the revision of the federal constitution. "It is now six years (said he) since I had the pleasure of addressing you, upon an occasion, similar to the present, when appointed by the state to preside at the same solemnity. The satisfaction, felt

at that meeting, was greatly enhanced by the cheering prospect of a political regeneration of the confederacy. Those hopes, have they been realized?—have the engagements entered into with the people been fulfilled? It seems, as if a voice resounded under these arches, demanding an exact account of our acts, and addressing us thus; 'Representatives of the Swiss people, have you given to the federal alliance all that solemnity, of which it stood in need? Have you laid the foundation of a code of laws in unison with the reforms effected in different cantons? Have you taken any steps towards the establishment of unity within, and of a barrier against all dangers from without? Have you placed the country in a condition to defend her neutrality in an honourable manner?' it is with pain we admit, that an answer to the above question, would furnish an accusation against us."

The revision of the federal settlement is perhaps at present the most important question that occupies public attention in Switzerland. This subject, came under the consideration of the Diet in September; and, as in former years, three distinct opinions found their way into the course of the deliberation; viz. one in favour of the revision being made by the Diet; the other for submitting it to a constituent assembly appointed for the purpose; and the third, altogether opposed to it, in every shape.

The partizans of revision, generally reckoned, in their number, the deputies of the principal cantons; and it was contended, on their side of the question, that it was absolutely necessary to abate the incoherencies of the present system, and to bring particular, into more harmonious subordination to general interests. At present the cantonal constitutions, were but ill secured, the directorial power absorbed by one state, and the means of repressing faction at home, and inspiring respect abroad, were alike wanting.

Thirteen cantons and a half, out of 22, admitted the necessity of some revision; but were much divided as to the method. The three directing cantons, Berne, Zurich and Lucerne, together with St. Gall, Thurgau, and Bale-country declared themselves for the appointment of a constituent assembly, the members of which should be in proportion to the population of each canton. But the deputies of the smaller states, were opposed to this mode of carrying the revision into effect, as calculated, by the introduction of a scale of proportion, to secure to the larger cantons that direct preponderance in the councils of the confederation, which is withheld from them under the existing practice.

On the other hand, the opponents of all revision, at the head of whom was found the semi-Prussian canton of Neufchatel, contended, that the federative action should be exceptional, and not predominant, in the Swiss commonwealth; that centralization was at variance with the temper, and habits of the people; that a sacrifice of independence, on the part of the individual cantons, each hitherto sovereign within its own borders, would be ill compensated by the supposed advantages of the new system; and that the present order of things, as founded in 1815, on the whole worked well, in prac-

tice, and answered every national purpose.*

The reformers, being divided in opinion, with respect to the method of carrying into effect the principle, in which they all concurred, were disabled from making any use of their victory, and, as always has happened hitherto, the consideration of the question was adjourned to the ensuing year.

Considerable time was occupied in the Diet in discussing the quota which should be contributed by each canton to the central fund of the confederation. According to the division adopted. Bale-city appears to be the richest state in Switzerland, next to which Geneva Neufchatel, Zurich, and Berne, are ranged in succession. The three primitive cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, are the poorest, as well as the least advanced in civilization. Berne, which, equally with the smallest canton, has but one vote in the Diet, pays, it seems, into the common treasury, as many five-franc pieces, as Uri contributes halfpence. In connexion with this subject we may remark that, in the preceding year, the Diet had decreed, that each canton should furnish a census of its population, with a view to the equitable apportionment of their respective contingences in men, and money. The returns made accordingly gave 2,117,429 souls, as the population of Switzerland, including about 52,000 foreigners. But as it appeared, that, in many cantons, the census had not been taken in conformity with the method suggested by the Diet, the general result, was considered imperfect, and unsatisfactory.

The expenditure of the general government, from the 1st of July 1836, to the 30th of June 1837, amounted to 94,316 francs.

The expediency of maintaining or suppressing the *conclusum* adopted, in the previous year, with respect to the foreign refugees, came also under consideration. When the question was put to the vote, seven and a half states were found in favour of maintaining matters on their existing footing, and eight and a half were of the contrary opinion; while the deputies of the rest having received no instructions from their constituents, forbore to vote. The subject therefore stood over.

The session closed on the 28th of October. M. Amryhn, the president, though he commended the assembly for many of its measures, felt himself under the necessity of expressing his regret, "that a spirit of cantonal egotism had prevented it from doing all the good the country had expected from its wisdom, and patriotism; he hoped, that next year, they would see the necessity of a reform of the federal institutions, and at length, devise some means of attaining that desirable object."

About the most important measure of the Diet, during the year, was the organization of the army on a new footing, a reform very necessary, but not therefore the less difficult to extort from the enemies of change. The effective force of the confederation, as fixed by the new

* There are certainly many obstacles in the way of those who would consolidate the Swiss cantons into one state. The variety of languages, French, Italian German, Patois; the discordant habits religion and prejudices; the different degrees of intelligence; the barriers which divide the cantons, and are, at some seasons impassable—all act as powerful dissolvents.

law, will amount to 63,000 men, exclusive of the reserve and *landwehr*.

Another question, much agitated in Switzerland. and with little effect, regards an assimilation of the currency, in the various cantons. The commercial relations of the cantons with the states of South Germany also afforded a subject upon which nothing satisfactory could be determined, though a committee had been sitting for that purpose. Many of the cantons were much disturbed by religious dissentions. In Glaris, particularly, scenes of violence and outrage testified the want of harmony between the Catholic and Protestant inhabitants. In St. Gall, too, violent animosities of a similar character prevailed. And the Roman Catholic clergy, in most parts of Switzerland, evinced a spirit of insubordination to the secular authorities.

In the course of the Autumn, Louis Bonaparte, who, as is mentioned in our chapter of French affairs, had been transported to North America by the French government, again made his appearance in Switzerland. A fact to be recorded here, since he is destined to form a conspicuous object in our Swiss annals for the ensuing year.

Many of the principal cities of *ITALY* and *SICILY* were severely visited by the Cholera. At Palermo and Catanea, the ravages of this terrible malady were very frightful. In the first mentioned of these cities, the daily deaths were computed, at one period, at not less than 1000; and in the latter, 6000, out of 30,000 inhabitants, perished, according to the lowest estimate. To aggravate the calamity, the ignorant multitude, maddened by suffering, gave credence to the most absurd fictions; and in many parts of Sicily and Calabria, disturbances of a very serious complexion broke out; and were not quelled, without causing a good deal of anxiety to the government. The medical men, in those parts, are said to have abandoned their duties with a very disgraceful precipitation, and to have been the first to yield to the panic, which so much promotes the progress of that epidemic. Rome, Leghorn, Genoa, and most of the Italian cities, were, in their turns, and with more or less severity, attacked by the disease.

The duke of Modena, by a decree, which appeared in the course of the year, commuted, though to a most limited extent, the punishment of persons convicted of political offences within his dominions.

The differences, which prevail between the king of *SWEDEN* and his Norwegian subjects, are noticed in the last volume. The Storthing of 1836, was prorogued on the 24th of January, 1837, after a session not calculated to restore harmony between the monarch and his sturdy Norwegians. The democratic institutions, and broad national peculiarities of that people, would throw great difficulties in the way of their incorporation with Sweden, even if they could be brought to forget the circumstances, under which the union of the two kingdoms was effected in 1814.

His Majesty, in his speech at the close of the Session, avoided all direct mention of the present discontents, and was satisfied to make some general remarks on the advantages of the union, and to quote a passage from a speech with which he closed the Storthing in 1814.

The address of the Storthing was couched in a less conciliatory strain, and by no means touched lightly on the points of their difference with the executive, as may be collected from the reply which it elicited from the king, and from which we subjoin some passages. "If the council of Norway, think the colours of the union-flag are not those of Norway, the king desires that they will point out the colours which do belong to that kingdom." "The currency die is taken from the royal seal; this subject has already excited the attention of the king, and his majesty proposes to take it into special consideration. The Swedish authorities, who make use of the royal seal, only continue to exercise an ancient custom; and moreover, the kings of Sweden, from Adolphus Frederick, down to the union, have, as heirs to the throne of Norway, borne the Norwegian lion as part of their arms.

"The history of the states to which the Storthing appeals, shows that Norway was a province of Denmark in the year 1536, and that she has not, since possessed any legislative right, until the treaty of Kiel;—namely, on the 10th of November, 1814, the period at which the king swore to the Constitution, and Norway was recognized as a kingdom united with Sweden, under one king; and that this kingdom enjoyed the rights guaranteed to it by the king of Sweden in the name of that kingdom. Besides, history states, and the events of our own days prove, that treaties, wars, and conquests, augment the powers of a state, or diminish the extent of its territory."

The deposed king of Sweden, Gustavus II., who, since his misfortunes, had assumed the designation of Colonel Gustavson, died at St. Gall, in Switzerland, on the 7th of February.

Some details of the life and habits of this unfortunate prince will be found in another part of our volume.

The tranquillity in which the kingdom of GREECE reposed, when king Otho left his new dominions, to accompany his father to Bavaria, was not materially interrupted, during his absence. The institutions of the country, however, received a very important accession, during this period, in the establishment of departmental councils, which were invested with considerable powers. Besides, the superintendance of all provincial matters, and interests, the conduct of public functionaries, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, was subjected to their investigation and control. The members, composing them, were to be chosen by the people; an annual payment of fifty drachmas, direct taxation, constituting the electoral qualification, while a contribution of double that amount, conferred eligibility on the candidates for the office of deputy. This certainly must be considered as an advance, however cautiously restricted, towards a constitutional government. In the municipal organization of the country, a system of representation already prevailed.

Within the same interval of time, several important laws, in themselves beneficial, attested the progress, which Greece was making towards her proper place amongst the civilized nations of Christendom. As one of these, we may notice the appearance of a

revised system of penal law. The civil code was, at the same time, understood to be in progress towards completion.

On the 14th of February, the British frigate, which was to restore king Otho to his capital, appeared outside the harbour of Athens. But as his majesty was preceded by rumours of an intention to dismiss the Count Armansperg, his prime minister and Chancellor, from the administration, the British minister, sir Edward Lyons, anxious, if possible, to avert that event, hurried on board the frigate, while she was yet at sea, and, as it is reported, somewhat abruptly tendered his remonstrances against the royal determination. So little effect, however, attended his mediation, that no sooner had the frigate entered the harbour of Piræus, than the Count, who with the other ministers, then came on board, was informed, that his office was abolished, and "his resignation accepted." At the same time, M. Rhizos, the foreign secretary, received his dismissal, and M. Rudhart was appointed to that department, as well as to the presidency of the council, and helm of affairs.

It is not easy to appreciate the real nature of events, or the relative merits of public men in a country so situated as Greece, and where nothing happens, of which at least two contradictory accounts are not given to the public; but it would certainly appear, that the dismission of a prime minister, and the appointment of his successor, might have been more gracefully accomplished, had it taken place, after a short delay, considering the circumstances, and on shore, instead of on ship-board.

In the month of August, a controversy, or what really better merits the name of a *squabble*, took place between M. Rudhart, and Sir Edward Lyons. The subject of this diplomatic difference was a young Modenese, Emiglio Usiglio by name, who having come to Greece with a British passport, was compelled, at very short notice, to depart from that country, in spite of the angry remonstrances of the English minister. This Usiglio was charged by the Greek government, with being in connection with a society called "Young Europe," founded in Italy by one Mazzini, and which seems to be giving some trouble to the continental governments. Sir Edward Lyons, we know not with what justice, considered that he had much reason to complain of the government for expelling Usiglio, without a previous communication with himself. He wrote a long, and by no means conciliatory note on the subject, to M. Rudhart, who in reply, contended that Usiglio, as a Modenese, was not a subject for the interference of the British minister; that in acting as he had done, the king of Greece had only exercised a right, which every Sovereign possesses; and that strong reasons existed for not permitting Greece to become the rendezvous of political conspirators.

The court of king Otho seems to afford a convenient field for the practice of diplomacy in its lighter branches. Scarcely had the agitation subsided, into which the quarrel between M. Rudhart, and the British minister had thrown the court; where the removal of an English lady, from a high situation which she occupied about the queen's person, was

deemed to announce the triumph of the anti-British party in the Palace. But almost before this last event was well ascertained, it became a matter of equal notoriety, that M. Rudhart himself, finding his position precarious, had, in his turn, been driven to resign. The opposition lost no time in making their satisfaction public; but it would seem somewhat prematurely, for the government Gazette was quick in announcing, that the offered resignation had not been accepted.

In the mean time, the material interests of the new kingdom appear to prosper. Athens is described as, at length, emerging from the ruins, in which she has so long been prostrate. At the beginning of the year, although but two streets were in a very advanced state of progress, and the eye encountered rubbish, and half-finished edifices on all sides, yet the existence of various shops, of a market, and of what are said to be by no means contemptible hotels, combine with a palace, a barrack, and an hospital, in different stages of completion, to bear testimony to the regeneration, after a modern fashion, of the city of Minerva.

It is only as she may be visible in her foreign relations that Russia affords materials to the contemporary historian. Her domestic policy, together with the motives, which determine its direction, are enveloped in obscurity, and little understood or regarded by the civilized nations of the west. But as often as we meet her beyond the confines of her dominions, whether in Poland, or eastward of the Caspian Sea, at the mouth of the Danube, or on the shores of the Bosphorus, at Cracow, or in the Caucasus, she exhibits an unvarying policy, an unremitting activity.

But as Russia never effects that by violence which can be brought to pass by stealth, she has from the first been less indebted to her arms than to her diplomacy. It is often, therefore, at the time, a matter of difficulty to trace her movements, however surely we may conjecture their direction. The security with which she pursues her schemes of systematic aggrandizement is grounded less on her own resources of strength, than in the fears or forbearance of the other powers of Europe. It is at present apparent, that neither her material means, nor her geographical position, are such as to make it convenient, on her part, to engage in a war on a great scale, and it seems probable, that a bare manifestation of hostility on the part of England or France would at once arrest her aggressive policy, and compel her to concentrate her resources for her own protection. In the meanwhile we should do well to recollect, that the European portion of the Russian empire has been doubled in little more than half a century. In sixty-four years she has advanced her frontier 850 miles in the direction of Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. She has approached 450 miles nearer Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the metropolis of Poland, while the capital of Sweden, from which, in Peter the Great's time, her boundary was 300 miles distant, is now within a short march of her garrisons. Within the same period, she has extended herself about 1,000 miles in the direction of India, and towards the Persian capital. And it has been observed, as a striking fact, "that the regiment now stationed at her farthest

frontier post, on the western shore of the Caspian, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow, as onward to Attoch on the Indus, and is actually farther removed from St. Petersburgh than from Lahore. The battalions that invaded Persia, found at the termination of the war, that they were as near to Herat as to the banks of the Don, and that they had already accomplished half the distance to Delhi. They had, therefore, from their camp in Persia, as great a distance to march back to St. Petersburgh as onward to the capital of Hindostan."

The progress of this ambitious power, is at present, however, severely checked in a quarter where less resistance might have been anticipated. By an article of the treaty of Adrianople, the Sublime Porte had ceded to the Emperor, the territory of the Circassians or Tcherkesses, part of which was in the occupation of the Russian troops, at the conclusion of the war.* But the Circassians, without denying that they had been in the practice of acknowledging a sort of feudal superiority to the Ottoman monarchs, in return for the protection accorded to them by those sovereigns, denied that any right of transfer existed, and contended that the Porte, in withdrawing its protection, had forfeited all claim to their allegiance.

"The inhabitants of Caucasus," said they, in the declaration of independence, "instead of being subject to Russia, are not even at peace with her, but have for many years been engaged in perpetual war. When the Porte held the supremacy of these provinces, they were left for their means of defence to themselves, but lately the Porte has in every way betrayed and abandoned them." In another part of this spirited document,* they ask, "Who has power to give us away? our allegiance is offered to the sultan, but if he is at peace with Russia, he cannot accept it, for Circassia is at war; our allegiance is a free offering, he cannot sell, because he has not bought it."

Of all the Caucasian tribes, the Circassians are the most conspicuous for their numbers, their bravery, their intelligence, and their personal beauty. At every period, as at the present day, many of the most distinguished men in Turkey, Egypt, and Syria, have, as is well known, been extracted from this people. The population of the Circassian tribes may be stated at about a million and a half, inhabiting the territory that is confined between the river Kuban, the Caucasian mountains, and the Euxine, and possessing little less than an hundred leagues of coast upon that sea. Destitute of many of those arts, which are almost a condition

* The fourth article, without expressly naming Circassia, clearly included it. After enumerating the countries which are to form the frontier line of the two empires, it stipulates, "that those which are situated to the north and east of the said line, towards Georgia, Immeritia, and the Gouriel, as well as the litoral of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban to Port St. Nicholas inclusively," shall remain in perpetuity under the dominion of the Russian emperor.

* Although, perhaps, the hand of an European is traceable in the Circassian manifesto, we believe that in substance it actually emanated from that people, and is still highly cherished among them, some of whom are said to carry it about as a sort of amulet.

to the existence of a civilized state of society, they are nevertheless intelligent, and enlightened in their views of courteous manners and chivalrous feelings; and may be said to combine the natural elegance of the Asiatic, with the more robust and sterling qualities, moral as well as physical, of the European. Their address in war is perhaps unrivalled, and their want of strategical knowledge is partly compensated by the remarkable swiftness of their operations, and their dexterity in an irregular fight, whether in the mountain, or on the plains.

For several years Russia has been employed in subjugating these gallant barbarians. A war of skirmishes, of outposts, and of ambuscades, affords few details for our narrative. But thus far, the Russians have obviously accomplished little towards their subjection.

On the coast, the Russian troops are in occupation of Anapa, the principal place in the country, Ghelendic, and Soukoum Kalé, with several less important stations. But these are merely insulated posts, and the invaders may hardly ever venture beyond their gates, whether for forage or fuel, or to lead their cattle to the pastures, unless covered by strong detachments, and even protected by field pieces. They are surrounded by an abundantly fertile country, and yet must draw all their subsistence from the ports of the Crimea.

In 1836 two harbours only remained to the Circassians, Pchiat or Pshad, and Soudjouk-Kalé; the latter a very important one to them, between the Russian stations at Anapa and Ghelendic, fell into the hands of the enemy, after some hard fighting, in the course of that year. But the Russians were not able to retain what they then acquired, and were compelled to evacuate their position at Soudjouk-Kalé, with some loss, and in considerable disorder. Indeed it is alleged, that such was the condition of the Russian division, that general Williamineff its chief, when commencing his retreat, was glad to purchase the forbearance of the Circassians, by promises and engagements, which were forgotten, as soon as he was out of the reach of those formidable cavaliers.

The invasion was repeated in the following year, and it seems that the result of a combined attack upon different points gave the Russians possession of Pchiat; this advantage was not obtained without severe loss on their part, as the Circassians disputed every step with indomitable bravery, and their farther advance into the interior of that part of the country was checked at a place called Chapshik by a signal defeat, which compelled them to fall back upon their entrenchments at Pchiat.

The following passages are extracted from a letter addressed in the course of this campaign, by Williamineff, to the Circassian chiefs:—"What is it you look for? Are you not aware that if the heavens should fall, Russia could prop them with her bayonets? The English may be good mechanics and artizans, but power dwells only with Russia. No country ever waged successful war against her. Russia is the most powerful of all nations. If you desire peace you must be convinced that there are but two powers in existence—God in heaven and the emperor upon earth."

The reply of the chiefs was

partly to this effect:—"Of all nations under heaven, the greatest and most powerful, is England; she takes precedence of all, and is never guilty of falsehood. How do you presume to say she is false? We know that when France invaded Egypt, and attacked the Mamelukes, she was expelled from it by England, who thus earned the gratitude of Circassians. You speak too loftily when you talk of destroying this country; such language becomes the Almighty alone. You seem to think you can do all you please, but though we be but a small nation, with God's blessing, and the succour of England, we will resist you still."

But, although Russia seems to be gaining little at present by her Circassian campaigns, it is very doubtful, whether the Circassians, unless a diversion is made in their favour in another quarter, will be able to hold out much longer. In the meantime the Russians suffer severely, as well from the climate, which is said to have a fatal effect upon the troops, as the sword: And it has been stated, we know not how accurately, that in every fourth year, there is seldom more than a fourth part, surviving of the Russian troops employed in this quarter.

The capture of an English schooner, the Vixen, on the coast of Circassia, in the latter part of November, 1836, by a Russian cruiser, excited considerable attention at the time, and has since given occasion to much parliamentary discussion and newspaper argument. The simple facts of the case seem to be as follows:—The Vixen with a cargo of salt, having been for some little time off different parts of the Circassian coast, and having thereby engaged the notice of the Russians, came to anchor in the bay of Soudjouk-kalé, which was no longer in the occupation of the invading army. She immediately opened a communication with the shore, and had not been long in this situation when she was seized by a Russian brig of war, and conveyed to Ghelendic, and ultimately to Sebastopol, where she was declared lawful prize, and dealt with accordingly. The grounds of this proceeding were, an alleged violation of the Russian sanatory and Custom-house laws. It was further pretended that the schooner had, previous to her seizure, landed gunpowder and other munitions of war. In answer to the charge of contraband trading, and violation of quarantine, the owners denied the authority of the Russians on that coast to make the regulations which they were charged wich disregarding, and contended that the Circassians were an independent people. The accusation with respect to the gunpowder, they solemnly denied. It will be seen, however, from our account of the proceedings in parliament on this subject, that the English government implicitly admitted the legality of the capture, by finally desisting from a claim of release on their behalf. The emperor made a progress through some of his southern dominions in the autumn, and having visited Odessa and Sebastopol, travelled as far as Tefflis, his Georgian capital. A report from the minister of finance M. Krankin, gives 956,333,574 roubles 5 kopecks, as the amount of the national debt, equal to 1,051,966,931francs.*

* The strength of the Russian navy in the Black Sea and the Baltic, in the

Turkey, though at present the stage on which the rival European powers are exerting to the utmost, the skill and address of their diplomatic agents, claims an unusually small space in our present volume. The cabinet of the Sultan was indeed deeply engaged in negotiations with the Pacha of Egypt, on the one side, and with England, Austria and Russia on the other; but the year came to a termination before the result of its labours was authentically known.

Mahmoud continued to pursue unresisted his reforming career. One of the novelties of the year was an *hatti-scheriff*, issued in February, which announced the intention of the government to open a medical school at Pera, when lectures on every branch of the medical art, were to be delivered by European professors to Turkish students. A strong opposition was at first offered by the Ulemahs to this proposal, for sanctioning the study of practical anatomy by Mussulmans; but whether from deference to the arguments adduced by the vicar of Mahomet, or from certain other no less cogent motives, the Sheik-Islam brought himself to give his consent, with the proviso, that none but the bodies of Christians and Jews should be brought as subjects to the dissecting rooms.

Another innovation, which if not more bold than the above-mentioned, is certainly not less entitled to our praise and good wishes, was in April communicated to the European merchants at Constantinople by another *hatti-scheriff* importing that the Sultan, having taken into consideration the serious injury to which their commercial interests were exposed, in consequence of the right enjoyed by native merchants, of appealing to the Turkish commercial law, for protection in their differences with Franks, had ordered that in future the settlement of every dispute that might arise between an European merchant and an Ottoman subject, should be referred to a committee, composed of an equal number of persons chosen from each corporation, whose decision should be based on the principles established by the best commercial code.

A firman for the free exportation of corn, though almost, it is said, nullified by the provisoes which limited its operations, was issued in July, and at least, evinced a leaning to a sound system of political economy on the part of the government.

In the month of August an expedition, headed by Hafiz Pacha, was directed against the Kurdish tribes, who were in occupation of the Djezireh mountains, and from thence infested the roads, and ravaged the surrounding country. An Ottoman division, 16,000 strong, succeeded in surrounding the entire position of the insurgents. A large party of these, amounting to upwards of 500 families, upon seeing their communications with the plains thus in-

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summer of 1836 was as follows. In the Black Sea, the squadron consisted of 14 line of battle ships, eight sixty-gun-frigates, 5 corvettes, 10 brigs, 4 schooners, 9 cutters, 3 steamers, the whole commanded by admiral Lazareff. The fleet in the Baltic was composed of 27 line of battle ships, 16 frigates, 3 corvettes, 12 brigs, besides smaller vessels. The number of seamen in the Russian navy at the same period was computed to be 45,000; the majority of whom only serve in the summer months.

tercepted, passed over to the Turkish forces, and were not only kindly received, but liberally provided for. The remainder determined to resist to the very last; and it was only after a sanguinary engagement, which cost Hafiz Pacha a great number of his troops, that they were entirely driven out of their positions in the mountains; and the males were almost universally put to the sword.

In the early part of the summer the Sultan visited his fortresses of Varna, Silistria, Rutshuck, and Shumla.* At Silistria he received the homages of the princes Ghika, Stourdza, and Milosch, in respect of their principalities in the northern provinces.

The autumn of the year was signalized by one of those revolutions in the cabinet of the Sultan which are, however, of less frequent occurrence, and accompanied by less violent circumstances than of old. The storm of imperial displeasure burst, in the first instance, on Vassaff Effendi, the Sultan's private secretary and favourite. It seems that this individual had been in the practice of suppressing every petition, or address, as it passed through his hands, which might have opened the way to an exposure of his own malversation in the affairs within his control. A discovery of this knavery was followed by his instant disgrace; and with a view to provide against the recurrence of such malpractices, the Sultan appropriated two days in each week to the reception of petitions and memorials, with a resolution to make them all subjects of his own personal cognizance in the first instance.

The fall of Vassaff Effendi was but the prelude to the ruin of a much greater personage. Perteff Pacha, the minister of the interior, received his dismission from office on the 11th of September, and was conveyed a prisoner of state to Adrianople. His brother, Emin Effendi, who filled the war department, shared his disgrace and his banishment. Perteff, who was the father-in-law of Vassaff Effendi, was accused of being privy to the malpractices of his relation, and of having been himself guilty of great rapacity, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. He had long been in office, and enjoyed the character of being an able and experienced minister.

Perteff was replaced by Akim Effendi, the ex-foreign minister, who, it will be recollected, was dismissed from his department, in the preceding year, on account of the share he took in Mr. Churchill's affair. This appointment seemed to bode ill to British interests; but the apprehensions it excited were speedily allayed, for the new minister entered at once into very amicable relations with Lord Ponsonby, our ambassador at the Porte.

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* Previous to his embarkation his highness issued a proclamation, which was read in the various places of public worship throughout the capital; and which, after stating his intention to visit the fortresses, "and take under the protection of his perpetual shadow the people, and rayahs of those parts, shedding over them the light of equity and bounty," declared it to be the wish of his highness, "that the inhabitants of Constantinople and the Bosphorus, far and near, should remain tranquil in their several occupations, without, under any pretence whatever, venturing to boldness of speech;" and "his hope, that they would behave with the same civility and good manners as when his highness, on a previous occasion, absented himself from the capital, without making any demands beyond those which already had been granted to them."

It must have added to Perteff's mortification, that his successor was his bitterest enemy. All his dependents and creatures were ejected from the posts which they occupied in various departments; nor did the Sultan remain content with the mere punishment of the offenders, without taking measures to preclude a repetition of the offence. A commission was sent into the Anatolian provinces, with orders to enter upon a searching investigation of the abuses there prevailing. One of the consequences of the enquiry was, the exposure of Hussein Bey, the governor of Smyrna, who stood convicted of shameful extortion in his province.

Perteff did not long survive his disgrace; his death has been attributed to violence on the part of his enemies, who had reason to fear that the Sultan was relenting in his disposition towards him; but there seems to be little foundation for the report beyond vague suspicion.

Redschid Pacha, a man of considerable talent and of enlightened views, about this time returned from a mission to the court of St. James's, and was confirmed in the post of minister for foreign affairs, which he had nominally held in his absence.

The principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, continue to afford an unrestricted field to Russian intrigue and aggression. Milosch, prince of Servia, is understood to be desirous of introducing something like a constitutional regimen, and has gone so far as to convene a representative body. A simpler mode of taxation has been attempted in his province, the legal demand on each individual has been regulated, and the emancipation of the serfs accomplished; but it is reported, that these innovations, being anything but in harmony with the views of the Russian court, are likely to superinduce the interference, or *protection*, of its troops.

Nor did the province of Wallachia fail to afford employment to the Russian resident at the court of prince Ghika. There the government had taken such measures to secure to itself a majority in the general assembly of the states as were deemed very unconstitutional by many of the constituent body. Their remonstrances were, however, speedily silenced by the imprisonment of certain individuals who had ventured to embody their complaints in a petition to the prince; and very soon afterwards the assembly itself, being refractory, was, though not without recourse to the bayonet, violently dissolved.

CHAPTER XIX.

UNITED STATES. *Mercantile embarrassments—Differences with Mexico—Texas—Reports of Committee on foreign relations—Protest of Mexican government—General Jackson and the United States—Bank—Memorial of the Bank—Mr. Adams and the Anti-Abolition petition—General Jackson's valedictory address—Mr. Van Buren's inaugural address—Parties in the United States—Commercial crisis—Suspension of specie payments—Extraordinary meeting of Congress—President's message—Proceedings of extraordinary session—Convention of delegates from the Banks—Indian war—Meeting of Congress—President's annual message*—MEXICO—*Affair of Texas—Entrance of Texian territory by the United States troops—Santa Anna at Washington—his return to Mexico—Bastamente—preparations to invade Texas—Finance*—PERU-BOLIVIA *and* CHILI—*Formation of the Peru-Bolivian confederation—War with Chili and Buenos Ayres—Murder of Portalis in Chili—Peru-Bolivian constitution*—NEW GRANADA—*Affair of Mr. Russell—Santander retires from the Presidency—New President—Venezuela—Finance—General Paez*—BUENOS AYRES—*Finance*—BANDA-ORIENTAL—*Rivera*—BRAZIL—*Resignation of the Regent—New administration—Revolt at Bahia—Independence of Rio Grande.*

THE circumstances, under which the new year opened upon the people of the United States of America, were inauspicious. A sense of approaching disasters pervaded all classes, and the spirit of unbounded speculation, and unfailing credit which had so recently animated the commercial world, was succeeded by one of general despondency and distrust. It indeed required a very limited acquaintance with the course of human events, to have foreseen the consequences, that must of necessity arise, at no distant period, out of the state of things described in the last volume.

It was while the mania for speculation was most extravagant, that president Jackson issued his famous circular of the 11th of July 1836. By this the receivers of public money, in the Western and South Western states, were directed to accept no payment in consideration of the sale of public lands, but such as should be made in specie, or in notes which should be, on demand, convertible into specie, of banks situated in the vicinity of the purchased lands. The effect of this order on the money transactions of the community, is stated to have been twofold; it compelled the Western, and South Western banks, to contract their loans, and from fear of a drain upon their bullion to withdraw from circulation, a portion of their paper. At the same time, it made it necessary, that all persons wishing to purchase public land, should provide themselves with

specie in the Atlantic states, and transport it to the place, in which their payment was to be made. Thus the bullion flowed from the quarter, where, in a sounder state of things, it should be collected, and where its presence is essential to the regulation of the exchanges and was thrown as government deposits, to stagnate unemployed in the vaults of remote provincial banks. The gold and silver so subtracted from the great commercial cities, found no channels for return; for, when the Western banks began to restrict their loans, and their circulation, the merchants in those parts, were, to a certain extent, deprived of the means of making remittances, formerly accorded to them; and moreover the proceeds of the goods, consigned on credit to the interior, having been in many cases under the prevailing temptation, entirely invested in land, it was impossible in the hour of need, again to realize them. It can be no matter of wonder, that under such circumstances, the money market became seriously deranged. The merchants of New York and the other great cities, who shortly previous, had been ranked amongst the most opulent, were deprived in this manner of the usual means of providing for due payment of their outstanding liabilities, and began to doubt of their solvency; nor was any remedy obvious. A large proportion of their creditors, were in foreign countries, for the payment of whom, it was apprehended, that specie might be required; but the specie was in the vaults of the Western banks, or at all events, too far off, to be available at the moment. Nor could this want be supplied, even to the extent of their domestic liabilities, by the aid of the local banks, in the shape of discounts; because, of course, it was probable, that the proceeds of such discounts, would be eventually demanded from the banks in specie, for the payment of foreign debts.

The state of things ensuing upon this obstruction in the monetary circulation is thus described by Mr. Biddle, the President of the United States Bank. "The interior banks making no loans, and converting their Atlantic funds into specie, the debtors in the interior could make no remittances to the merchants of the Atlantic cities, who are thus thrown for support on the banks of those cities, at a moment when they are unable to afford relief, on account of this very abstraction of their specie to the West. The creditor states, not only receive no money, but their money is carried away to the debtor states, who in turn, cannot use it, either to pay old engagements or to contract new. By this unnatural process the specie of New York, and the other commercial cities, is piled up in the Western states; not circulated, not used, but held as a defence against the treasury; and while the West cannot use it, the East is suffering from the want of it. The result is, that the commercial intercourse, between the West and the East, is almost suspended, and the few operations, which are made, are burdened with the most extravagant expense. In November 1836, the interest of money has risen to 24 per cent.; merchants are struggling to preserve their credit by various sacrifices, and it costs six times as much, to transmit funds from the West, and the South West, as it did in 1835, 1834, or 1832.

"Thus, while the exchanges with all the world are in our favour, while Europe is alarmed, and the bank of England itself uneasy, at the quantity of specie which we possess, we are suffering because, from mere mismanagement, the whole ballast of the currency, is shifted from one side of the vessel to the other."

In this emergency an expedient was adopted by the bank of the United States, for the relief of the commercial body. Promissory notes, or post bills, were issued by the bank, payable twelve months after date in London, and certain other European cities, and were placed at the disposal of American houses, on securities not immediately available. The measure was attended with partial, and temporary success, but it failed, as every human contrivance must have done, to arrest the catastrophe.

In the mean time, the deliberations of Congress, which had assembled in the previous December, proceeded in their accustomed train. It will seem singular to those acquainted with the history of the Texian insurrection, that one of the earliest incidents of the session, which we are called upon to notice, should be a message from the President of the United States to the Senate, complaining of injuries and outrages, not suffered, but inflicted by Mexico on its powerful neighbour. The message which was dated the 6th of February contained the following passage. "At the beginning of the session, Congress was informed that our claims upon Mexico had not been adjusted, but that notwithstanding the irritating effect upon her councils of the movements in Texas, I hoped by great forbearance, to avoid the necessity of again bringing them before your notice. That hope has been disappointed. Having in vain urged upon the government the justice of those claims, and my indispensable obligation 'that there should be no farther delay in the acknowledgment, if not in the redress of the injuries complained of,' my duty requires, that the whole subject should be presented, and now is, for the action of Congress, whose exclusive right it is to decide on the farther measure of redress to be employed." "The length of time since some of the injuries have been committed, the repeated, and unavailing, applications for redress, the wanton character of some of the outrages upon the property, and persons of our citizens, and upon the flag of the United States, independent of recent insults to this government, and people, by the late extraordinary minister, would justify in the eyes of all nations immediate war," and it was then recommended, "that an act be passed, authorizing reprisals, and the use of the naval force of the United States, by the executive against Mexico, to enforce them, in the event of a refusal by the Mexican government to come to an amicable adjustment of the matter in controversy."

The message was referred to the Committee on foreign relations, which not long afterwards made its report; after stating, among other grievances, that "the merchantships of the United States have been fired into, her citizens attacked, and even put to death, and her ships of war treated with disrespect, even when paying a friendly visit to a port, where they had a right to expect hospitality;" the committee submitted to the house of

representatives two resolutions:— 1. "That the indignities offered to the American flag, and injuries committed upon the persons and property of American citizens, by officers of the Mexican Government, and the refusal, or neglect of that government, to make suitable atonement, would justify the congress of the United States in taking measures to obtain immediate redress, by the exercise of its own power." 2. "That, as evidence of the desire of the American Government to preserve peaceful relations with the Government of Mexico, as long as is compatible with that dignity, which it is due to the people of the United States to preserve unimpaired, the President be, and is hereby respectfully requested, to make another solemn demand, in the most impressive form, upon the Government of Mexico, for redress of the grievances, which have heretofore been ineffectually presented to its notice."

This report was presented to the house, February the 24th. On the 18th of the same month, that very committee came down to the house, with two other resolutions, which to be appreciated should be placed in juxta-position with the above. The first of these resolutions declares, "that the independence of the government of Texas ought to be recognized." The second, "that the committee of ways and means should be instructed to provide, in the bill, for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the government, a salary and outfit, for such public agent, as the President may determine to send to Texas."

It is due to this committee to state, that they had not the front to preface these resolutions with any preamble, or statement of reasons whatever. When we remember, that the Texas had been wrested from Mexico by a freebooting horde of "*citizens*" of the United States; that "the Government", the President, the commander of the troops in that province are Anglo-American; and that nothing but the aid of Kentucky, and other wild western adventurers, prevented that territory from relapsing into the possession of the Mexican Government; it must be admitted that the mode in which this republican committee on foreign relations, would administer inter-national equity, presents no model for our imitation.

The consideration of this report when brought up, was postponed by the house of Representatives; but in the course of the session, a bill was passed, appropriating a salary to a Texian chargé d'affaires and to take effect, so soon as the president, having received satisfactory information of the independence of Texas, should deem it expedient to fill up the office. Accordingly, the president did not neglect to take advantage of this vote, and one of the last acts of his administration was the appointment of a person to this contingent office. The Mexican government did not fail to employ what were its only means of resistance to this injustice. A spirited protest was put forth by José Ortiz, the minister for foreign affairs in that republic. It began by stating that Señor Gorstiza, the Mexican minister to the Government of the United States, having, on the motion made in the senate, to recognize the independence of Texas, suggested by the defeat suffered by the Mexican arms on the 21st

of April, called the attention of that government to the rights of Mexico, and its means of enforcing them, was informed by Mr. Forsyth, the secretary of state, that he was instructed by the president, to assure him, that the government of the United States would come to no decisive resolution on the question, which should not be based on the rules and principles which guided its conduct during the disputes which existed between Spain, and the Hispano-American states. M. Ortiz then proceeded to ask, "Is the position of the Texians, with regard to Mexico, what that of the Mexicans was with regard to Spain, at the time their independence was recognized by the United States? Is there any similarity between a nation consisting of six millions of people, who, by their own efforts, after a bloody struggle of eleven years duration, cast off the yoke of oppression, and repulsed beyond the sea the ruling armies—and some thousands of wandering and homeless people, without virtue, and without religion, and threatened by a numerous army, marching full of enthusiasm to recover the laurels which the caprice of fortune refused them at St. Jacinto?" These or other arguments seem to have induced at least a temporary forbearance on the part of the American government. Before the close of the year, the Texian agent at Washington was informed, that no negotiation on the subject of the independence of Texas, could be opened, as long as war continued to prevail between that province, and the Mexican republic.

We may here mention—In the early part of the year, general Santa Anna, having obtained his liberty from his Texian captors, arrived at Washington, with a view, as it was alleged, to advocate their cause with the government; if so, his captivity would seem to have produced a singular change in his views on this subject; but the circumstances of this conversion, if indeed it had taken place, are at present enveloped in some obscurity. After a short stay at Washington, he took his departure for Mexico, in an United States vessel of war.

It will be seen by a reference to the President's message of the 6th December, 1836,* that General Jackson, following up his hostility to the United States Bank, admonished Congress, that "the conduct and present condition of that bank, and the great amount of capital vested in it by the United States, required their careful attention." He also called their notice to the report of the secretary of the treasury, from which it appeared, that "the bank of the United States had made no payment on account of the stock held by the government in that institution, although urged to pay any portion that might suit its convenience, and that it had given no information when payment might be expected. Before the expiration of the charter, the stockholders of the bank obtained an act of incorporation from the legislature of Pennsylvania, excluding only the United States. Instead of proceeding to wind up their concerns, and pay over to the United States the amount due on the stock held by them, the President and directors of the old bank appear to have transferred

* Vol, lxxviii. Appendix.

the books, papers, notes, obligations, and most, or all, of its corporate property, to this new corporation, which entered upon business as a continuation of the old concern. Amongst other acts of questionable validity, the notes of the expired corporation are known to have been used as its own, and again put into circulation. In law and honesty, the notes of the bank in circulation, at the expiration of its charter, should have been called in by public advertisement, paid up as presented, and together with those on hand, cancelled and destroyed."

The directors of the bank considered that these and similar animadversions, called for an answer. A memorial was accordingly presented to Congress, in which they state, that, in a settlement between the bank and the government, one of two courses was necessary; either to wind up the business of the institution, and divide the proceeds, or to estimate the value of the stock, and pay to the government its proportion. As the institution continued, it was deemed harsh and useless to enforce from the country the payment of 60,000,000 of debts at a moment of general embarrassment, merely to balance the books of the bank, and the second of these alternatives was preferred. That, by an act of Congress of the 22nd of June, 1836, the secretary of the treasury is directed to receive the capital stock belonging to the United States in the bank, in such instalments, and payable at such times, and with such rates of interest, as he should see fit to agree to, and also to settle and adjust the claim for surplus profits, accruing on the said surplus stock, on such terms as he may think proper.

It farther appears, that, for nearly four years preceding this act of Congress, there had been a disputed question of law, between the government and the bank, in regard to damages on a bill of exchange, which the bank had in vain urged the executive to pursue before the judicial tribunals; and that the subject had been frequently brought before Congress. That the finance committee (of the senate), in their report of the 18th of December, 1834, had declared the right of the bank to be "founded on strict law," and the retainer of government stock, on the part of the bank, to be avowedly made for the purpose of extorting legal redress, and had remarked that, "if the government thinks itself wronged by such proceedings, the law prescribes the manner in which it shall seek redress."

With respect, therefore, to this disputed claim, they again tendered an issue in a court of law, while they proposed the following as the basis of a general settlement of the account:—"to value each share of the stock at £115.58, and receive payment for it by equal instalments, payable in September, 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, with six per cent interest, until paid."

The memorial thus concludes:—"They do not stop to enquire whether this be not too much; they prefer that it should be too much. They will never differ with Congress about mere sums of money, and are especially anxious to terminate their connexion with the government in a manner satisfactory to all parties."

We may here state, in connexion with the bank question, that on the 16th of January, 1837, the senate not only reversed the vote

of censure which it had passed on the president on the 28th of March, 1834, in regard to his interference with the bank, declaring that that resolution was arbitrary and unconstitutional, as well as unjust and unmerited, but ordered it to be expunged from the journals of the house.

At the commencement of the session, the house of representatives passed a resolution, that all petitions relating to the subject of slavery should be laid on the table without being read, and without further notice of any kind. During one of the sittings of the house, Mr. Adams, who had been very much opposed to that resolution, thus addressed the chair: — "I hold in my hand, Sir, a paper purporting to be signed by *slaves;* will it be in order, under the rules of the house, to present it?" The effect produced by this question, upon the members for the slaveholding states, needs not to be described. A tumult arose; some were for expelling Mr. Adams outright; others were satisfied with the milder expedient of a vote of censure. Many were the resolutions tendered to the house, some with, and some without, preambles, but all denouncing the man who had dared to present a petition from *slaves* praying for the abolition of slavery. The debate grew warmer and warmer, the resolutions fell fast one upon the other, and several hours had already elapsed, when Mr. Adams, a tranquil listener all this time, and as if in no-wise concerned in the affair, rose quietly, and observed, that he had only asked if it would be in order to present the paper— that far from being for the abolition, it prayed for the continuance, of slavery; and, in addition, that he, Mr. Adams, and all other abolitionists, might be expelled from Congress.

This statement only increased the indignation of the slave-holding party, who became sensible that they had been laughed at, and who insisted upon "the dignity of Congress," and so forth. Incredible as it may seem, the debate on Mr. Adams's conduct lasted three days longer, and at last ended in a compromise, when it was voted by a large majority, that slaves had no right to petition, and that any attempt to present such petition would be deemed disorderly, and a direct violation of the constitution.

It subsequently appeared that this petition had been got up in Virginia, signed by some free blacks, and transmitted to Mr. Adams for the purpose merely of insulting him.

On the 4th of March, the term of General Jackson's presidency expired, and Mr. Van Buren, whose views of general policy corresponded with those of his predecessor, took possession of the chair.

This brought the session of Congress to a close, as is always the case on the accession of a new president. A number of important bills in consequence fell to the ground; and it is very characteristic of the old General, that a bill for a virtual repeal of his treasury order of July, being one of the few that did pass Congress, failed to obtain his signature, owing, as he alleged, to its complex nature, which was beyond his ability to comprehend.*

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* By the constitution, the president is allowed to keep any bill presented for his assent, ten days, within which he

The late president issued a valedictory address, in which, besides the obvious common places suggested by the occasion, he dogmatized once more, and for the last time through that channel, on the offences of the bank, and the mischiefs engendered by paper currency.

At the same time appeared Mr. Martin Van Buren's inaugural address. "Unlike all that have preceded me," was the language of this manifesto, "the Revolution that gave us existence as a nation, was achieved at the period of my birth; and whilst I contemplate, with grateful reverence, that memorable event, I feel that I belong to a later age, and that I may not expect my countrymen to weigh my actions with the same kind and partial hand."

After pronouncing a glowing, though not ungraceful, panegyric on the institutions so dear to all his fellow-countrymen, he approaches the delicate subject of domestic slavery. "Perceiving, before my election, the deep interest the subject was beginning to excite, I believed it to be a solemn duty fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it; and now, when every motive for misrepresentation has passed away, I trust they will be candidly weighed and understood. I then declared that, 'I must go into the presidential chair, the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave-holding states; and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it, in the states where it exists.'

"These opinions have been adopted, in the firm belief, that they are in accordance with the spirit that actuated the venerable fathers of the Republic, and that succeeding experience has proved them to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honourable and just."

The new president's cabinet consisted of Mr. Forsyth, secretary of state; Mr. Woodberry, secretary of the treasury; Mr. Kendall postmaster general; and Mr. Poinsett, secretary at war.

No alteration in the general tenour of the government was anticipated from Mr. Van Buren's accession to the presidential chair; but it is yet to be seen whether he will be as successful as his iron-hearted predecessor in the contest which the Jacksonian policy must of necessity wage with the great monied interest in the United States.

The two great political parties which at present divide the people of the United States, are of recent origin. The distinctions of Federalist and Democrat, which prevailed in the earlier stages of the confederation, have become matters of history. The original grounds of controversy are no more, and new combinations, and new antipathies, occupy the stage.

When General Jackson came into office, a fresh principle of union became necessary to his supporters, among whom every shade of the existing political opinions

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must return it with his objections, if he have any, to signing it, otherwise it becomes a law. If it be returned, and two-thirds of both houses re-enact it, then it becomes law at once, and notwithstanding the president's objections. But in case Congress adjourn within the ten days, (as was the case in the present instance) the bill, so retained by the president, is lost.

was to be found. Federalists and democrats, free-trade-men and the most rigid votaries of the tariff, were combined under his banners, and, of course, a corresponding variety diversified the opposite interest.

The partisans of the successful candidate appear to have selected their chief, not on account of any particular political tenets, so much as for his personal popularity, his energy of character, and his military reputation. And for sometime, the only visible point, possessed in common by the members of this party, was their determination to secure to their own faction a monopoly of all the emoluments of office. The opposition, stimulated by a zeal, also universal, to possess these desirable objects, but having no other community of ideas, chose to designate themselves as "Whigs," leaving to their antagonists the appellation of "Democrats."

But the expedients which either party was not slow to adopt, whether for the purpose of retaining or seizing the reins of government, in time assumed the character, or at least served the purpose of principles; and thus the bank, and currency questions, the sub-treasury system, and other matters, supplied the contending parties with their symbolical articles of belief; and it may be thought somewhat illustrative of the character, and pursuits of our Transatlantic kinsmen, that all their great party questions are of a financial nature.

The new President was scarcely seated in his chair, than the storm, so long collecting itself, burst upon the commercial classes. It was at New Orleans, that the first failures, of any consequence, were declared; but New York followed; the banks found the demands upon their funds increase with frightful rapidity, while, what was yet more ominous, their circulation returned upon them. The alarm broke out into a panic; then came a general "run" upon the banks; and a few days more sufficed to bring about the almost universal suspension of cash payments. In the city of New York, no less than 250 houses stopped payment in the course of the first three weeks of April. The banks of that city, as well as of Boston, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other towns, ceased to pay in specie. The United States bank itself, bent to the tempest, in self defence imitating the example of the rest. Its stock was once so low, as 95 and $94\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; but it soon rallied.*

Meanwhile, the distress spread, like a pestilence, through the various ramifications of society. Public works, railways, canals, were brought to a stand; the shipwright, and builder, dismissed their men; the manufacturer closed his doors, one sentiment pervaded all classes, the anticipation of universal ruin, and individual beggary.

The President was in vain so-

* In the state of New York there is a law called the "Safety-fund law." It provides that certain commissioners shall, from time to time, examine the situation of the banks, and if they apprehend from any cause, a failure, and report, to that effect, to the Chancellor, that functionary is empowered to close the suspected bank. It also enacts, that whatever bank suspends its payments shall forfeit its charter. All the banks in that state, therefore forfeited theirs, but the legislature of the state repealed, for one year, so much of the law as would have that effect. And the same relief was afforded in other states.

licited to rescind, or at least to modify the treasury order of the 11th of July, which made it necessary, that so much coin should be uselessly hoarded in the Western banks, and which those banks dare not, under the existing circumstances, put into circulation, for this reason; such of them, as were depositories of the public treasure, were bound to furnish the secretary of the Treasury with weekly statements of the amount of specie in their vaults; and there was of course every reason to suppose, that any diminution of the customary amount, appearing on the face of their accounts, might superinduce an abrupt demand of the whole of the government money committed to their charge.

As soon as the suspension of cash payments became general, the secretary of the treasury gave orders to the different collectors of the revenue of the United States, to receive nothing but specie, or paper convertible into specie on demand, in payment of the revenue bonds, given by traders, in the course of business. This step on the part of the government seems at first to have increased the anxiety of the mercantile classes, though it eventually operated as a sort of relief to them; since it gave them an excuse for withholding for a time, payments, which the government, on its part, forbore to insist upon receiving. For it said, that no more than 5 per cent, upon the whole sum receivable on account of these bonds, was at the time it became due, paid to government; and thus, in point of fact, the importers must be considered to have received accommodation from the treasury, by the amount of the difference.

But there arose the question, how was the corresponding deficiency, that must of course, be expected in the revenue, to be supplied? Fortunately, an obvious expedient was at hand. There were, at the moment, in the treasury 9,367,214 dollars, which in pursuance of the order of the 23rd of June 1836, should have been distributed among the states, in due course, in the following October. This sum were it to be so applied, might the next instant, by law, be recalled, supposing a necessity to exist; there could be no injustice therefore in retaining it, provided the sanction of Congress could be obtained; it was deposited among the various local banks where it might not be prudent to disturb it at present, but the issue of treasury notes, of the nature of our exchequer bills, suggested itself, as an intermediate resource, until this fund could be made available. The bank party, of course, reproached the ex-president, and his financial policy, with the present disasters. But the partizans of General Jackson as well as of the existing administration, indignantly repelled the accusation. And towards the end of May, at a great meeting of commercial men holding those views, resolutions were passed, declaratory of unshaken confidence in Mr. Van Buren, as well as of undiminished approbation of his avowed "uncompromising hostility to the bank of the United States;" and stating, that the resolutionists "regarded the causes of their present embarrassments, as proceeding, not from the refusal to recharter the United States bank—not from the removal of the deposits—not from the issue of the specie circular,—but from a wild and unrestrained spirit of specula-

tion, and over-trading, encouraged and assisted by banking facilities, offered to the few, to the injury of the many."

Nor did the late president let pass so favourable an opportunity for mingling once again in a fray with "the mercantile aristocracy;" for he issued several letters, in which he charged the deposit banks with "base treachery and perfidy," unparalleled "in the history of the world;" and all, "purely with a view of gratifying Biddle and the Barings."

Meanwhile, an extraordinary session of Congress had been convened, which assembled on the 4th of September. The president, in his message, confined himself entirely to the financial state of the country. He repeated all that has been so often repeated before, concerning the over-trading stimulated by the banks; among the most prominent of the minor causes of the present distress, he reckoned the loss of capital sustained in New York by the great fire in 1835: "a loss, the effects of which were under-rated, at the time, because postponed for a season, by the great facilities of credit then existing." He then pointed out the objects, which called for their immediate attention; which were, to regulate by law the safe keeping and disbursement of the public monies; to prescribe the terms of indulgence, and the mode of settlement to be adopted, as well in collecting from individuals the revenue that had accrued, as in withdrawing it from former depositaries; and to devise measures for reviving the enterprise and prosperity of the country.

He declared his own views with regard to the re-establishment of a national bank, to be unchanged; and made some very stringent remarks on the system of depositing public money with different banks, then prevailing, and which certainly does seem open to much objection. He proposed that government should, in future, keep its money in its own hands through the instrumentality of some very simple machinery; and recommended the appropriation of the surplus revenue now in possession of government, to the exigences of the present moment, and the issue of treasury notes in the meantime.

The first trial of strength, in the House of Representatives, arose on the election of a Speaker. The administration triumphed, and Mr. Polk, their former Speaker, was chosen by a majority of 116 to 103; his opponent being Mr. Bell. This result was the more important, as a party who called themselves "the conservatives" and had, under the guidance of Messrs. Rives and Silas Wright,* become dissidents from the main "democratic" body on the questions of the bank and currency, gave on this trying occasion, their support to the government, though the contrary had been threatened.

The next question, on which parties measured their strength, was the appointment of printer to Congress; and here, the votes were so distributed among the several candidates, that the absolute majority, required by law,

* These also known as "the Rives and Talmadge party," amounted to no more than about twenty; but, in the then evenly-poised state of parties, they might have turned the scale either way; even including this body, the government majority was only estimated at ten. Mr. Rives is a representative of Virginia, and was once American minister at Paris.

was obtained at first by none; after much delay, and a repetition of trials, the "conservative" candidate was found to have received the necessary number of votes.

The finance committee of the Senate brought up four bills, one for suspending payment of the fourth instalment of surplus revenue to the states; another for authorising the issue of treasury notes equal to any deficiency that might ensue, with an additional 4,000,000 dollars by way of reserve. A third for extending the payment of revenue bonds, for a short period; and a fourth, for organizing a sub-treasury system, whereby the state should become its own banker. All these bills passed the Senate, with the addition of a fourth, authorizing the warehousing in bond of imported goods, for a term not exceeding three years.

The bill for suspending payment of the instalment to the states, passed the house of representatives, with an important amendment. It originally postponed the payment "until further provision be made by law;" these words were struck out, and "until the 1st of January 1839" inserted in their place.

With respect to the "treasury note bill," the main question was, whether the notes, when issued, should bear interest or not? The affirmative prevailed, by a majority of 127 to 98; and the secretary of the treasury was authorized to fix the interest at any rate, not exceeding six per cent, he might think proper. They were issued at two per cent.

The "sub-treasury bill" was lost in the house of representatives; after a warm debate, that House resolved to postpone the further consideration of the measure until the next session. The government had made great efforts to carry this bill, and its loss, though with a certainty of being reproduced, was hailed as a triumph by the opposite party. Another favourite specific of the president consisted of a bankrupt law, to be exclusively applicable to banking concerns. The project was referred to the judiciary committee of the Senate, who, however, were so far from recommending it, that they declined even to report upon it, and requested to be discharged from any farther consideration of the subject.

The hopes of those who had persuaded themselves, that the existing embarrassments might induce the legislature to recur to a national bank, were discouraged by resolutions of both houses, "that it is inexpedient to charter a bank of the United States."

The extraordinary session of Congress was closed on the 16th of October. The dominant party in the Union met with a heavy reverse at the election of the state legislature of New York. In the late house of assembly, there were ninety-four Van Buren, and thirty-four opposition members. In the newly elected body, it was supposed, that twenty-seven Van Buren men would have to contend against 101 of the opposite party.

This triumph was celebrated by the "whigs," with every circumstance of public exultation—firing of artillery, illuminations, bonfires, and a public dinner. Nor were the unfavourable prospects of the Van Buren party confined to the state of New York. The state of Georgia, formerly ministerial, elected an opposition governor. New Jersey exhibited a similar

change. The government majority in the Pennsylvanian legislature dwindled down from forty to six; and so in other parts of the union.

A convention of delegates from the several Atlantic banks met at New York, on the 27th of November. The subject of their deliberations, was the resumption of cash payments. The banks of New York were for a return to specie on an early day, those of Philadelphia and Baltimore recommended delay. Unable to come to a decision, they separated, leaving matters as they then were, with the intention of again assembling in April.

The introduction of a printing press, by the abolitionist party, into the town of Alton, in the state of Illinois, led to a riot. The exasperated populace attacked the warehouse, wherein the press had been deposited; but the abolitionists threw themselves into the building, and, for some time, made a stout defence with their fire arms; but when their leader, a Mr. Lovejoy, had fallen, mortally wounded by a musket ball, and the assailants were on the point of making their way into the already blazing warehouse, they offered to capitulate, and the rest escaped with their lives.

The war with the Seminole Indians continued, during the year, to employ the arms of the United States in Florida. The capture in the autumn, of a chief of great celebrity among this people, called Powell (his native designation being Oscola), was considered an event likely to be followed by the submission of this warlike tribe. Powell seems to have fallen a victim to his own misplaced reliance on the honour of his Anglo-American enemy. It appears, that seventy or eighty warriors, with this chief at their head, came into Fort Peyton, for the purpose of treating with general Hernandez, the United States commander, for a permanent cessation of hostilities. But when it transpired, in the course of the conference, that a cession of the disputed territory was a point, which the Indians, having at this period by no means the worst of the war, were determined to resist, general Hernandez gave a pre-concerted signal, and his troops, extending their lines, enclosed and captured the Indian warriors, while in the very act of negotiating; a clumsy fraud, as it appears, though the advantage thus obtained, was hailed as a triumph by the journals of the Union.

Congress re-assembled on the 4th of December. The president's message, on this occasion, contained, as usual, a review equally comprehensive and minute of the domestic condition, and the foreign relations of the republic. It will be found given at length, among the public documents, in another part of our volume.

Shortly after Mexico had thrown off the yoke of Spain, her government was so ill-advised as to permit colonists from the United States to settle, and acquire lands in Texas; though, at the same time, precautions were taken, with a view to secure the connexion of that province with the rest of the republic, by uniting it to Cohahuila, in which the Spanish population was comparatively numerous. According to the forms prescribed by the Mexican government with regard to the colonists, their number was to be limited; they were to profess the Catholic religion, and to instruct their children in

the Spanish language. For their further encouragement, they were exempted from taxation till 1828, and the privilege of colonization was to endure till 1840.

As long as these conditions were observed, affairs seem to have gone on pretty well in the province; but as the Anglo-American settlers became numerous, they evinced a desire to be independent, and, by way of preliminary, insisted upon a termination of their connexion with Cohahuila. The separation from Mexico being once resolved upon, pretexts were not wanting, nor occasions, for a quarrel.

In the mean time, volunteers, consisting, for the most part, of the refuse of the American cities, —outlaws, pirates, and swindlers, —poured in to assist the Texian insurgents. A loan of 200,000 dollars was obtained in New Orleans, and buccaneering vessels were fitted out in that port, with no opposition from the governments of the United States; on the contrary, every encouragement was afforded to them in all parts of the Union.

In the last volume will be found notice of the events which terminated in the expedition of Santa Anna, and the disastrous battle of St. Jacinto, in which that commander became a prisoner of war. The Mexicans made great preparations to redeem the honour they had lost in this unfortunate battle, by levies of troops and money. The Texians, on their part, contrived to gather a force of about 2,500 men, and still continued to invoke the aid, and inflame the rapacity of their fellow-countrymen in the United States. Nor were their invitations lost upon the fierce and turbulent denizens of the West.

An indirect demonstration in their favour made about this time by a division of the regular army of the United States, afforded them assistance, which they could not have anticipated. A treaty was in existence, which determined the frontier line between Mexico and her Anglo-American neighbour, and contained mutual stipulations, on the part of the two powers, to maintain order on the common boundary; and, in particular, to keep the Indian banditti in check. This agreement furnished the United States' government with a pretext for directing a *corps* of observation upon the Texian frontier, under the command of general Gaines. Mr. Forsyth, the secretary of state, when he informed the Mexican envoy of the march of these troops, assured him, that the United States' government had no other object in view, than to vindicate the neutrality of its territory; and begged him to understand, that, should the troops, on this service, happen to cross the frontier, it would be but an occasional act, and, in fact, a mere measure of police. General Gaines, on his part, had discretionary instructions to enter the Mexican territory, if the course of his duty made it necessary to do so. About the end of June, 1836, news arrived in Texas that the Mexicans were advancing in great force. It was then that general Gaines, having informed himself of the murder of two white men, by an Indian party on the Mexican territory, and more than twenty leagues from the frontier, passed the river Sabine, which divides the two states, and occupied the town of Nacogdoches; despatching, at the same time, requisitions to the governors

of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, for troops of mounted riflemen; or, in other words, inviting all the wild spirits who were disposed for a foray on the Mexican border, to place themselves under the colours of and sanction of the United States.

General Jackson, the then president, counter-ordered, we are told, these reinforcements. However that may be, it is certain, that the troops of the American confederation were at the theatre of war, giving moral, if not material succour, to the Texian freebooters; and, at least, ready to cover them from the consequences of any serious reverse.

It is not, therefore, surprising, that the Mexican envoy at Washington, upon hearing of the occupation of Nacogodches, considered that his mission was at an end, and that this was not the time for tendering to the government of the United States, satisfaction for its alleged grievances, since it was reasonable to suppose, that the balance of wrongs might be inclining to the other side.

General Jackson, however, in his message at the close of the year 1836, speaks in terms of animadversion of the conduct of the Mexican government in terminating this mission, "on the sole ground, that the obligations of this government to itself, and to Mexico, under treaty stipulations, had compelled him to trust a discretionary authority to a high officer of their army, to advance into a territory claimed as a part of Texas, if necessary, to protect their own, or the neighbouring frontier, from Indian depredation. In the opinion of the Mexican functionary, who had just left them, the honour of his countrymen would be wounded by American soldiers entering, with the most amicable avowed purposes, upon grounds from which the followers of his government had been expelled. The departure of this minister was the more singular, as he was apprised, that the sufficiency of the causes assigned for the advance of the troops, had been seriously doubted by him (the president); and that there was every reason to suppose, that the troops of the United States, their commander having had time to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the information, on which they had marched to Nacogdoches, would be either there in perfect accordance with the principles admitted to be just, or were already withdrawn, in consequence of the impressive warnings their commanding officer had received from the department of war."

But, putting out of consideration the equivocal aspect of the American division at Nacogdoches, it surely was hardly generous, on the part of the government of Washington, to extort satisfaction from Mexico, at a moment when she was helpless, destitute of all resources, her revenue mortgaged, her government without credit, and weakened by faction; and when strong circumstances of provocation, on the part of citizens of the United States, if not of the federal government, were undeniably existing.

The public revenue of Mexico had fallen from 20,000,000 of dollars (its amount before the separation from the mother country) to 12,000,000. What remained was already anticipated, and continued to be mortgaged, at, of course, an increasing disadvantage. The government was without credit, having already broken its existing

engagements. It was easy, therefore, to dictate terms to a state so crippled ; but was it not incumbent on the United States government, if bent on a rigid exaction of its legal rights to take care, that a corresponding discharge of legal duties should be exhibited on its own part ? The letter of the law, which entitled the United States to redress from Mexico, for a few petty insults, and disrespects, equally entitled Mexico to protection from the wholesale and organized *brigandage* of the citizens of the American confederation. If the United States Executive could not restrain the latter, they ought to have forborne to extort satisfaction for the former.

We have before had occasion to remark that the views of Santa Anna, from some cause or other, underwent considerable modifications during his captivity in Texas ; and from being the determined opposer, he became, apparently, the advocate, of Texian independence. While yet a prisoner, in July, 1836, he wrote to General Jackson a letter, which with a detail of the events which led to his capture, announced an alteration in his opinions with regard to Texas, and intimated his conviction, that it was proper to settle the question by negotiation, and solicited the interference of the Government of the United States, for that purpose. " The Mexicans," said he " are magnanimous when treated with consideration. I will clearly set before them the proper, and humane reasons, which require frank and noble conduct on their part, and I doubt not they will act thus as soon as they have been convinced."

General Jackson, in his reply of the 4th of September, observes, " the government of the United States, is ever anxious to cultivate peace and friendship with all nations, but it proceeds on the principle, that all nations have the right to alter, amend, or change their own government. Consistently with this principle, whatever we can do to restore peace between contending nations, or remove the causes of misunderstanding, is cheerfully at the service of those, who are willing to rely upon our good offices, as a friend, or mediator."

He then proceeds to state, that any agreement, which Santa Anna acting on behalf of Mexico, might have made with the Texians, could not be taken notice of by the Government of the United States, since the Mexican minister had informed him, that no act of General Santa Anna, while a prisoner, would be regarded as binding upon the state of Mexico.

In January, Santa Anna, having procured his release, appeared, as we have already stated, at Washington, where he became an object of great interest. But if the intention of his visit was to obtain the immediate recognition of Texian independence, he seems to have come to little purpose. Before the end of the month he was on his passage to Vera Cruz.

The Texian government, if it deserve the name, sent a plenipotentiary to Washington, who was to endeavour to obtain, in the first instance, a recognition of Texas, and then to open a negotiation for its admission into the confederation. In all respects it seems to have settled down to its new functions, in a very systematic manner.* We

* It is not surprising to find the Texians complaining of " the spirit of land

are informed of various "decrees of congress;" among which are, "an act for the better protection of the northern frontier;" another "to raise a revenue by import duties;" and another "to authorize the president to appoint a commissioner, to run the boundary line between the United States of America and the republic of Texas." A resolution also passed both houses, requesting the President to appoint an agent in England; and accordingly a General Henderson was named "Texian minister plenipotentiary to the court at St. James's."

Meanwhile the Federalist party in Mexico made another attempt to re-establish the old constitution of 1824. General Montezuma, sallied from St. Louiz, on the 26th of May, 1836, at the head of a party of cavalry. But he was defeated by a superior force, and himself slain on the field of battle.

The ex-president Bustamente, who had retired to France, no sooner heard of the disaster, that had befallen Santa Anna, than he hastened to return to Mexico, where he arrived at the end of 1836. His friends immediately put him in nomination for the presidential chair, and he was in the course of the following year, elevated to his former dignity.

Santa Anna reached Vera Cruz on the 20th of February, 1837. On his arrival, he addressed the people, assuring them that his liberation had not been obtained by bribery, or by any concession on his part, derogatory to the honour of Mexico. It was purely owing, he said, to the kind offices of General Houstoun, the Texian President. And he wrote letters to the minister of war, and to the President *ad interim*, in which he reiterated, in the most positive manner, his declaration, that he had not contracted any engagement to further the recognition of Texas as an independent state.

The news of the immediate approach of Santa Anna had put all parties on the alert. At a secret sitting of Congress on the 6th of February, Bustamente, (not yet President,) had suggested, that two measures should be adopted in reference to this event. 1st. That Santa Anna should be required to give an account to Congress of the whole of his conduct since the battle of Jacinto, and until he had satisfied Congress on that point should be incapable of any office civil or military. 2dly That any person whatever, who should contribute directly, or indirectly, to the dismemberment of the national territory, should be held as a traitor, and punished accordingly. These propositions were referred to the committee on the affairs of Texas, which reported in their favour, and farther recommended a formal confirmation, and renewal of the declaration of nullity of all Santa Anna's acts, while prisoner, contained in the law of the 20th of May 1836.

On the very day that this report was communicated to Congress, there appeared an official note from the minister of the interior, announcing the liberation of "the president of the republic, general Santa Anna." and ordering this happy event to be published with all due solemnity.

At the same time, the Mexican government were exerting themselves to the utmost in preparations for carrying the war into Texas.

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speculation" exhibited by some "members of the cabinet."

Bustamente, at the head of 6000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and some artillery, announced his intention of taking the field without delay; general Bravo being appointed second in command. At the same time the fleet, composed of a few brigs and schooners, sailed from Vera Cruz to Matamoras, and the Texian ports were declared in a state of blockade.

The French government seems to have thought, with the United States, that the present time was convenient for the purpose of obtaining from the Mexicans redress of grievances, alleged to have been inflicted upon French subjects. And, accordingly, the minister of that power was directed to demand from the government of Vera Cruz, an immediate adjustment of all matters in controversy, and an unconditional liquidation of a large pecuniary demand.

In the spring, Bustamente was elected president. His cabinet was composed as follows: Don Joaquim Lebrija undertook the finance department, Mariano Michelena went to the war office, and Manuel Pena y Pena was to conduct the business of the interior. Santa Anna retired into the country, and remained waiting his opportunity, unmolested, and giving no offence.

The Mexican government made this year a bold and specious endeavour to retrieve its lost credit. The particulars of the scheme, as they appeared in the decree of Corro, the president, *ad interim*, were to the following effect.

The present European debt of Mexico, with its arrears of interest, being computed at £48,000,000, and requiring an annual sum of nearly £2,500,000 to pay the interest, it was proposed to create "a national consolidated fund," with interest at the rate of five per cent. The holders of the bonds already in circulation of the foreign debt, proceeding from the two loans effected in London at five and six per cent. interest respectively, were to have the power of converting their existing securities into bonds of the new fund on the following terms:—the bonds bearing five per cent. interest were to be taken at par., those at six per cent. were to be received at twelve and a-half per cent. premium. The bonds thus offered for conversion were to be exchanged, one half of their amount for bonds of the new fund at five per cent. interest, the other half in land warrants on the vacant lands in the departments of Texas, Chihuaha, New Mexico, Sonora, and California, at the rate of four acres for each pound sterling; these warrants, carrying five per cent. interest up to the moment that the holder was put into possession of his land. As an additional provision against accumulation of interest in arrear, the holders of *coupons* might present them on the day of their becoming due to the Mexican agent in London, who would be empowered to furnish a certificate, receivable as cash at the custom-houses of Vera Cruz and Santa Anna de Tamaulipas, in payment of duties to the amount of one sixth part of the sum payable in respect of such duties.

The Mexican ports were declared open to Spanish commerce on the 28th of December, 1836, in pursuance of a treaty to that effect.

Peru-Bolivia and Chili. Soon after the events related in our last volume, the two new Peruvian states agreed to form with Bolivia a federative commonwealth, at the head of which, by common con-

sent, was placed General Santa Cruz, who announced this event in a circular, dated the 20th of August, 1836. His elevation, however, did not give satisfaction to some of the neighbouring states. The Chilian government, jealous of his predominance, and having, as was alleged, many causes of complaint against the new confederation, recalled its minister from Lima, and issued a declaration of war. The grounds whereon these two petty states founded their quarrel are enveloped in a cloud of recrimination on either side.* Buenos Ayres was persuaded to join the Chilians in offensive operations.

After hostilities had actually commenced, and the Chilian navy had made several prizes, a negotiation was opened on board H.B.M. ship Talbot, at Callao, and an armistice for four months was agreed upon; but the president of Chili refused to ratify this convention, and dispatched a squadron of eight vessels under Admiral Blanco, on the 29th of November, 1836, to blockade the ports of Peru. Santa Cruz, on his part, made preparations of defence. But an event occurred in Chili which very much retarded any measure of attack on the part of that state.

Don Diego Portales, the minister of war, and great promoter of aggressive operations on the part of Chili, as well as of the alliance offensive and defensive which the government of Buenos Ayres had been persuaded to contract, was seized and murdered by the troops of the expeditionary army at Quillota. It seems that Colonel Vidaurre, the commander of the forces had raised the standard of insurrection, and having got Portales into his power, he put him in irons, and detached a party of troops with a view of carrying Valparaiso by a *coup de main.* Failing in this and having been defeated in an engagement with the government troops, the revolters fell into disorder and slew Portales under circumstances of great cruelty, and then dispersed in all directions. Soon afterwards Vidaurre, and most of his officers, were taken, and received the reward of their crime, being put to death themselves. Order being thus restored, General Aldunate took the command of the army, and Don Ramon Cavareda was appointed to the war department.

The Argentine Republic displayed great energy in her preparations for war; and General Heredia was appointed to conduct the expedition which was to enter the Peru-Bolivian territory. Heredia, in his proclamation, denounced Santa Cruz in strong language, and called upon the Bolivians and Aboriginal Indians to withdraw themselves from his domination.

The loss of Portales was severely felt in the Chilian councils, and no man appeared competent to fill his place, either as a war minister, or as moderator of domestic factions. On the other hand the Peru-Bolivian government made no secret of their great anxiety for peace on fair terms, and offered to treat, through the mediation of either Great Britain or the neighbouring state of the Equator. But

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* The Chilians, it seems, accused the Peru-Bolivians of being privy to a hostile descent of the ex-president of Chili, General Freire, at the head of a band of exiles. They also complained of the new commercial rules and duties which Santa Cruz had introduced in Peru.

it would seem that Chili so peremptorily insisted on the departure of Santa Cruz from Peru as a preliminary, as to preclude any present prospect of accommodation.

The constitution of the New Peru-Bolivia Republic, as drawn up by the Congress of Tacna, consisting of deputies from the three states, made its appearance in the summer of 1837. It gave to each of the three states a separate Assembly, a general Congress composed of two chambers was to meet once in two years. The members of the senate were to be elected for life; and for this office thirty candidates were to be proposed by the different departments of the confederation to the supreme chief, who was to select fifteen out of the number. A qualification of $2,000 income was required for a senator, and half that sum for a representative. A capital of $3,000 gave the electoral franchise. The chief of the confederation was to be elected every ten years by the general Congress out of six candidates proposed by the three Republics. But Santa Cruz was named, in an article of the constitution, as the first supreme chief.

On the 5th of June, 1837, a treaty of commerce and navigation was executed between the Peru-Bolivian confederation and Great Britain. It provided for "a reciprocal freedom of trade" between the two nations, and was fully calculated to establish, on the most satisfactory and equitable footing, their commercial relation to each other.*

A misunderstanding, for a short time prevailed at the commencement of the year between Great Britain and the Columbian state of New Granada, and attracted towards that feeble republic all the thunders of British diplomacy. It seems that on the night of the 20th of November, 1836, Mr. Russell, the English vice-consul at Panama, got involved in a street broil with a Señor Parades, in which the latter received a wound. A crowd collected, and Mr. Russell was, it is alleged, unceremoniously knocked down, disarmed, hurried off to prison, and all his official papers seized. This squabble led to a long correspondence between the Granadian minister for foreign affairs, M. Pombo, and Mr. Turner, the British consul at Panama, acting under the instructions of his government. The latter insisted upon the immediate liberation of Mr. Russell, the punishment of the authorities misconducting themselves in the affair, the restoration of the papers of the British consulate in a solemn and public manner, and compensation to Mr. Russell.

The Granadian cabinet at first resisted these peremptory demands, alleging that the British government had acted upon a partial representation of the case: and it expressed its regret, that a powerful state, should have thus hastily resorted to force, instead of awaiting the course of legal remedies, and ascertaining what negotiation might produce. It, moreover, declared, that the Granadian government must continue to resist the demands of Great Britain, although "not unconscious of the ills and miseries which must result from the encounter." General Santander, the president, also issued a pro-

* By the 14th article, the Peru-Bolivian government engaged to co-operate with Great Britain for the total abolition of the slave trade.

clamation, which contained an appeal to the honour and patriotism of his countrymen on this emergency.

The matter was, however, soon decided by the appearance of Commodore Peyton, with a British squadron, off Carthagena, and by the blockade of that port. The sentence passed upon Mr. Russell for an assault was annulled, and 1000*l.* sterling was presented to that gentleman, as a compensation for the injury he had received.*

On the 1st of March, 1837, general Santander retired from the presidential chair of the republic. His farewell message to the legislature informed them, that the republic enjoyed "liberty and order, under the authority of the laws made by the representatives of the people." After adverting to the different relations of the state with foreign powers, he commented, at some length, on the recent dispute with Great Britain, and expressed his surprise, that "the orders of a government, so enlightened as that of the great English nation, should be accompanied by threats of resorting to force, and that the information, which discussion supplies in international disputes, should have been rejected." Santander was succeeded in the office of president by Jose Ignacio de Marguez.

Perhaps, the most interesting part of the history of these infant republics, in the eyes of an European reader, is that which is connected with their debts to foreign nations. The legislature of VENEZUELA passed a bill in the session of 1837, which enacted that thenceforward the import duties should be collected in specie, and that the charge upon the custom-houses, for payment of the floating debt, by the appropriation of eight parts of all duties, should cease, debts being in future liquidated through the medium of the treasury. With respect to the foreign debt, 160,000 dollars annually were to be appropriated, out of the produce of the custom-house duties, to the payment of the interest of such portion as the state of Venezuela had undertaken to answer for.*

General Paez, the president of this republic, and upon whom the congress had conferred the honourable title of "illustrious citizen," received, in the course of the year, a flattering token of esteem from King William the Fourth. His majesty transmitted to the general a sword, on the blade of which were inscribed these words, "given by William the Fourth to general Paez, in proof of esteem for his character, and for the disinterested patriotism which has signalized his gallant and honourable career."

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* The French government, which had somewhat similar grounds of complaint against the Granadians, also made a naval demonstration at Carthagena, in the autumn of 1836. Admiral Mackau arrived at that port with several ships of war, being commissioned to re-establish the French consulate, aad to accept the apologies which the Granadian government had consented to offer. All this was done in due form. The offenders were also punished; and the relations of the two states replaced to their former footing.

* By the terms of the convention concluded at Bogota, on the 23rd of December, 1834, the Colombian debt was apportioned between the three republics of Venezuela, New Granada, and the Equator, in the following proportions; Venezuela was charged with 28½ per cent. of the debt, New Granada with 50 per cent., and the Equator with 21½ per cent.

But since, by an article of the Venezuelan constitution, "all citizens invested with functions of honour and confidence, are forbidden to receive presents from any foreign king, prince, or state, without the previous consent of the congress."—The general could not accept this present, until he had submitted the matter to congress; who, it may be supposed, made no difficulties upon the subject.

A military insurrection in this state was suppressed in the month of April by general Paez, though not without some hard fighting. The expenditure of Venezuela for the year 1837–8 was estimated at 1,763,649 dollars, 51 cents. In the spring Michelena retired from the ministry of finance, and was succeeded by a colonel William Smith.

Buenos Ayres, (the Argentine republic). We have already mentioned the co-operation of this state with Chili, in the Peru-Bolivian war. Its domestic affairs are without much interest; but the people are at present prosperous and quiet. It seems, however, that the state-finances do not participate in the general improvement, that has been taking place in the republic during the last year or two, under the presidency of general Rosas.

The budget, presented by the minister of finance, stated the revenue collected at the custom house during 1836 at $\mathscr{S}$10,129,5$\frac{1}{4}$ silver, and $\mathscr{S}$11,808,786,3$\frac{3}{4}$ reals currency; and the total of expences and payments at $\mathscr{S}$70,614,$\frac{1}{4}$ silver, and $\mathscr{S}$14,763,384,3 reals currency.

The revenue for 1837 was estimated at $\mathscr{S}$12,000,000, and the expenditure at $\mathscr{S}$18,,015,124,7$\frac{3}{4}$. To supply the deficit, various resources were anounced, having, in all probability, no existence, but on paper.

In the state of Banda Oriental, (Monte Video.) Rivera again assumed a formidable attitude, and found himself at the head of a considerable force of malcontents in the autumn of the year, but nothing decisive seems to have occurred.

Brazil. On the 19th of September, Feijo, regent of Brazil, "being satisfied, that by his continuance in the regency, he should not be able to eradicate the public grievances, which were daily aggravated by the want of appropriate laws, and not wishing, in any way, to be an hindrance to any more fortunate citizen, who might be empowered by the nation to preside over its destinies," resigned his post. In a manifesto, published upon this occasion, he declared, that he had accepted office without much hope of being able to do any good, in the existing state of affairs, but that he had sacrificed his private convictions to the public wishes. The event has justified his apprehensions. "I could detail to you," he said in his address, "the invincible difficulties which I saw and experienced; but wherefore? I have justified the act of my spontaneous resignation, by the ingenuous declaration, that I have not been able to do what you expected from me." The regency devolved provisionally upon Senhor Pedro de Aranjo e Lima, and a new administration was formed. Senhor Monteiro taking the department of foreign affairs, Calmon da Peres Almeida the finances, and Pereira do Vasconcellos the interior.

The new cabinet was not long without full employment. An insurrection broke out at Bahia on

the 7th of November, and the province was declared independent of the Brazilian government. The president of the province, and the military governor took refuge on board a Brazilian corvette, and made sail under the fire of the forts, which was directed upon them. A new government was installed, of which Senhor Galvao was named president; he, however, being absent, Carneiro da Silva Rego was provisionally substituted. Although this revolution was effected without bloodshed, great alarm existed lest further trouble should arise, and the negro slaves, a fierce and dangerous body, be induced to take their part likewise in the conflict between the contending factions. The province of Rio Grande was also in a state of revolution, and had declared its independence, though the imperialists still remained in possession of some places.

CHAPTER XX.

State of Parties—Municipal Elections—Subscription for the Support of Irish Election Contests—City Banquet to the Queen—Opening of the New Parliament—Her Majesty's Speech—Address, moved in the Lords by the Duke of Sussex—Debate on the Address in the Commons— Mr. Wakley moves an Amendment—It is seconded by Sir William Molesworth—Lord John Russell's Reply—Speech of Sir Robert Peel — The Amendment is rejected — Mr. Harvey's Amendment relating to the Civil List—It is withdrawn—The Report on the Address—Discontent expressed by the Radical Party at the Language—Speeches of Mr. Leader and Mr. Chas. Buller —Lord John Russell's Vindication of the Ministerial Policy—Civil List—Mr. Spring Rice moves for a Committee on the subject —Statement of the Government Plan—Mr. Harvey's Amendment with respect to the Pension List — The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a Committee on the Subject—Opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who moves an Amendment—Speeches of Mr. Harvey, Lord Stanley, and Lord John Russell—The Amendment is rejected —Omission of Mr. Harvey's Name on the Committee—Discussion on the Subject—Sir George Sinclair's Motion for the Insertion of Mr. Harvey's Name is rejected—Royal Message respecting the Annuity for the Duchess of Kent—Third Reading of the Civil List Bill—Mr. Grote's Amendment on the Subject of Pensions— It is rejected—The Amendment of Sir Robert Peel on the same Subject is carried—Introduction of the Bill into the House of Lords—Speeches of Lord Brougham—The Bill is passed—Intelligence from Canada — Discussion on the subject in the House of Commons—Speeches of the Radical Members on behalf of the Canadians—Adjournment of the House.

THE interval between the return of the new parliament and its meeting at Westminster was spent by the organs of both parties in calculations of their respective gains or losses by the late general election; and in speculations on its probable consequences. The partisans of the ministry could not dissemble, that the experiment of an appeal to the people had failed of its object; they had not gained in quantity, and had lost in quality; and were therefore fain to content themselves with affirming, that, at any rate their official position was not less secure than before.

And of that advantage the ministers appeared disposed to avail themselves to the last. It was evident, that they were determin-

ed not to quit their posts as long as a majority of the House of Commons, however small, and composed of whatever materials, could be found to maintain them there. Nor, saying this, do we admit any peculiar imputation on the whigs as a party. Sir Robert Peel, it will be remembered, submitted to make the trial of conducting the government *against* a majority in the House of Commons; he could hardly blame his adversaries if, while supported by one, they were unwilling to give up the enjoyments of office.

These enjoyments, however, comprised little beyond the possession of income and patronage, to which may be added the satisfaction of keeping their opponents out of them. Of *power*, in a political sense, they had none. They could carry no measure of any kind, but by sufferance of Sir Robert Peel. Shortly after the close of the elections, a pamphlet was published entitled "The Domestic Prospects of the Country under the New Parliament," which was generally understood to speak the sentiments of men in office, though afterwards it was formally denied that it had any authority to do so. It would appear from this publication, that ministers so far appreciated the *degree* of their strength in Parliament, that they were anxious to avoid all gratuitous occasions for its exercise. The burden of the composition was an exhortation to the liberal party of all shades and denominations, to combine in supporting the whigs in office; and a deprecation of any step or motion which might disquiet them in their possession of it. An endeavour was made so to modify all the measures or principles to which the ministry stood pledged, as to render them less wholly unpalatable to their tory opponents. Thus, with respect to the Irish Municipal Bill, it was suggested, that it was a point of no great importance, whether corporations should *immediately* be reorganised in *all* the principal towns of Ireland. As for the Irish tithe question, that was said to be the concern of the Irish clergy; and if they were not anxious for its settlement, it would be the duty of Lord Melbourne to let it take its own course. Upon the questions of "English church-rates," "the revision of the poor-law," and "general education," the writer contended, that there was no difficulty, with which the House of Commons might not effectually deal without coming even to a division, and he concluded with the injunction, that reformers of all parties, whatever might be their object, whether the ballot, or an extension of the suffrage; the redress of evils in Ireland, or in Canada; "should, one and all, enter upon the new session with this conviction thoroughly impressed on their minds, that there is not one of those questions, no, not one, which is not secondary to the great object of maintaining Lord Melbourne's cabinet, free from every species of embarrassment." The pamphlet, as we have said, was disclaimed, as having official authority; but it is difficult to believe, that any but a minister, or the immediate retainer of one, could have framed this last paragraph. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were not idle in making preparation for the ensuing parliamentary campaign; and the usual machinery of dinners and meetings and associations was put in motion in various

parts of the country, to give the semblance, at least, of an expression of public opinion on their behalf. A more specific measure of aggression was suggested by the result of the Irish elections. These, in a large majority of cases, had been favourable to the O'Connell party; and it was alleged, that in many, if not most of them, the event was attributable either to the effect of popular or priestly intimidations, or to the corrupt and perjured manner in which the registration of voters had been conducted in that country. It was proposed, upon these grounds, to contest the returns of a great number of the Irish elections before committees of the House of Commons; and to meet the expense of this process, a public subscription was opened, the monies collected under which quickly amounted to a considerable sum. At the head of the committee for conducting this operation was Mr. Andrew Spottiswoode, one of the queen's printers, and from him it contracted the appellation of the Spottiswoode gang. As might be supposed, the party which was to suffer from its proceedings were not slow in heaping on the association every epithet calculated to brand it as oppresssive and illegal. And indeed, speaking generally, the fairness of such a combination might admit of much question. But the existing state of the Irish representation, and the peculiar influences under which the franchise is exercised in that country, seem to justify a resort to any measure tending to neutralise their operation.

The elections to supply the annual vacancies in the municipal councils of corporate towns, took place on the 1st of November. The anticipations entertained by either party of the political operation of the new municipal act, seem to have been in a great degree disappointed. It appeared from the recent general election, that a majority in the common council of a town, had little connection with the return of its representatives in parliament. This was strikingly exemplified at Liverpool, Norwich, and Hull, where, although the old corporate body had been entirely displaced, the conservative candidates nevertheless triumphed completely in the election. Even in the municipal contests, the success of the radical or reforming party was far from being as uniform as it was expected. In a great number of instances their adversaries had decidedly the advantage.

Whatever be its party predilections, the great corporation of the city of London, distinguished itself this Autumn, by a striking display demonstrative of its loyalty to the crown, in the magnificent entertainment which was given to the Queen, in Guildhall, on the 9th of November. The details of this festival belong to another part of our volume; where it will be seen, that nothing was wanting to give the utmost possible splendour to the pageant. The event is not without its political interest, as bearing some witness to the important fact, that the doctrines, or rather the calculations of modern economists, had not yet eradicated even from the 'liberal' common council of the city of London, their substantial respect for royalty, or that taste for the outward circumstance that belongs to it, without which the sentiment itself cannot long exist.

On the 20th of November the

Queen went in state to the House of Lords to open the Parliament. The attendance both of members and of strangers was, as might have been expected, unusually large. The Speaker and a considerable number of the members of the House of Commons being present, the Queen in the first place repeated and signed the usual declaration, and then proceeded to read in a clear and audible voice, the following speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*—

"I have thought it right to assemble you for the transaction of public business, at the earliest convenient period after the dissolution of the late Parliament.

"It is with great satisfaction, that I have received from all foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition, and of their earnest desire to cultivate and maintain with me the relation of amity; and I rejoice in the prospect that I shall be able to promote the best interests of my subjects, by securing to them the advantages of peace.

"I lament that civil war still afflicts the kingdom of Spain. I continue to exercise with fidelity the engagement of my Crown with the Queen of Spain, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Quadruple alliance.

"I have directed a treaty of commerce, which I have concluded with the United Republic of Peru and Bolivia, to be laid before you, and I hope soon to be able to communicate to you, similar results of my negotiations with other powers.

"I recommend to your serious consideration, the state of the province of Lower Canada.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The demise of the Crown renders it necessary, that a new provision should be made for the civil list. I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were transferred to the public by my immediate predecessor, and I have commanded, that such papers as may be necessary for the full examination of this subject, shall be prepared and laid before you. Desirous, that the expenditure in this, as in every other department of the Government, should be kept within due limits, I feel confident that you will gladly make adequate provision for the support of the honour and dignity of the Crown.

"The estimates for the services of next year are in course of preparation, and will be laid before you, at the accustomed period. I have directed, that the utmost economy should be enforced in every branch of the public expenditure.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The external peace, and domestic tranquillity, which at present happily prevail, are very favourable for the consideration of such measures of reformation and amendment, as may be necessary or expedient; and your attention will naturally be directed to that course of legislation which was interrupted by the necessary dissolution of the last Parliament.

"The result of the enquiries which have been made into the condition of the poor in Ireland, has been already laid before Parliament. And it will be your duty to consult, whether it may not be

wise and safe to establish by law some well regulated means of relief, for the destitute in that country.

"The municipal government of the cities and towns in Ireland, calls for better regulation.

"The laws which govern the collection of the tithe composition in Ireland, require revision and amendment. Convinced that the better and more effectual administration of justice is amongst the first duties of a sovereign, I request your attention to those measures which will be submitted to you, for the improvement of the law.

"You cannot but be sensible of the deep importance of these questions which I have submitted to you, and of the necessity of treating them in that spirit of impartiality and justice, which affords the best hope, of bringing them to a happy and useful termination.

"In meeting this Parliament, the first that has been elected under my authority, I am anxious to declare my confidence in your loyalty and wisdom. The early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom, renders it a more imperative duty, that, under Divine Providence, I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-operation, and upon the love and affection of all my people."

The address was moved in the House of Lords by no less a peer than the Duke of Sussex, but scarcely any discussion took place upon it. In touching upon the several topics of the speech, the royal Duke carefully avoided, every allusion, or expression, capable of giving offence to any member of the House. He referred with much satisfaction to the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, at the close of the last session, of his desire to assist in the settlement of the Irish questions, and also to the approbation he had so honestly avowed of the New Poor law. His royal highness further expressed his pleasure at the affectionate reception which the Queen had met with, in her late visit to the city; and adverted to the peculiar interest with which, he said, he must regard a sovereign whose birth he had been one of the first to witness. The address was seconded by Lord Portman, and fully assented to, by the Duke of Wellington, who said he would follow the example, which had been set him, of abstaining from every remark that could awaken party feeling. After congratulating the House on the prospect of unanimity, and expressing his cordial wishes for her Majesty's prosperity and happiness, he assured the illustrious Duke, that with regard to the measures for the settlement of the Irish question, and the Poor law, his opinions remained unchanged.

The address was then agreed to, and ordered to be presented with the usual forms.

In the House of Commons, the address in answer to the Queen's speech was moved by Lord Leveson, and seconded by Mr. Craig.

A discussion followed, in which the way was led by Mr. Wakley, who said he rose to remind ministers that they had some *Radical* supporters in the house, a circumstance which they seemed to have entirely forgotten. After hearing the speech from the throne, the hon. Member said, he wished to ask but one question of ministers: To what purpose had they been so anxious in 1835 to eject Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives? It

was complained of the speech from the throne framed by the right hon. Baronet in that year, that it was vague and unsatisfactory, and without any specification of the reforms proposed to be adopted. Mr. Wakley declared that he had never read a speech from any sovereign of this country more open to the same reproach than the present one. This language was received with cheers from the opposition benches, upon which Mr. Wakley advised the gentlemen occupying them to spare their applause; he had, he said, no wish to see *them* in office. The ministers, at least, he regarded as *squeezable* commodities, out of which something good might, by compression, be extracted, but the Tories were mere petrifactions, which could be moulded into nothing. At the commencement of a new reign, with a young queen educated as ours had been, the people had a right to expect a more explicit acknowledgment of their grievances, and some indication of the means of redress. They were now fresh from the hustings, where they had all been sufficiently liberal; even the Tories had there professed themselves the friends of the people, and declared their delight in seeing the operatives come forward and take a share in politics. In order to test the sincerity of both parties, he would now move an amendment, in general terms, in favour of an extension of the suffrage.

Mr. Wakley accordingly concluded his speech by moving three amendments, which he said he would put to the house separately, in order that members might have no excuse for avoiding to vote on any particular proposition. The first was to the following effect:—"That this house embraces the earliest opportunity of respectfully assuring her majesty, that it will, in the present session of parliament, take into consideration the state of the representation of the people, in this branch of the legislature, with a view to insure, by law, an equitable extension of the elective franchise."

This amendment was seconded by Sir W. Molesworth, who declared that the events of the last elections had produced a general conviction, that the reform bill had failed to attain its object of securing a better representation of the people; and that it had only re-produced, in another shape, and in a more aggravated form, all the evils of the ancient system. That there was no re-action in favour of Toryism, he said, was proved by the result of the election both in the metropolis and in the large manufacturing districts. Demoralization and corruption had only been increased under the reform act, which itself wanted reform, and he trusted the government would bring in a bill for that purpose.

No reply was made by ministers to these appeals, and the house was about to divide on the amendment, when Mr. Hume rose to request from them a specific statement of their intentions on the points in question. He wanted to know whether the reform bill was, or was not, to be carried out. That measure, he said, was but an experiment, and he, who talked of final measures in a legislative assembly, was a fool.

The people, Mr. Hume observed, would look with great distrust on a queen's speech which said nothing of church-rates, and the reform of the church itself. He wished to

know what ministers intended to do with Canada—whether the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall were to be given up by the crown, and what reduction would be made in the military establishment of the country. With regard to the amendment before the house, he thought it had better be withdrawn. There would be better opportunities than the present for doing justice to the discussion of it.

As the ministers still kept silence, another radical member, Mr. Grote, took up the same line of attack. He said he fully agreed in the substance of the proposed amendments, though he considered the present introduction of them inopportune. He was sure that the ballot was necessary to sustain a reformed ministry. The result of the present system virtually was, to give to the right hon. baronet, the member for Tamworth, a veto upon any measure of a reforming character which ministers might propose. The Conservative principle, (and by this he meant the negation of all substantial reform) was really predominant in parliament. The hon. member observed, that if this result had arisen under any system of representation which had the means of collecting the fair sense of the people, he should bow submissively to it. But this could not be asserted. He would not consent to take the votes of tenants and tradesmen dictated to by landlords, and overawed by customers, as the free voice of the people of England. It would be unjust, continued Mr. Grote, to charge ministers with the defects of the reform bill; yet, being now acquainted with them, if they acquiesced in the present system, and still adopted it as a final and unimproveable measure, he could come to no other conclusion, than that they approved of the relative power now established in that house between them and the Tories.

After a few words on the Conservative side from Mr. Liddell and Colonel Perceval, Lord John Russell rose, and began by admitting the reproach, if reproach it were, of having framed the speech with a view to preclude dissension. It was, he thought, highly desirable, that the queen should receive a unanimous address from her first parliament. Ministers would have been justly censured for inconsiderate rashness, had they introduced into the speech all the topics Mr. Wakley wished to have found there. He had thought it right, in 1835, to demand that the measures prepared by lord Melbourne's government of the previous year, and only not brought forward on account of the sudden dismissal of that ministry, should be stated in the address. Could it be denied, that of those measures, several of the most important had since been carried? In reply to Mr. Hume he would state, that it was the intention of government to introduce again their pluralities bill, and to move for the re-appointment of the committee on church-rates. In allusion to Mr. Wakley's amendment, the noble lord observed, to the amusement of the house, that the hon. member had put his powders into three separate papers, as portions of what he considered the same medicine. Without entering into any general discussion of the questions involved in those amendments, lord John Russell said, he thought it necessary shortly to state his opinion of the present

operation of the reform bill, and of his own position with respect to it. He fully admitted the disadvantages and injuries to which the reform act was subject. Corruption and intimidation had prevailed at the late elections to a very lamentable extent. With respect to the registration of voters in particular, great amendments might be made. These were points on which it behoved parliament to be always alive and attentive, to see that the act suffered no essential injury, and to remedy any error in the details which experience of its actual working might suggest. "But these," continued the noble lord, "are questions widely different from those now brought forward, such as the ballot, the extension of the suffrage, and triennial parliaments, which are, and I can consider them as nothing else, but a repeal of the reform act, and placing the representation on a totally different footing. Am I then prepared to do this? I say, certainly not." With respect to registration, lord John said, the attorney-general was about to bring forward the bill of last session in an amended form, and he himself would re-introduce his measure respecting the payment of rates; but as to a second reform of the representation, having only five years ago placed it on a new basis, it would be a most unwise and unsound experiment now to begin anew the process of reconstruction. It was one in which he, at least, must decline taking any share. He considered that the entering so soon again into this question, would destroy the stability of our institutions. When the reform act was first brought forward, the cry, even of moderate reformers, was, that it was too large; but it was the opinion of lord Grey and lord Althorp that it was safer than a less extensive measure of reform, as they might the more confidently rely on it proving a final one. No doubt the people of England had fully the right to re-consider the provisions of that act, if so it seemed to them fit. But, for himself, lord John said, he felt that by taking any part in these large measures of reconstruction, he should be guilty of a breach of faith towards those who had supported him in its origination. If the people of England did not approve of his sentiments, they might reject him both as a minister and a representative, but they must not call upon him to do what neither his sense of prudence, nor of honour would justify. With respect to the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, the noble lord said, it was not intended to surrender them, but accounts of the revenues of them would be periodically laid before parliament. Upon the subject of Canada he declined giving any opinion at that time.

Sir Robert Peel congratulated the House upon the noble Lord's aversion to Mr. Wakley's physic, and rejoiced that ministers had shewn themselves of less *squeezable* materials than that hon. member had anticipated. Sir Robert went on to contend, that it was owing to a real change in the opinions of the people, and not through the effect of intimidation or corruption, that the liberal majority had dwindled down from a hundred and fifty to thirty. The member for Finsbury called for a change, in order to recover and maintain for himself and his party the predominance they had lost, but Sir Robert Peel said, his confidence

in the people of England was such, that if he were to give Mr. Wakley a *carte blanche* to cut and carve the constituency as he pleased, he believed he would still be in a minority. The declaration of the noble lord, and the experience of the last elections, had strengthened the assurance he felt, that reason would ultimately prevail.

Mr. Ward, after observing that the speech of Sir Robert Peel, and more particularly that of Lord John Russell, had induced him to alter his original resolution, which had been to vote against Mr. Wakley's motion, proceeded to warn the noble lord, that, by his declaration against the ballot, he had signed his own death warrant, and chalked out his political grave.

A division then took place, when there appeared,

For Mr. Wakley's amendment	20
Against it	509
Majority	489

The numbers having been declared, Mr. Wakley said, he would not trouble the House to divide on the other two amendments. He was satisfied with having proved that there was, at any rate, a coalition of *principles* between the leaders of the two aristocratic parties in the House. It was manifest that they were in the same boat, and must sink or swim together The two other amendments, pledging the House to the vote by ballot, and the repeal of the Septennial Act, were then put, and negatived without a division.

The question having again been put on the address, Mr. Harvey shortly proposed an amendment to the following effect:

"That, whilst this House is desirous of making the most liberal provision for the support of the becoming splendour, and just dignity of the Crown, they feel that the same ought to be derived from obvious and direct sources; and that to such end, every branch of the hereditary revenues of the Crown ought to be placed, without reservation, and without exception, under the control of Parliament, as the surest means of protecting the crown against exaggerated impressions of their amount, and as a security against their misapplication." The amendment further stated, that in the arrangement of the Civil List, the House confidently relied upon the ready co-operation of her Majesty in promoting all needful inquiry into the claims of persons to be continued as recipients of state provision, "being deeply impressed with the obligation of applying to them a test similar to that which which has been recently introduced, and is now in force amongst a less fortunate portion of her majesty's subjects."

With respect to the former part of this amendment, Mr. Harvey observed, that it was in substance the same with the proposition ministers had themselves made on the subject, when in opposition. It was important, that the actual amount and nature of the property arising from the revenues of the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, should be fully understood, before they entered on the discussion of the civil list. The hon. member then proceeded to press the second part of his amendment relating to the pension list, for the revision of which, he said, a strong feeling existed in the public mind, materially strengthened by the late alteration in the Poor-law system. He assured ministers that they had no popularity to throw away, and

predicted, that the declaration made that night by lord John Russell, would operate as fatally to *his* government, as did to a former one a similar avowal of the duke of Wellington, when he said, that he saw no necessity for any alteration in the state of the representation.

The threat implied in the last observation of the hon. member, did not call forth any display of emotion in the noble lord to whom it was addressed. In reply, he contented himself with stating, that an account of the actual and average receipts from the duchies in question would be laid before the committee. With respect to the pension list, he further stated, that the precedent of 1831 would be strictly followed. Ministers, he said, agreed in thinking it far wiser to provide against abuses for the future, than to take away pensions already granted. No proposition, therefore, embracing a departure from this principle, was likely to originate with them; and if the revision proposed by the honourable member should be adopted by Parliament, which, no doubt, was perfectly at liberty to pursue a different course, ministers would claim the right of further consideration, before they decided whether or not they should give it their support.

After a few more words from Mr. Harvey, who said he would not divide the house, though he regretted the answer given by the noble lord, the amendments were put and negatived.

Mr. Harvey's prediction, as given in the above extract, was so far realized, that this unqualified avowal on the part of Lord John Russell, of his determination to resist any further movement in the way of constitutional innovation, was immediately made the subject of indignant comment on the part of the radical organs, whether of press or speech, throughout the country. When the report on the address was brought up on the Tuesday following, Mr. Leader took occasion to observe, that after the declaration made on the previous night by Lord John Russell, the last hope of obtaining really popular measures from the present government had been taken away. Mr. Leader proceeded at some length, and in no gentle terms, to assure ministers that they had lost the confidence of the people, and the support of the popular party in that house. The people, he said, had never sanctioned the Reform Bill, and were now as determined to have a reform of that measure, as they had been to obtain the act itself. He predicted that they would be equally successful in accomplishing their present object. Ministers having now made common cause with the opponents of reform, their proceedings must be viewed with increased distrust. He therefore wished to take the earliest opportunity of calling the attention of the public to the state of Canada, allusion to which had been made in the speech from the throne. Conciliatory measures indeed had been hinted at, but what hopes could be entertained by the popular party any where, after the declaration they had heard? But even supposing the government sincere in their promises of conciliatory measures, Mr. Leader feared that it was too late for any, short of the withdrawal of the resolutions, and a prompt acquiescence in the just demands of the Canadians. The Canadian assembly had received the resolutions with indignation, and denounced as foreigners

and enemies, the ministers who proposed, and the parliament which passed them. A determined spirit of opposition and animosity to England had been excited in those provinces. In fact it might be said that our government there was virtually at an end. Mr. Leader asked were we prepared for a collision with Canada. And in such an event, could we rely upon the fidelity of our troops there? What assistance could we look for from the other North American colonies? Or how could we expect that the people in this country would consent to the imposition of additional taxes in order to enable us to coerce the Canadians?

Mr. Leader proceeded to read passages from several Canadian papers in confirmation of his statement; and concluded by prognosticating the speedy downfall of ministers, if they persisted in their present course.

He was followed by Mr. Chas. Buller, who equally expressed the regret, which as a sincere friend to the present government, he felt at the tone and language which had been used by Lord John Russell with respect to further reform. Ministers he was convinced were only waiting for an opportunity to quarrel with a great portion of those, by whom they had been hitherto supported. If this were indeed the case, the noble lord had certainly done right in avowing it candidly. The hon. member said, he only hoped they had secured the support of the other side of the House before they renounced that of their allies on this. He confessed, he could not reconcile with good faith the language of the noble lord with respect to the questions he had denounced. It was widely different from that which had been used by him when he wanted the aid of the supporters of the ballot, and triennial parliaments. The demands of the radicals were called unreasonable, but were they so in effect? They required to have the Reform Bill carried out to its legitimate result, in the spirit, not merely in the letter of its enactments. The principle looked to in that bill was representation, instead of nomination. This principle had not been attained—nomination now existed in a worse form than ever; in hands not accustomed to, and less responsible for its exercise. In the present system, the voice of the people could not be heard. Mr. Buller next adverted to the judgment formed of the advocates of reform by Sir Robert Peel, on whose opinion in political matters, Mr. Buller confessed he set no value; as he had never known him to be correct in his estimate of the public feelings. At any rate that estimate would not deter him from persevering in the course he had adopted.

These observations on the part of some of his radical allies, now called up Lord John Russell, who with considerable emotion, and in strong terms, repelled the charge of having abandoned his former friends, as soon as they had served his purpose. An imputation, he said, more base and dishonourable, as affecting the motives and conduct of a public man, could not be made, and in the face of the House and country, he felt himself bound to declare it was utterly destitute of foundation. With respect to his declaration of the previous night, the noble lord said, he had not spoken wholly on the impulse of the moment. He had considered beforehand the course which he should take in the debate on the address. He had resolved not

unnecessarily to enter into the discussion of subjects, on which there might exist difference of opinion between ministers, and those who had hitherto supported them; but he had also determined that if topics were put forward which he utterly disapproved, and which he thought could not be favourably entertained, without inflicting a deep injury on the public interests, it would be his duty, at all hazards, not to withhold from the house the solemn and decided expression of his opinion. It was objected to the present government by some of its professed partisans, that the course of policy adopted by ministers was unfavourable to their continuance in office. Lord John Russell observed, that this was a matter upon which he would not pretend to be indifferent, but if the question were between retiring from office and supporting measures which he considered injurious, if not destructive to the country, he hoped it would at least be believed that he should not make a dishonourable choice. He denied that any thing he had said was inconsistent with the opinions he had avowed when introducing the Reform Bill. With respect to the duration of Parliament, the question really was between seven years and five. Three years he had always considered too short a period. As to the ballot, it was one of his chief objections to it, that it would prove perfectly inefficacious as a system of secret voting. Almost all the advocates of that measure, connected with it a great extension of the suffrage; in order to effect this, we must entirely reconstruct the Reform Act. Great, therefore, as the evil of the present system might be, he thought it would be far better to endeavour to improve it in its details, than to occupy the time of Parliament in the continual discussion of constitutional changes, which after all might lead to nothing of positive or practical improvement.

He had been reminded, that the ministerial majority was small, and could only be supported by awakening public enthusiasm in their favour; but in looking to the nature of their position in that House, he could not forget the situation of the country. At the time of the passing of the Reform Bill itself, he had not dissembled his expectation, that it would give a preponderance to the landed interest of the country, or his conviction, that it was desirable it should do so. It was still his opinion, that any plan of reform which should give weight to the large towns exclusively, would tend to introduce the elements of general disorder. But though he could not regret the preponderance of that interest, he was fully aware, that the opinions entertained by the great bulk of those connected with it, were, on many important points, adverse to his own. Independently, therefore, of the unfair means, which no doubt had been employed in the elections, he could account for much of the force opposed to ministers, in the prevalence, particularly in the counties of England, of opinions hostile to the measures they had brought forward.

In conclusion, the noble lord declared, he was seeking no coalition with any opposite party, but he felt, that if he had withheld the expression of his opinions, he should not have been acting as became the situation in which he was placed. Having proposed not a few great measures, and carried many of them, ministers, he trust-

ed, would never evade a fair statement of their opinions, or a fair vote on any question concerning the great interests of the country.

The manly and straightforward manner in which the noble lord made this avowal of his political opinion, met with much applause from the parties on the opposite side of the House, and even elicited commendation from those who most deprecated its tenor. Among these last may be mentioned Mr. Grote, who, however, complained, that lord John had treated the question of the ballot unfairly. He had spoken of it as inseparable from the other two that had been brought forward. When that measure should again be brought under the consideration of the House, as he intended it shortly should be, Mr. Grote said he would introduce it on its own merits, and without connection with any other matter.

After a few words from Mr. Buller, in retractation of the language he had made use of in his animadversion on Lord John Russell's declaration, and a speech from Mr. Borthwick, calling the attention of the House to the war in Spain, which was replied to by Colonel Evans, the report was agreed to, and the address ordered to be presented with the usual forms.

The subject which first pressed on the attention of parliament, and for the consideration of which, in fact, the House had been thus early called together, was the arrangement of the civil list. On the 23rd of November, consequently, it was brought before the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In moving that the passage in the queen's speech relating to it, should be referred to a select committee, Mr. Rice observed, that, until the reign of George III., no satisfactory arrangement had been made with regard to the public and personal expenses of the sovereign. That monarch made the first approach to such a settlement of the question, by relinquishing the whole of his ordinary hereditary revenues, and receiving in return a fixed income. William IV., on his accession, farther surrendered certain casual revenues, such as the droits of the crown, and the Gibraltar revenue. During his reign, the sums thus relinquished had amounted to 70,000*l.* But a more important alteration had been made, by the separation of the charges properly belonging to the individual expenditure of the sovereign, from those required by the public service. The result had been a saving in the reign of William IV., as compared with that of his immediate predecessor, of about 100,000*l.* per annum on the entire charge of the civil list.

It was to be remembered, moreover, that the late king, notwithstanding the extent of his charities, and his unbounded hospitality, had never been obliged to apply to Parliament for the means of paying off any debt. During the reign of George the Third, the droits at the disposal of the crown yielded the enormous sum of 12,705,461*l.* Of this, 2,600,000*l.* were contributed by the sovereign towards the public expenditure, and 5,372,834*l.* was expended in payments to those concerned in the taking of prizes. Still, deducting these two sums, there remained to the crown a very large amount of casual revenue. During the same reign, too, 413,000*l.* was derived from the fees on suppressed offices. Yet, in addition to these receipts, Parliament voted

no less than 3,398,000*l.* between the years 1769 and 1816 to discharge the debts on the civil list. It should be further considered, too, that former sovereigns had inherited considerable personal property from their predecessors, while Queen Victoria had derived nothing from that source, and would be deprived of the revenues of Hanover, now a separate kingdom, while her establishment must so far exceed that of a king, or of a queen consort, as being composed of ladies as well as gentlemen.

Mr. Rice here went into a comparative statement of the charges of the establishment of the late king, and those, he submitted, as proper for Queen Victoria, the particulars of which will be found below.*

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* CIVIL LIST OF WILLIAM IV. AND THE QUEEN.

	William IV.	Her Majesty.
1st Class—Privy Purse	£110,000	£60,000
2nd Class—Salaries	130,000	130,000
3rd Class—Bills	171,500	172,500
4th Class—Special Service, Royal Bounty	23,000	23,200
5th Class—Pensions	75,000	75,000
Unappropriated Money		9,000
Total	£510,000	£470,000

ESTABLISHMENTS OF WILLIAM IV. AND HER PRESENT MAJESTY.

Establishment of William IV.	Establishment of her Majesty.
Lord Chamberlain.	Lord Chamberlain.
Vice Chamberlain.	Vice Chamberlain.
Groom of the Stole.	Eight Lords in Waiting.
Twelve Lords in Waiting.	Eight Grooms in Waiting.
Thirteen Grooms in Waiting.	Master of the Horse.
Master of the Robes.	Chief Equerry.
Master of the Horse.	Four Equerries.
Chief Equerry.	Four Pages of Honour.
Four Equerries.	Mistress of the Robes.
Four Pages of Honour.	Eight Ladies of Bedchamber.
	Eight Maids of Honour.
	Eight Women of Bedchamber.

COMPARISON BETWEEN QUEEN ANNE'S HOUSEHOLD AND THAT OF THE QUEEN.

	Queen Anne.	Queen Victoria.
First Lady of the Bedchamber	£2,000	£500
Ladies of the Bedchamber	1,000	500
Maid of Honour	300	300
And a contingent gift of	3,000	1,000
Total of Queen Anne	14,800	8,800

PROPOSED REDUCTION IN THE SALARIES OF THE GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Lord Chamberlain	£1,085
Lord Steward	436
Master of Horse	850
Groom of Stole (abolished)	2,150
Four Lords in Waiting	2,808
Five Grooms	1,880
Master of the Robes	620
	£9,829

AMOUNTS OF PENSION LIST.

1820, £203,058; 1830, £180,944: 1837, £149,802.

He then touched upon the decrease in the amount of the pension list, and said, he should be prepared to show the committee, that the pensions, granted by earl Grey and lord Melbourne, had been awarded in strict conformity with a resolution of the House, passed in February, 1834, which, recommended the granting of pensions to such persons only, as by their services to the crown, or the public, or by useful discoveries in science or art, had a just claim on the benevolence of the crown, or the gratitude of the nation. Great efforts had been made to bring the whole subject of pensions into disrepute. Charges previously refuted had been reproduced, and the names of persons unjustly pointed at, as matters of reproach to the list, who had not for some time been in receipt of their pensions. In reply to questions which had been put with regard to several individuals, whose names were on the pension list, Mr. Rice gave satisfactory accounts of the nature of their various claims. It was intended, he said, that the resolution of 1834 should be introduced into the act for settling the civil list, and should thus have the force of law. It was also proposed, that accounts of the pensions granted, should be laid annually before the House of Commons.

Mr. Harvey had given notice of a motion for a committee to examine into the circumstances, under which each existing pension had been granted; the effect of such a proceeding, Mr. Rice said, would be to throw a new duty on the civil list committee, which might as reasonably be expected to undertake the revision of the consolidated fund. The right hon. gentleman here stated, that he would tell the House how far he was disposed to accede upon this point. Saving the just rights of the parties, government was willing to undertake the responsibility of moving for a committee to investigate the whole subject; and he pledged himself, that the inquiry should be conducted in the full spirit of Mr. Harvey's motion, and that the public should have the benefit of it. But, he said, he could not undertake two committees at the same time. With respect to the four and a half per cent. duties, it was intended to repeal them entirely, and to lay the affairs of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, by an annual report, before Parliament.

The pledge which the chancellor of the exchequer had thus given, that government would itself originate the inquiry called for by Mr. Harvey, did not appear altogether to satisfy that gentleman, who, proceeding to address the House, observed, that he was in a situation of considerable difficulty. He feared, lest the object he aimed at, should, after all, elude his grasp. In the commencement of the last reign, no indisposition had been shewn to grant inquiry into the pension list, but those good intentions had afterwards been frustrated. The very arguments used by Mr. Rice, he contended, were all in favour of his own motion. Very remarkable admissions had been made by the chancellor of the exchequer with respect to the receipts of the crown. Yet, it had been said, that the crown, not the country, had lost by the civil list. Mr. Harvey asserted, that all the boasted benefit which had accrued to the nation in consequence of that arrangement, amounted to about 40 or 50,000*l.* per annum on the woods and forests. The

admiralty droits had, for years past, amounted to no more than 1,218*l.* With regard to the four and a half per cents., they were, in fact, only sugar duties paid in kind, and rarely exceeded 2,000*l.* a year. The hon. member next adduced some facts to prove, that the real value of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, was much larger than had been generally supposed, and finally returned to his amendment on the subject of the pension list, in pressing which, he indulged in various witticisms, though, of so obvious a nature, as not materially to add to the reputation of talent which Mr. Harvey already enjoys.

Some further conversation having ensued between Mr. Spring Rice, and Mr. Harvey, in which it appeared that the motion of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given notice for an inquiry into the pension list, agreed in substance with that proposed by the latter gentleman, Mr. Harvey consented to withdraw his amendment.

After a few words from Mr. Goulburn, who defended the financial arrangements in George the third's reign, that prince's casual revenues having, after all, amounted to no more than 100,000*l.* a-year; and who reminded the house that George the fourth, no less than his successor, had never applied for the payment of debt on the civil list, the papers were referred to a select committee consisting of twenty-one members.

The result of their labours was a report which will be found in another part of our volume. It was not presented to the house till the 16th of December. Meanwhile on the 8th of that month, Mr. Spring Rice redeemed the pledge he had given in the previous debate, by moving for a select committee, "to inquire how far pensions granted in virtue of the 1st of William IV. c. 24, and charged on the civil list, and in virtue of 2nd and 3rd William IV. c. 116, and charged on the consolidated fund, ought to be continued, having due regard to the just claims of the parties, and to economy in the public expenditure." It will be seen, that the words of this motion were exactly the same with those of Mr. Harvey's. Mr. Rice observed, that he had expressly employed them for the purpose of avoiding mistake, or misrepresentation; but that without the qualification implied in the words "due regard to the just claims of the parties," he could not have done so.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, then gave a brief history of the pension list. In remote times, he observed, pensions were conferred solely at the inclination of the sovereign, nor till the reign of George III., did parliament put any effectual check upon the unlimited bestowal of grants and pensions by the crown. In 1782, Mr. Burke introduced his bill on economical reform, by which the amount of pensions was limited, and the principle recognized, that desert or distress should alone confer a claim. In 1830, the whole of the civil list being referred to a select committee, a new arrangement was made with respect to pensions; but while it was declared inexpedient to disturb those already existing, the right of inquiry into the claims of the pensioners was reserved. This, Mr. Rice said, was proved by the report of that committee, a portion

of which he proceeded to read, and contended that Lord Althorp, by adopting the passage referred to, had sanctioned the inquiry which he was about to propose. He had not however, pledged himself to strike off a single pension without full proof of the unworthiness of the recipient, the burden of which must lie with the objecting party. It could not be supposed that Parliament would vote so large a sum as 140,000*l.*, without investigation, but he was convinced, that as in the case of sinecures, the effect of inquiry would be, to dispel many unfavourable illusions. Mr. Rice, here stated the arrangement which had been recommended with respect to pensions, by the committee upon the civil list. It was proposed, that a provision should be made to enable her majesty, to grant to the extent of 1,200*l.* a-year in new pensions, and no more. No provision had been made by the committee, for the former civil list pensions, though, in his own opinion it would have been better that a prospective arrangement of that kind had been adopted. The right hon. gentleman then observed in advocating their enquiry : It might be objected to him, that he had changed his course ; he would not stop to defend his consistency, but would content himself with remarking, that the present was a fair opportunity for redeeming those pledges of economy, which so many honourable members had lately made to their constituents.

Sir Robert Peel, whose opposition to the motion, Mr. Rice, had in the course of his speech, foretold, now rose and amply fulfilled the prediction. The question now before the house, he observed, was not one of mere temporary policy, it involved a far higher consideration no less than the vindication of the eternal principles of justice. To facts therefore, to reasoning, to authority, he would appeal, and not to the votes of individual members, or to pledges given on the hustings. But first he would beg the house to consider, the probability of profit from this inquiry, and by profit he meant not the paltry gain of a few thousand pounds, but the moral benefit which a great country derived from the detection and punishment of abuse, and the establishment of a higher standard of public virtue. The pension list was said to be very unpopular, but when the question to be decided involved the sacred principle of justice, unpopularity really constituted an additional reason for stripping off the mask of specious and plausible pretext which veiled the discovery of the truth. It had been admitted by the committee of 1830, that in reliance on uniform preceding usage, arrangements of various kinds had been concluded by many holders of pensions; which it would be absolute injustice to disturb. This had been the opinion of Lord Althorp expressed in his speech on the civil list in Feb. 1831. Sir Robert went on to observe, that between 1769, the date of the first pension then on the list, and 1834, there had been eleven prime ministers upon whom the responsibility of the grants made during that period must rest. Of these, three only survived to state the reasons on which they acted. Would ministers take advantage of the lapse of years, to affix a stigma on statesmen now mouldering in their sepulchres? When the whigs came into office in 1830, they gave a de-

cided opposition to the revision of the pension list.

These pensioners, then, continued Sir Robert, saw revolution in the government—saw one minister retiring for supporting their continuance, and succeeded by another who declared, they were entitled to their pensions during their lives, and who would stake his own political existence on the question. They found a committee reporting, a government proposing, and a legislature sanctioning, the continuance of those pensions. He would ask, then, was it fair, was it just, now to say they should be discontinued? There was a difference, the right hon. baronet observed, between questions of policy, and of justice. Policy might assume the camelion "hue of vicissitude," but justice could not do so. That which was politic in 1830 might be impolitic in 1837; but that which was *justice* in 1830 could not become *in*justice at any after period. In 1834, Mr. Spring Rice had stigmatised the inquiry into the pension list, proposed by Mr. Harvey, as "most fruitless, most painful, most disgusting;" but if painful to the feelings in 1830 and 1834,—if disgusting and unjust then, what made it otherwise now? Pensions, in former days, were not conferred as the rewards of official service. It was unjust to apply the test of modern times to the former recipients of royal bounty. It had been considered a legitimate application of the pensions to provide for persons of exalted rank but insufficient means, and to secure, at the disposal of ministers, a moderate allowance to those who had acted in a confidential capacity under them.

Sir Robert concluded by moving a series of resolutions, embodying the substance of the statement and argument contained in his speech, and which, after repeating the recommendation of the committee in 1831, and the subsequent resolutions of the House of Commons, proceeded to deprecate any departure from the course then sanctioned, as involving an aggravated injustice to existing holders of pensions, and declared it advisable to make such provision as should enable the crown to continue all such as had existed at the accession of the late king, or had been afterwards granted by him.

The amendment was seconded by Lord Elliot, and warmly supported by Sir Edward Sugden, and other conservative members.

Mr. Harvey, as might be expected, took the lead in opposing it. He expressed his desire to conduct the inquiry with all possible delicacy towards the pensioners; a promise which, however, he hardly redeemed by the tenor of his subsequent observations. The chief force of his argument consisted in a parallel which he instituted between the treatment of paupers under the new poor-law, and that of the pensioners of the crown. It had been urged by Sir Robert Peel, that it would be unjust to call for explanation of a pension, when the minister who granted it was no longer alive to state his reasons; but, he asked, were parochial paupers allowed the benefit of a similar excuse when pleading for a continuance of an old allowance? The hon. member proceeded, much to the amusement of the House, to illustrate his meaning, by supposing the cross-examination of an old woman, applying for the continuance of parish relief, before a board of

guardians. After describing very graphically the indignant rejection of her claims, upon the discovery that she had relations capable of maintaining her, he demanded, why a different measure should be dealt out to the pensioners of the crown, many of whom, if the real circumstances of their case were inquired into, would proudly boast of their connexion with the most ancient and wealthiest among the nobility. Should those persons, then, who had passed the poor-law act, and talked of improving the condition and raising the moral tone of the labouring classes, set no other example of their virtue and sincerity, than by casting on them the additional burthen of the maintenance of their own relatives and friends?

Mr. Harvey is described as sitting down amid loud cheers from the ministerial side of the House. This circumstance, together with certain pointed allusions to himself, which Mr. Harvey had indulged in, in the course of his speech, called up Lord Stanley, who began by observing, that if a fortnight ago, he had been asked, who would have been the first, at the sound of that tumultuous applause, to repudiate the doctrines, and reject the motion which was the object of it, he should have answered, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But he now saw that minister moving the very resolution which two years ago he had condemned. He saw the noble leader of the House of Commons advocating the doctrine which he had constantly disclaimed. He congratulated Mr. Harvey on the victory he had achieved. But, said Lord Stanley, whatever be the course taken by ministers, I for one, cannot forget that I was a member of the cabinet of Lord Grey. I still look with pride to the share I took with Lord Althorp, with Lord John Russell, with Mr. Spring Rice, in the stand which was made by that cabinet, one and all, on the principle, that great as was the popularity that government might obtain by making an immediate and retrospective reform, we would not purchase it at the expense of national faith, or by the sacrifice of private interest. Mr. O'Connell has often dwelt upon the vast difference between the whigs of 1835 and 1836. It has been said, that since then, the *dross* has been purged from the cabinet. This opinion was immediately avowed by loud cheers from the ministerial benches. If, continued Lord Stanley, the gentlemen who so loudly applaud consider it unworthy in a man to adhere to the faith of parliament, to resolve unflinchingly, that no consideration should tempt him to infringe the right of private and defenceless individuals I am willing to be purged off as dross of that kind; but I share the misfortune with the names of Spencer, and Graham, and Grey. I have no right, said Lord Stanley, to speak of Lord Grey's present opinions, but I am convinced, that sooner than have yielded to a demand which he once declared to be most unjust, he would have cut off his right hand.

Lord Stanley had no difficulty in supporting his charge of inconsistency against ministers, by ample quotation from their former speeches, and pledges. He was perhaps, less successful in attempting to shew, that the parallel suggested by Mr. Harvey, between the case of the claimant under the old poor-law, and of those on the

pension list, did not in some degree hold good. Where abuses can be proved to have existed in the administration of either of these funds, we confess we do not see that they are not as much open to correction in one case, as in the other. The true answer, we apprehend, to Mr. Harvey's argument, would have been, that existing interests should be respected in both. Where individuals belonging to either class, have long been in the legal enjoyment of an allowance of this kind, the hardship of thus unexpectedly depriving them of it, is the same, however indefensible may have been its origin.

In conclusion Lord Stanley dwelt warmly and eloquently, both upon the injustice involved in the proposed interference with long enjoyed grants, and also upon the painful and degrading nature of the cross examination to which they were about to subject persons of all ages, and of either sex. Many, he was sure, rather than undergo it, would give up at once the little allowance upon which they depended in their declining years, for maintaining the decencies of life. Finally, he exhorted the members of the house, not to fear the loss of popular favour from resisting this motion — "Popularity," said he, "in its best sense is a poor motive, and still poorer guide to the performance of our duty. But I tell you whatever favour you may lose among those who know nothing more of the principles of a party than perhaps its watchword, and with whom the very mention of the term *open-sion*, is sufficient to excite their indignation, whatever be your disfavour with these; with reasoners of a calmer kind you will have but to shew, that you have maintained the faith of government, and the existing sanction of law, and if you add that you have at the same time established an adequate check to the recurrence of such abuses for the future, you may safely leave the event to the sound judgment and sense of justice of the enlightened community of this country." Lord John Russell, in rising to reply to the speech of Lord Stanley, observed that the house would require something more than mere personal recrimination, and quotations from past speeches, to convince them of the impropriety of acceding to the proposed enquiry. The committee of 1831, had stated generally, that the pension list had fallen in on the death of the sovereign; and at the same time observed, that to adopt a new course in matters where the practice had been long established, would be a harsh, and in some cases, an unjust measure. This proved that they did not consider there would be injustice in every case. With respect to Lord Althorp's authority, he would remind the house that in 1834, that noble lord had declared that by whatever title he received a pension, were he at the same time possessed of other means of supporting himself, he would not consent to the continuation of that bounty. Lord Althorp, had nevertheless, put it to the house whether they would take away the pensions of those who had a legal right to receive them. But that legal right, said Lord John Russell, exists no longer. Then what claim have they now for the continuance of them?—none but such as Lord Althorp had expressly declared he should himself be ashamed to urge. Lord John then quoted some honourable instances of pensioners who had made a

voluntary surrender of their claim; and observed that had their example been more generally followed, the present investigation would not have been urged. It was principally with a view to satisfy the country, and do away with the distrust existing in the public mind on the subject, and which the constant refusals of that house to grant an inquiry had increased, that he supported this measure. He had no doubt that so far as the people were concerned, they were disposed to act with justice and liberality to all, who it should be proved had fair claims on their generosity or gratitude.

Mr. Spring Rice, in reply endeavoured to vindicate himself from the charge of inconsistency, and denied that the proposition which he now supported, was identical with that which he had before resisted. The insertion of the clause, "*due regard being had to the just rights of parties,*" made, he contended, a very material difference.

The house then divided, when there appeared—

For the Committee . . .	295
For Sir R. Peel's Amendment	233
Majority	62

A curious discussion arose upon the nomination of the members of this committee. It was expected as a matter of course, that Mr. Harvey would be among the first selected to conduct an enquiry which his own exertions had principally contributed to set on foot. But a difficulty it was understood, had arisen on the part of the government, to the admission of his name among those of the committee.—This was made a matter of question in the House of Commons on the 18th December, when certain of the hon. and learned member's friends, demanded of ministers, whether there was any foundation for the report of his intended exclusion?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated in reply, that it had been his most anxious wish that Mr. Harvey should be upon the committee; but the house would recollect, that in a former session, that gentleman had persisted in publishing the evidence given before the committee of enquiry into the poor-law, contrary to a resolution of that committee, as reported to the house. Under these circumstances, Mr. Rice said, he thought it necessary before naming the hon. member, on a new committee, to address to him a letter enquiring how far such conduct on his part was likely to be renewed.

Mr. Harvey in reply, had declined to bind the exercise of his discretion by any pledge upon the subject. Mr. Rice observed that he had been charged out of doors, with presumption in sending this note. But "the question he insisted, did not lie between the hon. member and himself, it was simply, whether the orders of the House of Commons should be obeyed or not." Being charged with the nomination of the members of the committee, he felt he was, at the same time, responsible for the effectual observance of the rules of parliament. He knew that by taking this line, he should be exposed to a fire on his flank, but he must do his duty to the House, at any risk of personal inconvenience. Even then, if Mr. Harvey would declare that he would abide by the orders of the House, he was willing—he should even feel it to be his duty—to insert

his name on the committee. The right hon. gentleman concluded by naming the twenty-one persons who were to compose it.

Sir George Sinclair, who had been the first to introduce the subject on the night in question, now observed, that from the arguments used to defend the exclusion of Mr. Harvey, it might be inferred that the government did not, in fact, wish for any enquiry. Without the assistance of that gentleman, the committee might as well not sit. In his opinion, Mr. Harvey was perfectly justified in refusing to give the required assurance. If he had infringed the law of parliament, the House could visit him with its censure. He, therefore, moved that the committee do consist of twenty-two members—Mr. Harvey's name being included.

Sir George Sinclair was followed by several members, who spoke for, or against his amendment. Of these, the most notable were sir Robert Peel, viscount Howick, and Mr. Warburton. The latter gentleman observed, that he had never known the House run a race with the newspapers which it did not lose. Mr. Hume and himself had once reported a debate that took place with closed doors. Why, then, was not Mr. Hume excluded from the committee?

Sir Robert Peel said, that totally differing as he did from ministers on the subject of this enquiry, he should have preferred not to vote at all, had it been consistent with his duty as a member of that House not to do so. He objected to placing Mr. Harvey on the committee, because there were already fifteen members belonging to the ministerial party, and only six conservatives, named. The privilege, that gentleman claimed of violating the rules of parliament, was another reason for his exclusion. After hearing the opinions which the hon. member had expressed with respect to the principles upon which the enquiry should be conducted, his unfair imputation upon the motives which had influenced these grants, and the sarcasms in which he had indulged upon the persons who received them, many of whom, including females of high birth and great amiability would be liable to be brought before that committee, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of concurring in his appointment. In reply to an observation from Mr. Hume, who remarked that the right hon. baronet might with equal reason have objected to his name being upon the committee, since Mr. Harvey had not stated a single opinion in which he did not fully concur. Sir Robert said, that had the question been of the eligibility of Mr. Hume to sit in the proposed committee, he should certainly have no less resisted it.

Lord Howick contended, that the power of restricting the publication of evidence given before the committee was most important. Evidence had been given last session before the transportation committee that was totally unfit for publication. What would be the case were Mr. Harvey put upon the committee? Twenty-one members might decide that it was not desirable to publish this or that evidence; yet the hon. member for Southwark could say—"You may decide as you please, I think the evidence ought to be published, and it shall appear to-morrow in spite of you."

Mr. Harvey now rose, and

thanked those members who had expressed opinions in his favour. With respect to the letter that had been addressed to him, he asked what right had a chancellor of the exchequer to call upon any member of that House to say what he would or would not do. He spurned the indignity that was attempted to be put upon him—he should, indeed, be disqualified for the seat he held, if he had consented to any such unworthy contract as had been proposed. There might be circumstances, he unfeignedly believed, which would render the publication of evidence undesirable and even unjust. But of those as a member of twenty years standing, he might surely be considered capable of judging. As to the evidence given before the poor-law committee, he had not been the first to publish it, Garbled reports had previously appeared in another newspaper. What were the circumstances which led to the course he had then taken? He saw, seated at the bar of the committee, two or three of the commissioners connected with the poor-law—he saw, their intelligent secretary—their short-hand writer—all the appliances of the powers of office, and the sympathy of the committee engaged against a class of people who, poor themselves, had no means whatever of confronting witnesses or obtaining the necessary communications, and he immediately pointed out to lord John Russell that this was not a candid or honourable enquiry; and that, unless greater publicity were given to the evidence, it would become a matter not merely of hypocrisy, but of gross injustice to those whom it was intended to protect.

Mr. Harvey proceeded to comment on the hollowness of the pretext on which ministers sought his exclusion. They seized eagerly on the ungenerous suggestions of the member for Tamworth. That hon. baronet objected to him, that he was much given to sarcasm. If dulness were to be the qualification for committees, Mr. Harvey said, he must congratulate the treasury bench on the full prospect of employment which lay before them. With regard to the motion then before the House, he cared not to conciliate one vote, or calm a single apprehension, nevertheless he would declare, that had he been placed upon the committee, he would never have placed himself in a state of individual opposition to the rules of the House. In conclusion, he disclaimed all inclination to be a member of the proposed committee, though he was ready to place his time and exertions at the disposal of the House, if they thought he could be of any peculiar service then.

Mr. Harvey's speech on this occasion, as usual, was eloquent and ingenious; but it can be hardly necessary to point out how completely his defence fell wide of the objection that had been urged against his conduct. The real question at issue in no degree concerned the merit of the particular point in dispute between himself, and the poor-law committee. He may very probably have decided rightly in that instance, and the committee have determined as completely wrong. Still the right of determination, it is clear, could lie no where but with the committee itself, and the ministers on this occasion were only acting in vindication of a power which is plainly indispensable to every deliberative body — nevertheless

Mr. Harvey's pretensions were supported by a larger minority than might have been expected. After a few words from Mr. Spring Rice, the question was put "that the committee do consist of twenty-one members," when there appeared: In favour of it, 122; Against it, 71.

The committee consisting of the members previously named by Mr. Spring Rice was then appointed.

On the 11th December, a message from the Queen was brought down to both houses, recommending to the consideration of parliament the provision made by law for the support of her royal highness, the Duchess of Kent, and expressing her majesty's reliance on their zeal and loyalty, to adopt such measures for the future provision of the Duchess as her rank and station, and increased proximity to the throne might require. On the following day, the message was taken into consideration by a committee of the House of Commons. It appeared, that the present income of the Duchess of Kent amounted to 22,000*l.* a-year. Of this 6,000*l.* had been granted to her royal highness, in regard of the charges incident to the nurture and education of the princess Victoria. As these of course, had now ceased it was argued by some members, that that portion of the previous income of the duchess should determine likewise. The objection, however, was overruled, and the ministers, proposition of an additional grant of 8,000*l.* a-year, raising the annual income of the duchess to 30,000*l.*, passed without much debate.

On the 19th December, the civil list bill was read a third time, after which Mr. Hume moved that the sum granted to the queen should be reduced from 385,000*l.* to 335,000*l.* This motion having been negatived without a division, Mr. Grote proposed as an amendment the entire removal of the sum allotted to pensions from the civil list. He observed in defence of his proposition that pending the enquiry into the pension list, it was neither proper nor convenient to fix any new sum for pensions. Evidence would shortly be laid before Parliament, which might most materially affect the judgment of the house on the subject of these grants. Assuming, that it was proper now to fix a certain annual sum to be applied to those payments, Mr. Grote contended, that it ought to form no part of the civil list. The power of appointing to a place on the pension list was no more essentially connected with the comfort and dignity of the crown, than the power of appointing to civil and military offices. If it would be most unwise in parliament to restrain itself from altering the number, or the pay, of civil or military officers till a demise of the crown, it would be equally so, to fix an unalterable and irrevocable pension list. The civil list committee of 1831, reported that the sovereign ought to be supplied with a fund for rewarding those whom "*he wished to favour.*" On this definition, all pensions were equally unassailable, abuse of power impossible—and the title of the most worthless person ever placed on the pension list as defensible as that of the best. But the doctrine of 1831, was now no longer recognized. Parliament had sanctioned a revision of the pension list, with a view of distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving. Pensions were not now to be

granted on the arbitrary preference of the sovereign; and the excuse for connecting the pension list with the civil list was consequently done away with. Mr. Grote then proceeded to call upon the house, to take a comprehensive survey of the purpose which pensions were expected to fulfil.

He looked in vain for any national advantage that could arise out of such an appropriation of the public funds. It was not an incitement to superior activity in the public service, for the chance of obtaining it was too small to be appreciated—out of 1,000 public servants, 999 never obtained that reward. The same remark applied to men of literary and scientific pursuits. When signal services had been performed, as in the case of Dr. Jenner, parliament made a special grant. What public benefit accrued from authorizing a minister to select some philosopher, or historian, or poet, or mathematician out of a number, leaving all the rest unrewarded. For one gratified, a dozen were annoyed. The effect produced on the circle of rivals and expectants was most unfavourable; they had a strong motive held out to be pliant and obsequious to the minister. But it was a gross mistake to suppose that the pension list had been devoted to the sustentation of men of literary and scientific merit, though were it so devoted the effect would be anything but good. It was equally idle to expect that abuses in the distribution of pensions could be wholly done away with by necessitating annual returns. Support of the ministers would still be the readiest passport to favour. Mr. Grote, like Mr. Harvey, begged those who defended pensions on the ground that they relieved distressed persons of merit, to attend to the analogy of the poor-law. No relief was given out of the poor-rates, except to *entire* indigence and destitution; no indulgence allowed to cases of peculiar merit, or peculiar hardship—if short of that unhappy extreme. By adopting a totally different principle in the treatment of those persons whose position approached nearer to their own, the members of that House would encourage the idea that the poor were dealt with unfairly and unequally. Extraordinary merit or special service, ought to be rewarded, but parliament was the proper quarter to apply in such a case. If it were contended that the sovereign ought to have the means of rewarding ancient and faithful personal servants, a moderate addition might be made to the privy purse, though in his view, ample provision was already made for such purposes.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Hume, and opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, who contended, that in a monarchical government, the power of conferring honour and rewards, should be inseparably attached to the crown. The argument of the hon. Member he said, if good for any thing, must go to the length of transferring this branch of the prerogative to parliament. The principle thus advocated, struck at the root of the monarchy itself. Mr. Rice proceeded to deny that politics had influenced ministers, in their grant of pensions to literary and scientific men, and asserted his belief, that were any government disposed so to prostitute its power, there was a spirit in literature and science, which would save talent from the dis-

grace of such political profligacy. If the clause were excluded, the sovereign of this country, would be, for the first time in our history, deprived of the means of rewarding personal or public service, or of honouring literary and scientific merit.

Sir Robert Peel said, that while he concurred in the opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer, that the crown was the proper source of reward and distinction, he could not admit that the original proposal of the right hon. gentleman was altogether satisfactory. The sum of 1,200*l.* a year which they were about to grant to the crown for new pensions was far too scanty. No doubt, the principle of granting a fixed sum was a good one, provided the amount were sufficiently liberal. Where the funds for the payment of new pensions depended in a great measure on the falling-off of existing ones (as in the reign of William the 4th) the means for meeting these calls upon the bounty of the crown must necessarily be very uncertain, sometimes exceeding, and often falling far short of what the occasion of the day required. Sir Robert went on to object to that part of the clause which provided that in no one year was the crown to grant more pensions than to the amount of 1,200*l.* All necessary limitation might be effected by enacting that the grant of the crown in pensions should average that sum annually; he objected equally to the proposal of laying every session before the House a list of the pensions granted. To exact from the crown a yearly statement of the manner in which it had disposed of the sum voted by parliament, would almost be to confer upon the House a veto, if not actually a discretionary power over these grants. Returns of the pensions had certainly been made from time to time, on particular occasions and for specific purposes; but this was very different from a yearly legal presentation for the avowed purpose of challenging enquiry into the act of the crown. With equal reason might returns be demanded of all the titles and honorary distinctions conferred by the sovereign.

Sir Robert Peel was followed by Mr. Clay, who though he professed his intention of voting in favour of Mr. Grote's amendment, yet was by no means prepared to go along with him to the full extent of his argument. He looked upon the sum proposed as either too much or too little, and that to make any grant previous to hearing the report of the committee then sitting, was hasty and indiscreet.

Mr. Grote's motion was further opposed by his friend, Mr. Charles Buller, who declared that of all the views put forward on the subject, he concurred most with those which had been taken by sir Robert Peel. He wholly differed from Mr. Grote, both as to the policy of granting pensions at all; and, in respect to the quarter in which the power of according them should be placed. It was desirable, he thought, that men of letters should be fostered by the government, when labouring for the public good, and without the support of popular favour. Hardly any great name could be produced in our literature, which had not been supported by regal or individual generosity. At the present day, indeed, men of eminence would not brook to receive the bounty of private individuals.

Men like Hobbes or Locke would no longer consent to depend on the liberality of an earl of Devonshire, or an earl of Shaftesbury.

Mr. Buller referred to the pursuits of two eminent philosophers of our own times, Dalton and Woolaston, as illustrating the propriety of supporting by public bounty the exertions of individuals. The former had applied his powers to extend the limits of science, while the other felt it his interest to engage in practical discoveries, which was not the fittest occupation for so great a mind.

On a division, Mr. Grote's motion was rejected by a majority of 125 to 23.

An amendment was then moved by sir Robert Peel to the effect stated in his speech, that if the sum of 1,200*l.* were not granted in pensions in any one year, the difference might be applied in any subsequent year.

No opposition was made to the amendment on the part of ministers; but the radical section of their friends divided against them, and it was carried by a majority of 114 to 26.

After another and last protest on the part of Mr. Hume against the amount of the civil list, the bill was passed without further discussion.

The bill was taken to the lords and read a first time on the same evening. On the 20th, lord Melbourne moved the second reading. He prefaced his motion by a statement of the purposes to which the hereditary revenues of the crown were formerly applied, pointing out the injurious consequences which arose from the uncertainty of the amount of the royal income, and laying stress on the power which an economical prince like Henry the 7th might obtain by confining his expenditure within the receipt of the crown property, and thus avoiding the necessity of meeting parliament for grants of money. By this means, Henry was enabled to establish a system of despotism which led eventually to the overthrow of the monarchy in the time of Charles the 1st.

Lord Melbourne entered into a full explanation of the details of the bill, and emphatically called upon the peers to support it as they valued the preservation of the monarchy, laws, and liberties of England. He would not say that monarchy was the best form of government that ever existed, but he would maintain that the attempt to alter it in this country, would be the height, not less of insanity than crime.

The only opposition to the measure in the house of Lords came from lord Brougham. It will be remembered, that for the last two years that noble and learned lord had taken little active part in politics; during the preceding session he had indeed disappeared from the scene altogether, and his secession was variously accounted for; by some it was ascribed to the ill-state of his health; by others, to his reluctance to oppose a ministry whom he agreed with on public grounds, but whose conduct towards him personally was ill-calculated to conciliate his support. There is, indeed, a mystery in the story of Lord Brougham's disconnexion from his former friends to which the public have never been altogether admitted. Lord Brougham is, beyond all comparison, the most powerful man of his party, not to say of his time. The former designation, indeed, would imply but little; for their destitution of

all talent, or a commanding or shining character is not denied by the warmest partizans of the present ministers. Nevertheless they, have not hesitated to cast off their former friend and leader, with an abruptness of which the history of party politics hardly presents another instance. No distinct explanation has ever been given of the fact; and we are driven to suppose that there is an inconvenience in Lord Brougham's character as a colleague, which practically is found to outweigh the advantage even of his extraordinary powers in debate.

The only reason publicly assigned for the omission of Lord Brougham in the cabinet of 1835 was the personal dislike of the king. This explanation always appeared to us neither probable in itself, and totally inadequate to the difficulties. William the 4th was not a man of antipathies; and had he taken one in the present instance, he was clearly not in a position to be able to indulge it. And that the reason itself could only have been a pretext, was proved by the event. It necessarily ceased to operate on the accession of the young queen; but the circumstance induced no change in the political situation of Lord Brougham.

Accordingly the noble and learned lord himself seems to have considered, that the period of his forbearance was at length arrived; and from the beginning of the present session he gave the full reins to his opposition to his former colleagues; an opposition which came with the more effect as he still affected to retain in the house the power and place of an ally. And the force and frequency with which he dealt his attacks, sufficiently manifested, that however he might explain his recent withdrawal from the ring, it could not be ascribed to the least diminution of his original power and energy.

On the present occasion, the speech of Lord Brougham was eloquent and vehement as usual; but after the detailed discussion which the measure had undergone in the house of Commons, his objections, as might be supposed, were less distinguished for the novelty of their matter, than by the forcible manner in which he urged them. Due consideration, he contended, had not been employed either in the framing or passing of this bill; the wisdom of making a definitive arrangement for the life of a sovereign who might be expected to reign for the next half century, was at any rate questionable; and yet this was to be done, and a civil list voted which exceeded that of her majesty's predecessors, while the parliament were left in the dark as to those very important sources of revenue possessed by the crown, the incomes of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster. The noble and learned lord went into considerable details to show the vast amount of fines and rents paid by lessees of crown property, and contended that a much greater sum would be derivable were the affairs of these Duchies under proper control and regulation. With regard to pensions also, the bill called upon them to legislate on that subject in the equal absence of all necessary information, and before the committee ostensibly appointed for that very purpose had made a single enquiry or report about the matter. The extreme haste with which this measure had been carried through,

would not tend to enhance its value in the minds of reflecting men. Parliament might have been assembled at an earlier period, and then opportunity would have been given for more mature deliberation on this, and other subjects of equal importance. In conclusion, the noble lord assured the house, that no man rejoiced more than he did that the people had shown such a generous and universal feeling of attachment and devotion to her majesty, for they had stood forward, supplying the place of gratitude by anticipation, and had clothed their sovereign in a garb of all their brightest hopes. They had poured out their minds in grateful indications to that illustrious individual who now occupied the throne, with a heartiness which did them honour, and which if, instead of at the commencement, it had been expressed at the close of a long reign, would be a sufficient proof that it had been marked by everything beneficial and glorious.

It will be recollected, that at the beginning of the session the ministers had stated it to be the intention of government that the accounts of the revenues of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster should in future be regularly laid before parliament. A notice had been given by Lord Brougham of a motion for the production of the financial accounts during a certain number of years preceding; and in the first instance, Lord Melbourne declared that it would not be objected to upon the part of government. The noble Viscount, however, on a subsequent occasion (Dec. 21st) in moving the committee of the civil list bill, stated, that it had been ascertained, that such information had never hitherto been laid before parliament, and it was felt, he said, that unless it was voluntarily granted on the part of the crown, as an act of grace, it would be an insult to the sovereign to call for its production. He repeated, at the same time, that for the future, these accounts should be brought under parliamentary inspection, that all secrecy in the management of the Duchy revenue should be done away with, and new regulations introduced for the prevention of abuse, in the disposition of them.

Under these circumstances, Lord Broughan was induced, though somewhat reluctantly, to withdraw his motion. He was the last man in the universe, he said, to turn a deaf ear to such an appeal as had been made to him by Lord Melbourne. He had another reason for not persevering in his present motion; viz. the perfect futility of the attempt to carry it in opposition, not only to that noble Lord and his supporters, but to the majority of that House. As to the motion itself, being unfitting or disrespectful to the Crown, as to its being unusual or unprecedented, he was not the only person labouring under the implication, in the approving of it. He had held communications on the subject, with Ministers, several of whom had expressed their entire concurrence in his views, and readiness to promote them. He had certainly thought it advisable to have all necessary information, before proceeding to legislate on the subject, but it now turned out he was mistaken, and that it would be better to vote the money first, and get the information afterwards. 'My Lords' continued Lord Brougham with great animation 'it appears, that in this pre-

posterous course of legislation, in which we put that first, which ought to be last, we have to countenance us, the Commons House of Parliament. The guardians of the purse—the jealous watchmen over the finances of the country—those who are sent to represent the people in the people's House—whose voices are the people's voices sounding through them—and which I hope I shall never live to see stifled in that House, by any juggle between the Chair and the Treasury Bench. I trust I shall never live to see that House less zealous than heretofore—but for the present a cloud has come over their vision, which has blinded their senses—which has charmed their accustomed activity—which has put to sleep their watchfulness over the purse of the Commons entrusted to them—the people's faithful representatives. When we are charged with too much attention to the purse of the people, it is asked, why should you, the Lords, take so much care, why be so much more watchful than the people themselves, speaking through their representatives in the Commons House. To that appeal I have no answer to make but this—I believe, that before long the people will awake—and, that they will ring a peal in the ears of these guardians of the public purse, which will be remembered, not to the last hour of the official existence of the present Government—but to the last hour of the life of the youngest public functionary in the country."

After a few words from the Duke of Wellington, who expressed his apprehensions, that the bill did not contain a sufficient provision for pensions, and who observed, that there were many claims on the bounty of the Crown, which a Minister could not properly defend or explain in Parliament; the bill went through the Committee, and was afterwards read a third time, and passed without further discussion. It would appear to be customary, that the royal assent should be given in person to bills of this nature. Accordingly on the 23rd of December, the Queen went in state to the House of Lords, to thank her Parliament for the provision which had been made for her civil list. On presenting the bill, the Speaker observed, that it had been framed in "a liberal and confiding spirit." The Queen simply bowed her acknowledgment, and after the royal assent had been given to some other bills, her Majesty left the House.

The settlement of the civil list, left the Ministers at liberty to move the immediate adjournment of Parliament. It had in the first instance been intended, that the Houses should not meet again till the first of February; but they had not yet separated when the news arrived of the troubles that had broken out in Canada, and it was then thought necessary, to shorten the proposed recess by a fortnight.

There is something remarkable in the manner in which the news of the Canada revolt was received by the radicals in England. It is true they had already done all in their power to encourage the preposterous pretensions of the disaffected provincials, and to stimulate them to revolt; but the language of parties, so frequently exceeds their intentions, that it might yet be hoped that the fact of an actual insurrection though grounded upon their own express recommendation, would have given them pause. It

must be admitted, to the credit of their consistency, that this was not the case. The news that a civil war had broken out in one of our colonies, was hailed by the whole party with undissembled delight and triumph.

On the day before that of the adjournment of parliament (Friday, December 22), Lord John Russell rose to move the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply, and at the same time he took the occasion of stating, that, although no measures could be taken by the House with regard to Canada, he nevertheless did not consider himself justified, in the actual condition of that province, to move the adjournment of the House beyond the 16th of January. The present state of affairs was this:— the assembly having been convened to consider the resolutions passed in parliament, had been adjourned, on their refusal to entertain the supplies, or proceed to business. Despatches, subsequently received from Lord Gosford, showed, that the intention was not to seek redress by means of the assembly, but to extort it by violence from her majesty's government. In this aspect of things Lord Gosford had tendered his resignation, which had been accepted, and the administration of affairs entrusted to Sir John Colborne, in whose judgement and abilities government felt the highest confidence. They had declared to that officer, that, reluctant as they were to resort to means of extreme severity, yet nevertheless should he find it necessary to proclaim martial law in the province, they would take upon themselves the responsibility. Accounts of more open disturbance had since been received, and there was reason to believe, that a collision had actually taken place between her majesty's troops, and persons in arms for treasonable purposes. Under these circumstances he thought, that her majesty's government had done their duty in the measures they had taken. He purposed to produce on the morrow such details from the despatches of Lord Gosford as might be communicated without injury to the public service, and would call upon parliament, on its assembly in January, for such measures as the exigency of the case might demand, or at least for an expression of the approbation and full concurrence of the well-affected to the crown, in any line of conduct which ministers might determine to adopt.

The debate which followed this announcement was chiefly remarkable as illustrating the fact we have alluded to, of the zeal and openness, with which a certain party in the country expressed their sympathy with the cause of the rebels, and their hopes of its success. Mr. Leader did not hesitate to justify the whole conduct of the Canadian patriots from the beginning; he applauded their resort to arms, and derided as desperate every effort of the government effectually to put them down. Their cause, he said, was felt to be a common one by all our North American colonies; and he proceeded to enumerate the great disadvantages under which England would have to meet the impending contest. On the one side was the power of the British Government, which had been unable, even with the encouragement of the popular feeling, to suppress the comparatively small force of the Americans at the commencement

of their struggle for independence, on the other, were the distance from England, the difficulty of transporting troops, and maintaining them in a country with four-fifths of the people hostile to them; and though it might be possible with a small force to keep Montreal and Quebec, yet the whole of the open country would be absolutely untenable. Above all, there was the determined spirit of the people, awakened by the memory of unredressed wrongs, and sustained by the conviction of the justice of their cause. He dwelt, too, on the advantages they possessed over the Americans, in the great inducements and facilities held out for the desertion of the troops; the assistance to be expected from the population of the neighbouring states, which, as had been shewn, in the case of the Texas, could not be controlled by the government; and the means of remuneration which would be in their hands by the confiscation of the reserved lands —the lands of the American Land Company, as well as those of individuals who had exercised an injurious interference in their affairs. From all these resources, as well as from the event of the American war of independence, Mr. Leader inferred the probability of their success; but even in case of the suppression of the revolt, he maintained, that we should but recover a burthensome and disaffected province, whose insubordination was entirely chargeable upon the tyranny and vacillation of the government, who must, in any case, expect the execration of posterity, for having plunged the country in a war provoked by their own misgovernment and incompetence.

Mr. Hume, in reference to the indignation which had been expressed at the manner in which Mr. Leader had spoken of the civil war in Canada, maintained, that there was a limit to human suffering, a point where resistance became a virtue; and asserted, that the Canadians had arrived at this point, and he thought, that hon. members might reserve some of their sympathies for the unfortunate individuals who would be driven from their own firesides to the northern snows, rather than brave the tyranny of the colonial government. He then proceeded to enumerate a variety of alleged acts of oppression, by which the government had been preparing, for the last ten years, the present insurrection, and concluded by drawing a parallel between the circumstances of Canada and those of Ireland, and enforcing, by the example of the comparative tranquillity which had ensued on the removal of the disabilities from the Roman catholics in the latter country, the necessity of granting equal concessions to the Canadians; "above all," said he, "let us not be ashamed of retracting the proceedings which we have taken, and which caused the infliction of so many wrongs, and so great irritation. Let us not now persist, and be obliged hereafter to express our regret in sackcloth and in ashes."

Sir William Molesworth dwelt principally upon the same topics upon which Mr. Leader had enlarged before him. He expressed his admiration of the means which the insurgents had adopted for cutting off the revenues from the government, by refusing to consume the articles upon which the customs were levied, and also of the general and daily increasing

organization which the revolt had assumed, and he bitterly censured the appointment of Colonel Arthur, the governor of a penal colony, to the administration of a free province, on such an occasion, although he admitted, that Colonel Arthur had, in his government of Van Diemen's Land, rather fallen short of, than exceeded, his instructions. There remained, he contended, but two alternatives for government, consistent with justice and safety — either by making every concession to the House of Assembly, to endeavour to prolong the dominion of this country over Canada, or to propose the complete separation of the two countries, which was perhaps the wiser expedient. Ministers seemed to have determined upon an adherence to their past policy, and to engage in a war, the result of which, with the inevitable desertion of their troops, and the example of Texas before their eyes, could not be other than discomfiture and calamity. Deeply as he deplored such a state of things, he must say, that in such a cause he should more deplore success on the part of this country than defeat.

Mr. Grote in reply to some remarks from Mr. Gladstone, of a contrary tendency, maintained, that there was a great similarity between the present condition of Canada, and the provinces of the United States in 1774, and that both the conduct of the mother country, and the grievances alleged on the part of the colonies, were on both occasions exactly analogous. He took a somewhat different view of the merits of the case from that of those who had preceded him on the same side. He avowed his belief, that no great practical grievance had been entailed upon Canada any more than upon the United States, but the British legislature unfortunately assumed over the former, as it had done over the latter, a right of control which he was sure would have been held by the Lord Russell of former days, as equal to a sentence of slavery. He considered, that the British government had only to choose between the maintenance of its power hereafter by military force, and the absolute separation of the two countries; happy as he should feel were there yet any way open, by retracing our steps, to promote a temporary reconciliation, in order to a more gradual disunion.

Mr. Warburton said, that if the present position of affairs in Canada were attributable to the conduct of any particular persons, he should have been disposed to wait for further papers; but, considering the existing condition of that province to be the natural consequence of an infant colony opening into manhood, he did not see how any information could affect the present discussion. He deprecated the principle of measuring the feelings and opinions of the people of other countries by those of our own; and asserted, that in dealing with any nation, we should make the wishes of the inhabitants the sole guide of our measures. Sooner or later, a separation must take place; and, in his opinion, the sooner the better. Moreover, a war with Canada would involve us in hostilities with the United States, and, eventually, perhaps, with the powers of Europe. But, if this alternative were resorted to, he should think it his duty to offer all possible opposition to the measures of such a government.

Mr. Harvey and Mr. Wakley followed up the same line of argument, more particularly insisting, that they were practical, and not theoretical grievances which the Canadians suffered under; and they complained that the government had not, in the course of a long debate, made a single addition to the information they already possessed, and called upon ministers, even at the eleventh hour, to hold out to Canada the olive branch of peace.

The tone of opinion and feeling expressed by these gentlemen, was, however, shared by comparatively few members, even of the samc side of the House, nor was it suffered to pass without severe animadversion and rebuke.

Mr. Gladstone noticed the remarkable fact, that the member for Westminster, although he owed his seat to the influence of the present government, had addressed the House in a speech, in which he dwelt on the dismemberment of the empire with strong satisfaction, while not a single expression had fallen from his speech indicating any concern at the accounts which had been received from the colonies. He then went on to deny, that Canada, as in the case of the United Provinces, had any practical grievances to complain of, and challenged his opponent to point out one case of a wrong unredressed. He was not terrified at the prospect of a separation, for the balance of advantages was at present greatly on the side of Canada; but, although he must not be supposed to contend, that this island should have her distant possessions for ever dependent on her, the time when a disunion would be beneficial for Canada had not yet come. In conclusion, he trusted, that, whether on the first outbreak, or the last, they would never show that they were terrified, so long as their cause was just; but, on the other hand, that justice, and not strength, should guide their proceedings; and that, at any rate, they would not suffer themselves to be swayed by threats or menaces, whether delivered in that House, or expressed on the other side of the Atlantic.

Sir George Grey would not enter at length into the question, and relied upon the information supplied by the papers, which would be produced, for meeting most of the accusations that had been made. He observed, the members who had spoken on the opposite side, would lead the House to suppose, that the conflict was between the British government on the one hand, and an undivided people on the other. This statement he would publicly deny; and, in opposition to the enumeration they had gathered from Canadian papers, of public meetings held by the disaffected over all the province, he could point to the numerous resolutions passed by other assemblies in the provinces, expressive of their attachment to the British constitution; and would call their attention to the facts, that there was a great portion of the colony in which the unhappy state of things referred to, did not exist, whilst the loyalty of the people of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper Canada, remained quite unshaken. Sir George Grey then proceeded to defend the appointment of colonel Arthur, and to shew, that none of the charges made against him on his return from Van Diemen's Land, had been substantiated, although he had undertaken that

government under unprecedented difficulties. He ended, by declaring his confidence, that the government, backed by the authority of Parliament, would be able to stem the tide of insurrection, and to restore to the distracted colony the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

Mr. George F. Young said, that it was melancholy and humiliating that British senators should have dwelt with calmness and pleasure on a picture the most revolting;—that they should have pointed out the way by which the enemies of England might, most easily, assail their country;—that they should have shewn how a colony, in a state of insurrection, could most easily triumph over the laws, and in what part their country was most vulnerable. He did not admit, that the population of Lower Canada, of whom one-fourth was British, were naturally disaffected, and thought the excitement which prevailed might be traced to a cause which the member for Leeds had overlooked, the seditious harangues of agitators on this side of the water, and on the other. Although this was a question to be debated upon the higher grounds of national honour and integrity, he did not believe, that a separation would create a greater outlet for our manufactures—a wider opening for emigration—or an increase of our shipping—a subject upon which he was better able to offer an opinion; and he expressed his astonishment at the member for Westminster, who had held up the confiscation of the possessions of the American Land Company as a remuneration for deserters.

Sir Robert Inglis, Captain Pechell, Sir Charles Broke Vere, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. C. Hindley, Mr. Borthwick, and Mr. Maclean, deeply lamented the tone and manner in which the discussion had been carried on; and the last gentleman, in particular, severely censured the principles laid down by the member for Bridport, the consequences of which, he contended, would lead to the defection of all the dependencies of the British empire. He then showed, that the measures taken by lord Gosford had been forced upon him by the conduct of Mr. Papineau and his coadjutors, and that no other path, consistent with duty, was open to him; and he concluded, by joining his own testimony to that of many others, to the merits of Sir J. Colborne.

Lord John Russell, having entered into a short explanation of his views, in moving the adjournment to the 16th of January, proceeded to notice, in some degree, the speeches that had been made that night, and especially the tone and language adopted in them. He said, he did not find fault with the philosophical argument of the member for Bridport, who said, that if complaints were made by any colony against the administration of the mother country, no matter whether such accusations were founded in fact or not; in that case, a separation ought to be effected between the colony and the parent state upon amicable terms. If we were to discuss this question, however plausibly such a proposition might be argued in the abstract, he was convinced, that it was irreconcileable with the dominion of a great empire; and, in the end, totally destructive of all social order and happiness. Even if such a partition were brought about, did his honourable friend, after the speeches they had heard that night, really believe, that

those exasperated feelings would be got rid of by such a course, when he had heard enough to demonstrate to him, that were ministers so ill-advised as to counsel the abandonment of Canada, a large portion of British subjects would be exposed to proscription and peril of their lives? He believed, that those who were engaged in the cause of rebellion, were less influenced by an abstract love for a particular form of constitution, than by those violent feelings which had grown out of and survived former feuds, and which were more easily gratified during the confusion of civil broils, than while the country was under the ordinary and legitimate form of government.

The noble lord then went on to insist, that the member for London had failed to make good an analogy between the case of Canada and that of the United Provinces. The first act of the British parliament with respect to America, was passed, not in consequence of the refusal of the American legislature to contribute to the support of the internal government, for which they had made large contributions; but it was an act for the application of certain stamp duties, to be raised in the British colonies, towards the defraying the expenses of the protection of the same. And it should be remembered that while lord Chatham admitted that this was an aggressive act on the part of the mother country, he, at the same time declared that this county had supreme legislative power over her dependencies in North America. Very different was the story in our Canadian affairs. We had given them, in 1791, a constitution consisting of a governor, an executive council, a legislative council appointed for life, and an assembly elected by the people—and so far were we from interfering with the privileges of that assembly, that when it was complained that by contributing to the support of the local government, we diminished the proper authority of the assembly over its administrators, we discontinued our contributions, and left them the whole control of their finances. But in the course of events, disagreements had arisen between the two houses of their domestic legislature, and many useful bills were rejected by the assembly on the grounds that persons of known hostility to that body were appointed to the legislative council. This grievance had been so effectually remedied, that hopes had been entertained that the two houses might proceed together in harmony. But in vain. What the assembly insisted on was not the removal of a practical grievance, but that the legislative council should be rendered elective, and that the executive council should be placed on the same footing as the administration of this country, and removeable, when they did not possess the confidence of the assembly. The concession of these demands, it might be easily shewn, amounted to a virtual independance. It was on the rejection of this claim that the assembly had, on their part, refused the supplies —so that the steps taken to set the machine in motion again was no act of oppression—not a measure of finance, but one of self-defence —a defensive position taken up in order to the restoration, by some means or other, of the provincial administration. Were all their demands granted in full, he did not anticipate an extinction of the dif-

ferences between the two countries, and other causes of collision would arise between the executive and the deliberative bodies, after the legislative council should have been rendered elective. Lord J. Russell went on to declare that, he did not advocate the retention of the Canadian people against their express wish under the English dominion, but he believed that they were at heart not indisposed to the British crown—and that a people so lightly taxed, who had so few grievances to complain of, would, after the present excitement had subsided, return into due subordination. Allusion had been made to the possible interference of hostile powers in the present contest; but it was not plain that those nations who aimed at the diminution of our dominion would be deterred from aggression by a submissive attitude. In conclusion, the noble lord declared that, whatever might be the event, such arguments made little impression upon him. Sure he was, that if we followed so weak and pusillanimous a course as to abandon those who looked to us for protection, deserted British subjects who had remained firm in their allegiance, and withdrew our troops that they might be overpowered, we should only invite foreign invasion, and give them occasion to say, "Here is the great British nation which has attained so much glory in war and prosperity in peace, forced to yield in a contest with one of her own colonies." And they would think that her sun, which had shone with so much brightness, was sunk in darkness and clouds. If the house were to use the language which he had heard that night, or if the country, which, he did not fear, were to adopt it, the prevalence of such a feeling would be far more fatal to its welfare than any Canadian rebellion. The discontent now existing in that province, local and partial as it was, might be overcome or not; but if the country were disposed to become in this way an accomplice in its own fall and degradation, then our colonial possessions might at once be left to their fate, and it would be of no avail to summon parliament together to deliberate on the subject.

As usual, where the ministers have happened to be more directly at issue with their radical allies; the leading members of the conservative party took little or no share in the debate. On the following day both houses of parliament adjourned to the 16th of January.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1. THE Snow Storm.—One of the heaviest falls of snow ever remembered in this country, took place during the Christmas night. It appears to have extended over every part of the kingdom, and to have commenced in the northern parts earlier than in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. So deep were the drifts of snow, that in some of the lower grounds it was from forty to fifty feet deep; thus in many parts of the country all communication, by the usual modes of travelling, was entirely suspended. The impediments to the mails were of the most serious description. Not a single mail of the 26th, which ought to have arrived by six o'clock on Monday morning, reached the Post-office before half past eight. Of the mails sent out from London on Monday night, the Dover went twenty miles and returned, the coachman and guard declaring the roads to be utterly impassable.

At Lewes, in Sussex, a tremendous avalanche fell at the place called the Cliff; and, shocking to relate, overwhelmed seven houses, with most of their unfortunate inmates. The letters are conveyed daily from Canterbury to Dover on sledges drawn by three and four horses, tandem. On Thursday week they were forwarded by means of pack-horses; and on Sunday, they were transmitted on sledges, which returned with passengers, at a charge of *2l.* per head. Previous to this mode of conveyance being adopted, they were sent round the coast by a Government steamer. Very few vehicles are visible excepting sledges, drawn by one or more horses.

2. At the beginning of the present month, a young woman of Chateauneuf in the Drome, set out for Valence, to meet a young man at a notary's, in order to sign a contract of marriage between them. She had with her a written promise from her lover, settling upon her the sum of 800 fr. Several days having elapsed without her return, her friends became alarmed, and made inquiries. They subsequently found her handkerchief and cloak hanging on some shrubs, which grew on the face of a steep rock overhanging the Isere, and no doubt remained that she had been murdered and thrown into the river, although her body has not been found. Strong circumstances of suspicion being attached to her intended husband, named Lioret, and two

of his associates, Carrier and Tabarin, those three individuals were arrested, and conducted to the prison at Valence. It appears that Lioret had been induced by his confederates to entice the poor girl to the fatal spot where she was murdered, having been first robbed of the promise of marriage, and a sum of 320 fr. she had with her.—*French Paper.*

3. Cork. — One of the most daring *achievements* ever attempted in this city was accomplished yesterday.

At ten o'clock in the morning, a person of gentlemanly appearance, respectably dressed, and apparently of middle-age, went to the residence of Wm. Wise, esq., on the North Mall, knocked at the door, and handed a letter to the servant, to be conveyed to her master. This letter, which was signed "William Lander," requested a private interview with Mr. Wise, as the writer had some important business to transact, and, on perusing it, Mr. Wise desired the servant to show him up. Mr. Wise was confined to his bed, and on entering the room in which he lay, the applicant closed and locked the door, walked over to the bed, took a pistol from his pocket, raised the pan and examined the priming, and then with his left hand drew from another pocket a folded paper, open, however, at one end. The end he exhibited to Mr. Wise, and presenting the pistol at his head, he said, "Sign your name to this, or you are a dead man." Mr. Wise asked what it was? He replied, "I won't tell you, but sign it at the peril of your life." Mr. Wise said, if it were money he wanted, he had blank checks on the table beside him, and he would fill one of them for him. The other answered that he did not want a check—he should either have his name to that document or his life. Mr. Wise unable to summon the servants, or to make any effort to relieve himself of his unwelcome visiter, somewhat alarmed at the perilous position he was so unexpectedly placed in, hesitated for a moment, on which the fellow said, "Come, come, there's no time to be lost; sign that, or in one moment you are a dead man." Mr. Wise then raised himself in the bed, and the other handed him a pen from the table at its side. Agitated as he was, Mr. Wise was sufficiently master of himself to write his name in a way so different from that in which he ever wrote it before, as to afford an easy clue to the detection of the document whenever it is presented, which, it is supposed, will not be until after Mr. Wise's death. While signing the name, Mr. Wise perceived under the folds of the paper, an 8 and two 0 s—what other, or whether any other figures were there, he could not tell. When his object was accomplished, the person who presented the paper, took it over to the fire and held it to dry, examining it deliberately two or three times during the process, and all the while remaining with his face turned toward Mr. Wise, and his eyes firmly fixed on him. This occupied about a minute and a half. He then (putting the pistol on half cock) returned to the bed and said, "So far I have accomplished what I wanted. I have now but to say that if you attempt to make the least noise, or to give the least alarm, until I am out of the house, though I should be at the hall door, I will return

and blow your brains out." This said, he placed the paper and the pistol in his pocket, made his bow to Mr. Wise, unlocked the door, and walked deliberately down the stairs. Mr. Wise in a few minutes rang the bell, and having directed some of the servants to remain with him, sent for the sheriffs and a magistrate, and swore informations against the delinquent, who is a person Mr. Wise has no recollection of ever having seen before.—Mr. Wise has offered a reward for his apprehension.

4. Horrible Murder. — On yesterday morning last, one of the most diabolical murders took place at Denver, near Downham, that has occurred in this neighbourhood for many years, and has excited a sensation of horror in all ranks. A female, about fifty years of age, of the name of Hannah Mansfield, residing on Denver-common, of rather eccentric habits, left the house of a friend in the village at 10 o'clock on the evening of Monday, and, in going to her home, called in at the adjoining cottage, and stayed a short time, and then retired to her own dwelling. On the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd instant, her neighbours saw nothing of her, nor did they pay any attention to that circumstance, as she sometimes laid in bed rather late; but about half-past 10 o'clock, a female, who came to deliver a parcel, called, and receiving no answer, went into a neighbour's house, to ask if the deceased were not up; they replied, that they did not know, and their daughter went to see, and immediately called out, that there was some blood upon the threshold; upon which they attempted to open the door, and, to their horror, found the poor woman lying upon the floor in a pool of blood, with her throat cut, having been dead apparently some hours. Her body was lying across the door-way, so that the door could not be completely opened without touching it. Some of her clothes were lying on the table, and her pockets also, but rifled of everything, and a considerable quantity of plate also was taken from the cupboard, together with the money she had about her, supposed to be nearly 20*l*. The bloody footsteps of two miscreants were traced more than 200 yards across the common. The poor victim was in her night-dress only, and had evidently come down stairs on hearing the noise, and appears to have struggled violently.

6. Inquisition in London. — Extraordinary Investigation. —Sir F. Roe, the chief magistrate at Bow-street police-office has, during the last fortnight, been engaged in the investigation of the circumstances attending a transaction of a most extraordinary nature, which had been represented to Lord John Russell by the Senora Josefina Carillo d'Aborroz. The senora having been called before him, he took a deposition from her, of which the following is nearly a copy.

Josefina Carillo d'Aborroz Mahon d'Arturo: I have been one month in London, having arrived by a government steam-ship at Falmouth, by which I had travelled from Cadiz. On Thursday, the 15th of December, I quitted my residence, between three and four o'clock, without giving any one any previous intimation of my intention to do so; and, accompanied by my servant, Francisca d'Acosta, I went in a cabriolet to the Regent's-quadrant.

I directed the driver where to go, and on my reaching a house there, I quitted the vehicle. I was about to knock at the door, when a Spaniard, decently dressed, who was standing there, came forward and told me, the lady on whom I was calling, was not at home, and that she was gone into the city to visit a relation there. He gave the address to the cabman, and he then drove me to a house in the city, which I do not know. I got out, and knocked at the door, and asked for the lady, but the servant, a Spaniard, told me she was at another house, of which he gave the address to the cabman, and that she was waiting there for me. I was then driven on, and the cabman, after looking about, stopped at a house, which I have since seen, and which is No.—, Broad-street-buildings. I got out, and knocked at the door, and it was opened by a young man, who said, in Spanish, the moment I asked for the lady, "I will deliver the message." He then went up stairs, leaving me waiting, but he returned directly, hastily, and shut the door, and at the same time I felt a hand place a bandage on my eyes over my bonnet, which was forced back, and a hand drew me quickly up stairs, a few steps. We then reached a landing-place, and there were then some more steps, then a turn, and again more steps, about twenty-five or thirty in all. There seemed to be two men, but I heard no voices. When I got up stairs, the bandage was taken off my eyes, and I found myself in an apartment about eighteen feet long; a little bell had been rung. I observed the carpet was green, and white, and there were two large globes on a stand. The room was hung with black cloth, as well as all the furniture, and there was a table in the centre, also covered with black. There were twelve candles burning with green and black shades round the light, twelve men with black tunics on, were seated, one opposite to each candle, and all had on four-cornered caps with black tassels, but the president wore a white one, and had white edges to his dress. The bandage was unloosed from behind, and I saw no one but those who were seated. The latter instantly exclaimed in one voice, "*Dios nos guarde.*" I thought it was some fane. There was a large ivory crucifix on a velvet book on the table, and there was before each person a book bound in red with gilt letters, similar to the four evangelists, commonly used in my country. The president had a secretary on his right, and on each side the other persons, but none in front. The secretary took the book from under the crucifix, and wrote down all my answers. There was an inkstand, silver or plated, with four bottles, placed near the secretary. There was a small door on the left hand, as I entered; I stood opposite to it, and I saw two men pass immediately after the bandage was taken off. The president alone spoke, and always in Spanish. He said, "Swear by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, and by the Lord Jesus Christ, and our Lord, the King, whom God preserve, to revoke all thou hast done against the loans of our Lord the King, and swear that you were instigated by your friends to do so; and by what you do, you will decide your own death and happiness eternal." At this time a servant, who had opened the door at first, and who stood by my side,

held my hand on the book that was before the president, and he remained by my side the whole time I was in the room. He had a frock-coat, and under it I saw the handle of a poniard. I answered, "Mr. President of a tribunal unknown to me, the temper of the wicked induces them to commit crimes unknown; my life is in your hands this night. The oath you wish to administer to me I will not swear, because I shall not be able to keep it." The secretary answered, "Tremble! for your life shall answer for all. In England, we can be revenged, because it is a free country:" and he added a threat of death, which I understood, because it was expressed in a manner common in Spain. The President asked me if I would swear to leave London immediately, and all my friends, and said, I did not know that they were hurrying me on to the precipice on which I stood, that I was surrounded by traitors, and that if I did not promise all that they required, my father's life, the lives of all my relations in Spain, and my own, when I least expected it, should pay for it. The President said, I had destroyed a loan that was made for the King, and that I was the most execrable and infamous of women: that I was induced by——to prevent the loan to the King, that I must use all my influence in the provinces, and amongst my friends to get another, and that if I did not, I should be assassinated, and should be in danger of death at every step; that if I discovered the place, and what had taken place there, I should certainly be put to death. I should know the president, and, indeed, all the persons present, if I was to see them, and also the servant. They spoke broken Spanish, and were English, or not Spaniards; one wore spectacles, and one a glass to one eye. None had mustachios, and all their faces were uncovered in the usual manner. This lasted nearly three hours. At the end, the President took my hands from across the table, rising from his seat, and placed them on the same book, and asked me to swear again as before, and not to reveal what had passed, though it were of little importance. I answered, that the life of the King and his children should be made responsible for my life, and that if they intended to put me to death, to dispatch me quickly; that I was in a country of freedom and justice, and that my signature should never be found in an inquisitorial tribunal. They then all called out, "Let her die" (*Que muera*), and all rose; and then the President said, "Sit still, it is not yet time." I then said, I had nothing to do with the loans; and many other things I cannot remember. They also said, "This 15th of December, infamous woman, you sealed your fate, and sentenced your death." They again tried to make me swear, and they said, that a malediction would follow all my steps. All who had been seated, occasionally asked me questions. At the end, the bandage was replaced by somebody from behind, and I was led, as I believe, several times round the room. At all events, it was on a level, and not down stairs, and there was more space I walked over than when I came up first, and I heard a noise as if furniture was being moved. Then I was led up stairs, and then down again to the door of the house,

the person holding me by the hand, and I felt a wall on one side. At the bottom of the stairs, the door was opened, the bandage removed, and I was pushed out. The servant was rather short and pale, had black whiskers, and was of a good figure. I noticed the house before I got into the cabriolet, and knew it again.

JOSEFINA D'ABORNOZ.

Sworn, Dec. 23.

Since the promulgation of the inquiry into the above charge at Bow Street, several Spaniards of rank have been using every effort to elucidate the extraordinary tale, but without success. The result of their investigation leads them seriously to doubt the whole narrative, which doubt receives further confirmation from the fact, that the complainant is unknown in the higher ranks of society, or in the political circles of either of the contending parties in their unfortunate country.

9. THE LATE MYSTERIOUS MURDER IN THE EDGEWARE ROAD.—The announcement that a head, supposed to be that of the ill fated female whose trunk was discovered on the 28th ult. in the Edgeware road, had been found on Saturday, the 7th inst. in the Regent's Canal, Mile-end, has produced a great sensation throughout the metropolis. On Monday morning, the basket containing the head was taken by Feltham from the station house to the poor house, and the churchwardens and several members of the vestry assembled at the same place, for the purpose of hearing the result of the examination. The medical gentlemen proceeded to compare the head with the trunk; they found the parts to correspond in every particular, and declared it to be their firm opinion that they had both belonged to the same individual.

9. AWFUL AND FATAL EXPLOSION OF GUNPOWDER.—LIMERICK. The citizens of Limerick at night, about a quarter past ten, were terrified by a tremendous explosion of gunpowder, which shook to the very foundation all the houses in the main streets of St. Michael's parish, and dashed out the window sashes in most of the houses in Patrick Street, George Street, Denmark Street, Arthur's Quay, and Honan's Quay, covering the flag-ways with a profuse shower of broken glass. The concussion was so violent as to extinguish all the gas lamps, and involve the streets in total darkness, while the report of the explosion was distinctly heard at the extreme ends of the city, and could be likened to nothing else but the springing of a mine close to our very door, the ground itself trembling with the force of the blast. The scene of this appalling calamity was the large house, corner of George's Street and Denmark Street, inhabited by Mr. Richardson the extensive gun manufacturer, whose entire magazine of gunpowder blew up, and levelled the whole building to the earth. At half past eleven o'clock last night, seven bodies were taken out of the ruins, and conveyed to Barrington's Hospital, terribly mutilated, yet still retaining the vital spark, though literally black with powder. One of the first victims, and who died in a few minutes, was Mr. John Healy, of Bank Place, medical student, a young gentleman who happened to be passing the house, when the shock occurred, a great beam having struck him on the head

and dashed his brains out. Surgeons Thwaites, Franklin, Brodie, and Kane, attended the hospital all night, administering to the unhappy victims, who were brought in every hour for relief. There are several persons yet missing. The next house in George's Street to that which is now a blank, and that in Denmark Street immediately adjoining, appear tottering to the ground, in a most dangerous state, and exhibit a frightful picture of devastation. They resemble mere shells, the main walls standing, but all the floors are torn up and rent asunder. The other houses in the vicinity are gutted of their window sashes, and the fronts of all are much disfigured or shattered.

9. MURDER IN RATCLIFF-HIGHWAY.—This night, a few minutes before six o'clock, a most atrocious murder was committed in Ratcliff Highway. The individual who suffered was Mr. John Holliday Ready, who for some time carried on the trade of a tailor, draper, and milliner, at No. 125, Ratcliff Highway. The name of the murderer is John Pegsworth, a messenger in the tea department of St. Katharine's Docks. Pegsworth formerly kept a small tobacconist's shop in the same street. A few weeks ago, he contracted a debt of 1*l.* with Mr. Ready, who, being unable to obtain payment, took out a summons against him on Monday afternoon. This case was heard at the Osborn Street Court of Requests, Whitechapel, when Mrs. Ready attended on the part of her husband, and swore to the correctness of the debt. Pegsworth endeavoured to show, that Mr. Ready had been exorbitant in his charge, which was for making a coat for his son, a boy, aged eight years. The Court, however, decided that the demand was a fair and reasonable one, and gave judgment against Pegsworth for the full amount and costs, which he was ordered to pay by instalments of 4*s.* per month. Pegsworth immediately left the Court and went home to his tea. He complained to his wife of the conduct of Mr. Ready in the most bitter terms, and said he would be the death of him for having summoned him to the Court of Requests. His wife endeavoured to pacify him, but he had no sooner finished his meal, than he proceeded to a cutler's shop in Shadwell, where he bought a large pig-knife, armed with which, he immediately repaired to the shop of Mr. Ready, in Ratcliff Highway, for the purpose of executing his diabolical intention. He met with Mrs. Ready in the shop, and began conversing with her. At that time he did not appear to be the least excited, nor did he by his conversation or manner betray the least ill-feeling against Mr. Ready, who was sitting on a chair by the parlour fire; the latter hearing Pegsworth's voice invited him to come in. Pegsworth entered the parlour, and got into conversation with Ready, who was labouring under illness, and asked Pegsworth to sit down. Pegsworth declined taking a seat; and after he had been talking for about five minutes in a most calm and collected manner on the subject of the debt, and the misfortunes he had met with in business, he asked Mr. Ready if he intended to enforce payment of the debt? Ready said, he should be compelled to issue an execution against his goods if the money was

not paid. The words had scarcely escaped the lips of the unfortunate man, than Pegsworth uttered some exclamation, which is supposed to have been "Take that!" and plunged the knife with great force into his breast up to the hilt Ready called out to his wife, "Oh I am stabbed!" fell back in his chair, and almost immediately expired. Mrs. Ready, who saw Pegsworth move his arm, but was not aware her husband was stabbed until she saw him fall back, screamed aloud for assistance, and several of her neighbours, rushed into the shop for the purpose of securing the murderer, who did not make the least attempt to escape, but having completed his purpose, withdrew the knife from the body of his victim, laid it on the table, and calmly awaited the arrival of the police. An assistant to Mr. Wills, the surgeon residing next door, was instantly fetched by Mrs. Ready, but her husband was beyond the reach of human aid, His death was almost instantaneous.

11. Installation of Sir Robert Peel as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.—This ceremony took place to-day, and, as might naturally be expected, excited great interest in the city. Of course, numbers who were desirous to obtain admission to the College Hall were necessarily excluded, owing to the limited space, which is capable of containing only about 1,200 persons. The galleries were filled with visiters, one being appropriated to ladies and the other to gentlemen. The body of the hall, with the exception of the stage, occupied by Sir Robert Peel and the Professors of the University, and one bench on which the Earl of Haddington, Lord Melville, Sir George Clerk, Sir William Rae, and other distinguished individuals sat, was filled with students, most of whom wore their scarlet gowns. The doors were opened at one o'clock, and every place was almost immediately filled. The students proposed, and gave cheers for several persons, but their huzzas seemed to want the heartiness which attends an English cheer, and formed a striking contrast with the enthusiastic shouts for which we are accustomed on similar occasions at our own Universities. Cheers were given in succession to the Duke of Wellington, Lord Stanley, Lady Peel and the ladies, Lady Sanford, &c. Some voice called for a cheer for Sir John Campbell, which met with but a faint response. Three groans were given for Lord Melbourne and the Ministry.

The right hon. Baronet having been inducted into office with the usual formalities, addressed the assembly at very considerable length. He sedulously abstained from any political or personal allusions, the whole of his arguments tending to one point—the importance of education, as the means of advancement in every pursuit. Sir Robert's address was listened to with marked attention, and loudly cheered at its conclusion. The ceremony closed with a Latin benediction to the Principal of the University, and the hall was gradually cleared.

12. Influenza.—An influenza of a peculiar character has been raging throughout the country, and particularly in the metropolis. It has been attended by inflammation of the throat and lungs, with violent spasms, sickness, and head-

ache. So general has been its effects, that business in numerous instances has been entirely suspended. The greater number of clerks at the War Office, Admiralty, Navy Pay Office, Stamp Office, Treasury, Post Office, and other Government offices, have been prevented from attending to their daily avocations. In the Royal Naval Hospital of Greenwich there have been a great number of deaths amongst the aged inmates. At the Royal Military College of Chelsea, the deaths have been very many. At Woolwich the epidemic has been so prevalent that forty to fifty men per day, belonging to the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Sappers and Miners, and other troops, have been admitted into the Military Hospital, amongst whom several deaths have occurred, from acute inflammation of the lungs. Of the police force, there were upwards of 800 incapable of doing duty. On Sunday the 13th, the churches which have generally a full congregation, presented a mournful scene by the non-attendance of many, who the Sunday before were in perfect health, but then no more, or disabled from attending. The number of burials on the same day in the different cemeteries, was nearly as numerous as during the raging of the cholera, in 1832 and 1833. In the workhouses, the number of poor who have died, far exceed any return that has been made, for the last thirty years.

13. COMMON PLEAS. — IMPORTANT MERCANTILE DECISION. — *Bank of England*, v. *the London and Westminster Bank*.—Their Lordships having appointed this morning to give judgment in this case, the Court was crowded to excess with persons anxious to hear their decision in a case of so much importance to the mercantile world. Chief Justice Tindal stated, that this cause came before the Court as a special case sent for their opinion by the Master of the Rolls, in whose Court the original suit was instituted. The only question left for himself, and the other learned judges of that Court was, whether the London and Westminster Bank could legally accept bills of exchange payable at a less date than six months. He would not embarrass the question by going through the whole of the arguments adduced by the learned counsel on either side, when the case was before the Court last term. The question itself was a simple one, and depended principally, if not entirely, on the construction of 3rd and 4th William 4th. Before however, alluding further to that statute, he would state that the Bank of England was originally incorporated by an act of Parliament passed in the 5th and 6th William and Mary, and by which certain exclusive privileges were granted to that corporation—those privileges were confirmed by several subsequent statutes, in which it was provided, that no other corporate body should have such privileges. It was evident from the wording of every one of these statutes, that the Legislature passed them for the protection of the Bank of England, and in the present case the question was, had the defendants infringed upon any of those privileges by accepting bills payable in London at a less date than six months. It was the opinion of himself and his learned brethren that they had done so, and they would certify accordingly to the Master of the

Rolls. — The Attorney - General said, he felt it his duty to thank their Lordships for having publicly stated their reasons for the decision to which they had arrived. —Judgment for the plaintiffs.

22. The Influenza. — The Funerals of Sunday last. — Death had a high day in the metropolis last Sunday; and, perhaps in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, such a scene has not been witnessed. There was scarcely an undertaker not employed, and many unable to accomplish their orders. Hearses and mourning coaches were to be seen, driving through the streets, hurrying from the execution of one funeral to the commencement of another. The walking funerals were met at almost every corner of the public streets, and many who had ordered carriages were unable to procure them, and compelled to wade through the dirt and wet on foot. The churchyards seemed to be all bustle and confusion. The principal interments took place in the parishes of St. Pancras, Marylebonne, St. Giles's, Clerkenwell, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, St. Margaret's, and St. John's, Westminster; it is computed that not less than 1,000 burials must have taken place on Sunday, and when it is considered the number of parishes in and round the metropolis, is near 200, the calculation does not seem to be an exaggerated one. In St. Pancras and St. Giles's churchyards, the scenes there were truly awful, and even disgusting to the feelings; the burial ground in the former, had more the appearance of a ploughed field; furrows from the graves were turned up all over the place, and such was the scene between three and four o'clock, that not less than between forty and fifty interments took place, the undertakers scarce knowing which grave to go to. Groups of mourners, with corpses waiting in every part for the clergyman to take his turn in performing the funeral service; then the horrid manner of the gravediggers (navigators who seemed hired for the purpose), their awful language, and careless manner of filling in the graves, jumping and stamping on the coffins—such a sight, indeed, was enough to appal the hardest heart; some of the mourners had actually to wait upwards of an hour before their relatives could be interred.

This epidemic seems not only to have proved destructive in its own natural form, but at Guy's Hospital, in the wards where a free circulation of the air existed, it has, in many instances, run into bronchites, and pneumonia, and has even induced severe symptoms of typhoid or yellow fever, in all which cases it is easy to guess what were the consequences. So very fatal, indeed, has it proved in this way, that the managers of several hospitals have set apart wards exclusively for patients with influenza. Dr. Johnson, at the last meeting of the Westminster Medical Society, stated, that it has been far more violent in its character, and universal in its extent, than the epidemic of 1833. He has found the disease in most instances, to yield to bleeding, mineral medicines, and diluents.

25. Boulogne.—The *grippe* or influenza prevails in this place to an extraordinary extent. Whole families are attacked. The disease, however, although accompanied with painful symptoms, is milder than elsewhere, and has not hitherto increased the number

of deaths beyond the ordinary number for this season of the year. In the surrounding villages half the population have been laid up, and the churches have been closed for want of congregations. By this day's post from Paris, we hear that the number of cases increases daily, and that there have been several deaths. At Dover, more than 3,000 persons are stated to have been ill at one time.

29. Assault on an Examining Surgeon. — *Charles Wadham Wyndham Penruddocke*, surgeon, aged 22, was capitally indicted for cutting and wounding Thomas Hardy, by inflicting a blow upon his head, with intent to do him some grievous bodily harm; and also with intent to murder him.— The prisoner, it appeared from the evidence, went to Apothecaries' Hall on the night of the 22nd of December last, for the purpose of passing his examination, and obtaining his certificate as an apothecary, and being questioned by the Court of Examiners, appointed under the Act of Parliament as to his knowledge of certain drugs, and the method of compounding them, his answers were not considered satisfactory, and the consequence was, that the examiners declined to grant him a certifieate; upon which the prisoner, who appeared considerably excited, said, "As to your certificate, it is of no use to me,, as I am going abroad, and am independent of it; but do you think I am going to be disgraced in the eyes of my family by being rejected by such a set of fellows as you are? No, I would sooner die for it, I would swing for it first." He then rose from his chair, stepped back, and putting his hands behind him, fixed his eyes upon the prosecutor, and immediately struck the latter a severe blow on the left side of the head, saying, "You are one of those who were hard upon me." Dr. Merriman and Mr. Teggart, two of the examiners interposed, and were also struck by the prisoner, who was finally given in charge to the police, a life preserver having been found upon him.—These facts having been detailed by the several witnesses for the prosecution, Mr. C. Phillips addressed ths jury on behalf of the prisoner, whom he described as a young gentleman of high connexions and honourable family in the west of England, and who had all his life been distinguished for humanity and kindness of disposition, until the unfortunate transaction took place which was the subject of the present inquiry. He came to town last October twelvemonth for the purpose of walking the hospitals, and on the evening in question went to the Apothecaries' Hall for the purpose of obtaining his certificate. There was no doubt but that the prisoner had been guilty of an aggravated assault, and he did not mean to defend his conduct in that respect; but in the total absence of all proof of malice or premeditation, he hoped and trusted, that the jury would not consign by their verdict the young man at the bar to a public and ignominious death upon such evidence as that produced.— Dr. Seymour, of Charles Street, Berkeley Square, proved, that the prisoner had been his pupil, and he had always considered him most gentlemanly in his manners, and particularly mild in his disposition. —Other witnesses, equally respectable, concurred in giving the prisoner an excellent character for mildness and humanity. Mr. Jus-

tice Williams summed up the evidence, and the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty.—Mr. Jerningham, on behalf of the prosecutor, said, he was instructed to apply to the Court for the detention of the prisoner, with a view to his being indicted for the common assault.—The Court consented, and directed the prisoner to put in bail, himself in 200*l.*, and two sureties in 100*l.* each, to answer an indictment for the minor charge.

ORIGINALITY AND SIMPLICITY. —An address from the commune in Ergué Gaberié, near Quimper, to the king, composed in the dialect of Brittany:—"To Mr. Louis Philippe, king of the French—the council of the parish of Ergué Gaberié.—Mr. King: The year 1836 has been truly unfortunate for us. 1st. It was with the greatest grief that we learnt that you had three times escaped being killed. 2nd. The wind on the second day of the month of February also blew down the tower of our parish church. But, by the grace of God, you have escaped from all these dangers; and we also hope through the charity of good people, to be able to repair our church and tower. Let us also hope, that in times to come, no person will be found sufficiently wicked, to make a mark of the life of a king who causes the happiness of France.—Your humble servants from the middle of our hearts, and your friends with respect.—Ergué Gaberié, January 10th 1837."

FEBRUARY.

2. THE EDGWARE-ROAD MURDER—DISCOVERY OF THE LIMBS. —This morning, about half-past eleven o'clock, as two labourers were employed in cutting osiers in a marshy piece of ground situate close to Coleharbour-lane, Camberwell, they observed something tied up in a piece of coarse sacking and concealed amidst a heap of weeds and rushes. One of them lifted the bundle, and, anxious to see what it contained, called his companion to witness the discovery. He then with his knife cut the cord which was tied round the bundle, and, to the horror and consternation of himself and his companion, the legs and thighs of a human body dropped from the sacking. The poor fellows were so thunderstruck at this horrible discovery, that for some time they were unable to utter a word, and continued staring in mute dismay, first on the mangled remains before them, and then on each other. It was then agreed that informationshould be given to the Brixton police-station, which was not more than 300 yards from the spot, and soon after some constables arrived and took possession of the remains. A surgeon residing in the neighbourhood was then sent for, by whom the limbs were examined, when it was found, that one of the thighs had been cut from the body close to the hip joint, and that the other had been separated lower down, so that a portion of the upper part of the thigh must have been left attached to the body in the form of a stump. The thighs and legs were of a large size, and particularly well formed, and the toe-nails appeared to have been recently cut and trimmed. The upper portion of one of the thighs, near the hip joint appeared to have been knawed by a rat, but the limbs were not much decayed. The surgeon gave it as his opinion,

that the limbs most probably belonged to the body of the woman which was found some short time ago near Paddington, although, from the size of the limbs, he almost doubted whether they could have belonged to the body of a female.

10. The Court of King's Bench was occupied the whole of yesterday with the trial of the action for libel brought by Lord De Ros against Mr. Cumming, who had accused his lordship of cheating at cards. The trial excited great interest; and among the distinguished persons present were Lords Lyndhurst, Alvanley, and Wharncliffe. It was charged against Lord De Ros, that at the whist table he frequently contrived to have a violent fit of coughing when his deal came, which obliged him to put his hands under the table; and then it always happened that he turned up an honour; and that the aces and kings in the packs Lord De Ros played with, were frequently marked, slightly but perceptibly, with the thumb-nail. Many gentlemen swore to their having been cheated by these tricks; and some refused to play with Lord De Ros; though others did not shun him after his cheating had been discovered—they sent him anonymous notes of warning, and hoped that he had left off cheating. The play of these gentlemen was very high sometimes; and one of them, Mr. Brook Greville, admitted, that he had made 35,000*l.* by play; another, Captain Alexander, said, that he was a "better man by 10,000*l.* for card-playing." On the part of Lord De Ros it was stated, that he has a stiffness in his finger-joints, which prevents him from playing tricks with cards, though he can cut and shuffle them. The trial was adjourned to this day, and ended in a verdict for the defendant. This was equivalent to the conviction of Lord De Ros of cheating at cards. The evidence on the second day was quite decisive. Sir William Ingleby swore to the repeated frauds of the peer. He had seen him fifty times perform the trick called "*sauter la coupe;*" which in effect was, to cut the cards so as always to turn up an ace or a king, when he dealt himself. Several witnesses proved, that the aces and kings of the packs which Lord De Ros had played with were marked. The persons who gave evidence against Lord De Ros were generally professed gamblers; but no evidence was adduced to prove, that they had any spite against his lordship, or that any conspiracy had been formed to ruin him. There never was a clearer case against any delinquent; and the jury only took fifteen minutes to determine upon their verdict. The noble lord left England for Rotterdam next morning.

Another trial, that of Morrison *versus* the *Weekly Dispatch*, in the Common Pleas, was brought to a close on the 10th inst. The plaintiff had a verdict, and 200*l.* damages on the second issue, which had reference to an unsupported charge of insolvency; but on the first and most important, which related to the dangerous character of Morrison's pills, there was a verdict for the defendants. The plaintiff was therefore defeated as to the main object of his action. It appeared by the evidence of a person from the stamp office, that since 1830 Morrison had paid, for 3,901,000 pill-box stamps, 39,555*l.*

12. In the Central Criminal Court, the recorder passed sentences upon the prisoners convicted at the sessions just closed. Sixty-one were ordered to be transported for seven years; nine for fourteen years; eight for life; seven received sentence of death for burglaries; and one, Henry Pegsworth, received the same sentence for murdering Ready, the tailor.

16. Horrid and Mysterious Murder near Uxbridge.—For some days past, the neighbourhood of the town of Uxbridge has been much excited by the sudden and mysterious disappearance of a lad named John Brill, in the employ of Mr. Charles Churchill, an extensive farmer, residing in the parish of Ruislip, near that town, who, it has since been discovered, has been most barbarously murdered.

It appears, that the unfortunate youth, about two months since gave evidence before the magistrates sitting in petty sessions at Uxbridge against two men, named Thomas Lavender and James Bray, who were charged with poaching on the grounds of Ralph Dean, esq., at Ruislip, on which occasion threats of violence were held out against him by the prisoners and their friends. On Thursday, not returning to the farm in the evening, as was his wonted custom, Mr. Churchill sent to Brill's residence to know if he had returned home. His parents replied in the negative, and a search was in consequence instituted with lanterns in the wood, but no trace of him could be discovered. It was, however, ascertained, that he had finished the gap he had been sent to repair. On Friday and Saturday the search was again renewed, but with no better success. On Sunday morning a large body of the villagers joined in the search, and about noon the ill-fated youth was discovered by a man named J. Lavender, the father of one of the men whom it is alleged had threatened his life, in a hollow in the wood. When found he was lying on his back, quite dead. His clothes were in disorder, and his face was covered with dirt, as if he had been rolled in the decayed leaves with which the spot was covered. He instantly raised an alarm, and in a few minutes he was joined by several of the party. On examining the body, the marks of a severe blow were discovered under the right ear, which was considerably swollen, and from which a quantity of blood had flowed. About six yards behind, the billhook which he had been using was found, and on a hedge just above him was his cap, which had apparently been caught by the furze as he fell. There were also marks in the leaves for five or six yards, as if the deceased had staggered before he fell. On lifting him up, although every joint of his body was stiff, his neck was remarkably lax, and indicated every appearance of having been broken. A quantity of blood also flowed from his nose. The body was then conveyed to the Six Bells public-house at Ruislip, where it underwent a coroner's inquest.

18. Police. — Hatton-Garden. — Margaret Newman and Juliet Newman, her daughter, were placed at the bar before Mr. Laing, charged with having stolen some plate, linen, and other property, belonging to Mrs. Dodd, 38, East-street, Lamb's Conduit-street.

The investigation of the case occupied a length of time, and occasioned much interest; the prisoners having a short time ago appeared at this office to prosecute a lady named Rawlinson, residing in Goswell-street-road, upon a charge of stealing jewellery to a great amount, which accusation eventually turned out to be perfectly groundless.

The prisoners, it appeared, had lived in Mr. Dodd's house for six weeks, and they quitted the apartments on Tuesday last. After their departure some silver spoons and other articles were missed, and police constable Renshaw, being consulted upon the subject, suspected the prisoners, and traced them to 25, Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, where he found some glasses owned by Mrs. Dodd. He took the prisoners into custody, and while at the station-house the younger Newman delivered up a silver spoon belonging to Mrs. Dodd, which she took from her bosom, and said it had been packed up by mistake. A man of the name of Cousens was with the prisoners when they were apprehended, and he offered a sovereign to the officer to take no further notice of the matter.

After some further conversation, the prisoners were remanded, Mr. Laing giving strict orders, that they should be kept separate, and not allowed to converse, and when in prison that no one should see them without his order.

Miss Newman is a good-looking girl, about nineteen or twenty years of age, with a dark expressive eye, a Roman countenance, with long black ringlets, of a middling stature, and lady-like manners. Her mother is stout, wearing a large cloak and black bonnet, and her countenance indicates hard drinking. Her daughter is accomplished, and is said to be an excellent musician. They were left a large fortune, which they ran through, by the father, who was an opulent merchant.

Numerous charges are expected to be brought against the prisoners.

Late Earthquake in Palestine.—We extract from the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of the 17th the following letter respecting the late earthquake in Palestine from Mr. Chassebaud, the British Consul. It is dated Beyrout, the 25th of January, 1837.

"Dear Sir,—I have a most painful task to perform, that of announcing the deaths of our much-esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Levy, of Saffet, and the greater part of their family. I address myself to you on the occasion, instead of doing so to Mr. Joshua Levy's brother and other near relatives he may have at your place, in order that you may convey the melancholy tidings to them after you shall have prepared them. This horrible catastrophe took place on Sunday, the 1st instant, late in the afternoon, though before sunset, when a most violent shock of earthquake destroyed the whole of Saffet, Tiberias, and many of the surrounding villages, to which our much lamented friends, Mr. and Mrs. Levy, and the greater part of their family, fell victims, with about 500 other Israelites, and as many Christians and Mussulmans, at Saffet only, without including the great many persons mortally wounded or maimed, and those who were dug out of the ruins, eight or ten days after, alive, but starved, and in a dying state. It

was only on the 5th instant, (five days after the earthquake) that a few survivors of Saffet recovered from their stupor, and despatched messengers to this and other places for assistance to remove the ruins, and bury the dead, and also for tents, coverings, provisions, surgical aid, &c., for the wounded and maimed, none of which they could obtain from the surrounding villages, which had shared the same fate. We immediately opened a subscription here, and sent them what we could."

Another account estimates the whole number of victims at 3000.

19. COMMON PLEAS. — GOMPERTZ *v.* WESTON.—This was an action of libel, to which the defendant pleaded the general issue, and also that the allegations contained in the alleged libel were true.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde, Mr. Sergeant Bompas, and Mr. Thomas, were counsel for the plaintiff, and Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, and Mr. Humphry for the defendant.

From the statement of the plaintiff's counsel, and the witnesses called on his behalf, it appeared that the plaintiff, the Rev. Solomon Gompertz, is a clergyman of the church of England, and the action was brought against Mr. Weston, an inhabitant of the parish of Harlington, in the county of Middlesex, who was charged in the declaration with having published a libel, addressed to the Bishop of London, imputing improper conduct to the plaintiff, in consequence of which his lordship refused to license him as a curate. With respect to the charge concerning the flock of geese, the facts turned out to be these:—As the plaintiff and his present attorney were walking along the road on a Sunday afternoon, they met a person driving six geese, the remainder of a flock, and the owner asked the plaintiff to buy them. The plaintiff replied, that he would not do so on a Sunday, but if the man came to his house on the following morning, he would speak to him about them. Whereupon the owner of the geese left him, and immediately went to the plaintiff's house, and delivered the geese to his servant, saying, that his master had purchased them, and desired him to come next day for the money; but as he was to be elsewhere on the next day, he would be obliged to the servant if he would let him have what he was to receive. Whereupon the servant paid him. The other charges were explained away in a manner equally satisfactory.

On the part of the defendant no witnesses were called, and Mr. Sergeant Talfourd admitted, that, upon the pleas of justification, the plaintiff was entitled to a verdict, as he had certainly most fully met and disproved the charges contained in the libel.

The Lord Chief Justice told the jury, that on the pleas of justification the plaintiff was entitled to their verdict. On the other plea —namely, the general issue, he left it for them to say, whether or not the charges preferred by the defendant had been fairly and honestly brought forward by him for the purpose of procuring an investigation of them on behalf of the parish; if so, the communication was privileged, and the defendant was entitled to their verdict; but if they had been preferred, not from any sincere and honest motive of that kind, but from feelings of personal animosity, or some other private motive of his own, in

that case the verdict ought to be for the plaintiff, with such temperate damages as they thought would meet the justice of the case.

The jury, after having retired for a short time, returned a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 200*l*.

21. NEW CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.—The *Moniteur*, in its non-official part, contains the following statement. As nothing more is known than what it states, we shall simply transcribe it, merely adding, that the government must account for the fact of such a prisoner, accused of such a crime, being left alone in prison!

"The police have for some days been engaged in following up another project against the life of the king by a journeyman mechanician, named Champion. The authorities having obtained information that he was constructing a new infernal machine, he was arrested yesterday morning. Material evidence was found in his lodgings, which, with the depositions against him, left no doubt of his intentions. He, at length, made a complete confession, and revealed circumstances of a most aggravated nature. Being left a short time alone in his prison, he took advantage of the opportunity, and hung himself with his cravat."

Paris, Feb. 21.

The *Moniteur* adds the following additional particulars of the intended attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe:—

"Champion did not meditate alone the crime he intended to have committed. Several individuals who were his accomplices in this odious project have been arrested. The papers seized at the residence of one of them, as well as those found at Champion's lodgings, prove their connexion with secret societies. The death of this man will not suspend the legal investigation already begun. The first intimations of a plot were given to the government authorities about fifteen days ago, in an anonymous letter."

The *Charte* also contained the following further details as to the suicide of Champion:—"He was arrested on Sunday morning, and immediately conveyed to the Prefecture of Police, and placed in a cell apart, under the care of a guard specially appointed. During the morning he betrayed great irritation, and several times loudly expressed his regret at not having accomplished his project. The guard also frequently entered his cell, and also observed him from time to time by the aperture made in the door, and endeavoured to calm him. Champion exclaimed, 'Do not torment me. I shall be taken to the Place St. Jacques (where all executions take place at Paris); but if I had not been arrested, at least I should not have failed in my attempt. I should have arranged the business better than Fieschi did, and I should have succeeded.' It was then six o'clock. The guard went out almost immediately after, and, returning in a few minutes, found Champion suspended to one of the window bars by his neckcloth. It would appear he had mounted on his bed, which he had afterwards pushed away with his feet, so that the weight of his body might produce immediate strangulation. The guard hastened to cut him down, and called the governor and other officers of the prison; but notwithstanding all their efforts, and the aid of a physician, who immediately arrived, every attempt to

restore animation proved ineffectual."

The *Courrier Français* says, that Champion was a locksmith, and was a man of great enthusiasm and extreme violence. He had long indulged in a most senseless hatred of the king, and he did not endeavour to conceal this in his language.

22. Embassy from Madagascar.—Yesterday were presented to Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Colonel Prince Andriautsithoains, Lieut.-Colonel Prince Ra Haro'lahy, Lieut.-Colonel Ramanan Roraisina, Lieut.-Colonel Andriantscheno, officer of the palace; Major Rauera, and Major Rasatrauabo, forming an embassy from the queen of Madagascar, accompanied by Captain Garnot, of the French Marine, who recently arrived with them at Havre from that island; the latter gentleman having very lately made an interesting journey to the capital, where he was presented to the queen, who engaged his services to accompany the above gentlemen upon their embassy to the courts of England and France, and afterwards to return with them to Madagascar.

22. France.—It is mentioned in the Paris journals, that the king is about to embody a guard of honour, in the nature of a household corps, for his personal protection. We also learn, upon the same authority, that the palace at the Tuileries has undergone a purgation, in the removal of several persons, officially resident, but whose loyalty was considered doubtful. The *Moniteur* of Friday, too, contains an ordinance against the manufacture or sale of arms fitted for concealment, such as pocket pistols, daggers, &c. &c., and against the carrying of such arms.

At the Tuileries, every sort of precaution, which prudence can dictate, and which experience can suggest, is being taken to prevent any attempt being made on the life of the king in the palace. The aides-de-camp, the orderly officers, and the adjutants, form three orders of surveillance; then come the civil officers of the house, who are charged with the most minute objects of surveillance. The officers of the hearth are charged to examine if all the pieces of wood brought to the various hearths of the palace for the fires are marked with the hammer of the Tuileries. The impression which these minute precautions produce on all those who are in the chateau is of a most painful character.

23. Savings' Banks.—The report of the Brighton Savings' Bank offers some remarkable facts. The amount of deposits, it seems, has kept steadily increasing through the whole of the year just closed, and is now higher than it has ever been. The number of accounts open has been increased chiefly by persons who could make very small deposits. Out of the sums placed there by 567 persons, nearly one-half of the individual deposits did not exceed 5*l.*; and the depositors of sums falling short of 20*l.* exceed in number all the other depositors added together. The average of the whole, with many years of interest and compound interest upon them, does not exceed 5*l.* 13*s.* $10\frac{3}{4}$*d.* The inference drawn from these facts by the directors is, that economical habits are fast gaining ground among the industrious classes.

23. The new palace of Prince William of Prussia, the king's son, was broken into by thieves, at Berlin, on the night of the 23rd

of February, and robbed of some silver to the amount of 14*l*. The burglars had calculated upon a much larger booty, but were unable to force the strong boxes in which it was contained. This occurrence is curious for its audacity, for Berlin, in which it took place, is itself like a large barrack, filled with soldiers, to say nothing of the police, who swarm there. The prince's palace, too, stands in the most exposed part of the town, being opposite the academy, near the opera, and within sight of the king's house and the arsenal. Every other door in that quarter has sentinels outside it, and there could not be less than twenty or 30 of these armed watchmen within call when this occurrence took place.

27. MURDER.—A FATAL FROLIC.—This day an inquest was holden before W. Carter, esq., coroner for Surrey, at the Roebuck tavern, Great Dover-road, Southwark, on view of the body of Mr. Isaac Newton Slocomb, aged 22, a medical student, who came by his death from violence, which he had received from a party of labourers employed in Woolwich Dock-yard on the 20th inst.

The deceased was a native of St. John's, New Brunswick, and was a pupil at Dr. Grainger's Anatomical School. The inquest room was filled with medical gentlemen and students. The jurors having been sworn,

Mr. Peter Taylor deposed, that he resided at No. 51, Gainsford-street, Southwark. On Friday last, he accompanied the deceased and another student, named Ledden, to Woolwich, where they dined. About eight o'clock, they left there for London. Witness and deceased walked together, and Mr. Ledden walked behind, hoping to get a conveyance to London by the railway. On their way, they knocked at the doors of several houses, and also tapped at the windows as they ran along. On passing a public-house, they broke a window by tapping. Mr. Ledden, who was behind, said "We will have no more of this," and went into the public-house to pay for the square of glass. When about five doors from the public-house, another square was broken. They continued their way to the end of the street. Not seeing Mr. Ledden, they went to the public-house, and ascertained he had paid for the window. They went to where the second square was broken, and witness paid the landlady 3*s*. for it. Several persons had congregated. They taxed them with breaking windows. Witness told them the window was paid for; what more did they want? On turning round, he saw the deceased struck. The deceased said he would not be struck by any one. At this time there were upwards of sixty persons present, who surrounded them. Mr. Ledden said it was a shame, and seeing half a dozen hands raised towards Mr. Ledden, he (witness) ran over and struck the first man he saw assault him. The crowd was very great, and we were got into the dock-yard. The next time witness saw the deceased was in a house in the dock-yard. When he saw him, he had a handkerchief wetted with water to his nose, which was bleeding, and upon asking him if he was much hurt, he said he had received a severe blow on the nose, and had a pain in his head, having been struck with a stick. A coach was procured, the deceased was brought

to town, and died at his lodgings the following morning.

28. Epidemic.—The influenza, though not quite extinct, is still rapidly declining. The weekly account of burials published in the *Medical Gazette* states the number of deaths from this complaint for the week ending February 21st at twenty only. The improvement in the general health of the metropolis is even more satisfactory, the total number of deaths in the same week being 210 less than in the week ending the 14th instant.

— Loss of the Stirling Castle. — The arrival of the James from Sydney, New South Wales, at Liverpool, brings the particulars of the shipwreck of this long-missed vessel. She sailed from New South Wales early in May last year, and was wrecked on the 21st of that month in lat. 34. long. 155. 12. east, on Eliza Reef. The crew immediately took to the boats and put to sea with the intention of making Repulse Bay. The two boats parted company on the third day. One portion of the crew, consisting of the captain, his wife, chief mate, and some of the sailors, were thrown on an unknown island inhabited by savages, and the following interesting narrative from the mouth of Mrs. Frazer, the captain's wife, who escaped, is taken from the *Australian* of October 18th :

" Mrs. Fraser called at our office on Saturday afternoon, and gave us the following particulars :—the long-boat's company consisted of Captain Fraser, Mr. Brown, the chief mate, Mrs. Fraser, and Mr. Baxter, the second mate. After they had been on shore some time, a great number of the natives were observed, and Mr. Fraser suggested giving themselves up quietly to the natives, as they were entirely defenceless, and, of course, already in their power. They had scarcely time to make the suggestion when several tribes came down upon them, one of which immediately captured Captain Fraser ; another tribe took Mr. Brown, and a third Mr. Baxter. The natives would not allow Mrs. Fraser to go with either of them, and left her alone upon a sandy beach ; and the next morning a number of old women, with some children, came down, and they gave Mrs. Fraser to understand that she must go with them and carry one of the children upon her shoulders, which Mrs. Fraser of necessity complied with. Mrs. Fraser states, that she travelled many miles into the bush with these women and the child, and was frequently exhausted upon the road. She remained about three weeks in the bush with these people, when she fell in with her husband, Captain Fraser, who was dragging a board for the natives, in which he had been principally engaged since the time he parted from his wife. Captain Fraser was so dreadfully fatigued with heavy labour, that he could not move the load that had been assigned to him, and implored of his wife to assist him. Mrs. Fraser states, that she had neither the strength or liberty to do so, she herself being employed in the same manner at the time, and the natives keeping a sharp look-out after her. She was under the necessity of leaving the captain. When she returned, shortly afterwards, she found he was speared in the back of the shoulder, which had been inflicted on him for not making any progress with the

wood. Mrs. Fraser remained with her husband until sunset, when he expired of his wound. The last words he uttered were, 'Eliza, I am gone.' The savages immediately dragged Mrs. Fraser away from the body, dug a hole, and buried it. In eight days from this brutal affair, the same cannibals also killed Mr. Brown, the chief mate, by holding firebrands to his legs and so burning him upwards. The cause of their destroying Mr. Brown was, in consequence of his showing some signs of dissatisfaction at the death of his captain. The party now consisted of only two persons, Mrs. Fraser and Mr. Baxter; but they were parted from each other by many miles' distance, a large river running between them. These two unfortunate creatures remained with the natives for about two months before they were rescued, enduring the greatest misery from hunger and fatigue. Mrs. Fraser was employed cutting down and carrying wood, fetching water, and fishing for the natives; and Mr. Baxter was engaged in the same manner on the other side of the river. The steward of the vessel had walked overland to Moreton Bay, and there gave information of the situation of Mr. Fraser and his unfortunate companion, when a man named Graham, who was well acquainted with the bush, volunteered to head a party to the shipwrecked people, and pledged himself to rescue them from the savages. Lieutenant Otter and a party were immediately despatched, and, with Graham, went in search of the unfortunate people. Mrs. Fraser states that he went into the midst of the natives, and, at the risk of his life, snatched her up and ran away to his party with her, and afterwards recovered the second officer in the same courageous manner. Mrs. Fraser requests us to make public her expressions of gratitude to those who have assisted her out of misery and relieved her distress, and begs us to thank them for their humane conduct towards her. Mrs. Fraser intends to return immediately to her native land, where she has a large family." *

Suspension of Animal Life. —At the last meeting of the Royal Institution, Dr. Faraday delivered a lecture, in which he alluded to the recent discoveries of Mr. Crosse, with respect to the formation or revivication of insects in flint, which, although doubted by many, he knew to be true, inasmuch as, by a continuous voltaic stream from silicia of potass, he himself produced living animalculæ. He also exhibited some insects obtained from hard polished stone, and which were now, like those of Mr. Crosse, enjoying life after a transition of many thousand years.

Honourable Conduct. — A trait, which well deserves to be recorded, has been much mentioned in the city. Mr. Charles Jones, who stopped payment in 1822, and compounded with his creditors for 10*s.* in the pound, has recently paid to them the remaining 10*s.* in the pound, It required 15,000*l.* to make this payment, the original debt amounting to about 30,000*l.*, and was, of course, an entirely spontaneous act.

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* The above narrative excited a very general interest in favour of Mrs. Fraser, and a liberal subscription was raised for her benefit and that of her family; but circumstances came out afterwards tending to throw considerable discredit upon much of the statement.

MARCH.

THE GRAND DUKE MICHAEL.—A letter of the 1st inst., from Berne, says, "We are assured, by parties well informed on the subject, that the grand duke Michael, during his residence at Turin, was prohibited by his brother from visiting France. The prohibition was founded on three reasons:—1st, That the emperor Nicholas desired to have no relations with that country, but those of a purely diplomatic nature; 2d, that he did not wish his brother to be subjected to insult from the Polish refugees, who are extremely numerous in every city of France; and, 3d, that he wished to preserve the grand duke from coming in contact with the discontented Russians now resident in Paris. The grand duke was obliged to show the imperial order to the princess Dolgoronki, who constantly and urgently expressed her desire to visit France; and the princess, having mentioned it to some of her intimate friends, the fact became known."

2. MURDER OF MR. DAVIDSON, THE AFRICAN TRAVELLER.—Accounts were received this morning, at the Foreign-office, of the death of Mr. Davidson, the enterprising African traveller, in a letter from Mr. Vice-consul Willshire, at Mogadore. In a letter from this gentleman, he stated, that the most circumstantial account he had heard was from a Jew trader, of the name of Jacob Ben Cohen, who arrived there from Draha on the 2d instant, and reported, that Mr. Davidson had been robbed on the 29th or 30th of Shaban (thirty-two or thirty-three days after Mr. Davidson started from Wednoon), by the tribes of Idoulet and Ait Atta, in the district of Hamedu, four days' journey from Tatta; who, after receiving from Mr. Davidson eight doubloons and 100 dollars, and a loaded camel, allowed the party, consisting of eighteen persons, to proceed on the route to Timbuctoo. His informant stated, that eight or ten days afterwards, a marauding party, of the tribe of El Harib, who were returning from plundering a place called Boushegrah, met Mr. Davidson's party a little to the south of Egueda, whom they immediately robbed, and shot Mr. Davidson. At Elmam Dec, a town distant six days from Tatta, where his informant was living, he saw, in the possession of the Arabs and Jews, various articles which belonged to Mr. Davidson, which he described, and left no doubt as to his fate. Amongst the articles, he named a silver watch, a pocket compass, a sword, three books, a box of medicines, a paper tea-caddy, beads and cowries, all of which he must have seen, or he could not have described them so correctly. His informant could not give a certain account of the fate of Abo Bekz, the companion of Mr. Davidson, but understood he had gone on with the caravan; in which opinion he was borne out by the letter received from Sheick Beyrouck. Other accounts state, that Mr. Davidson and his party travelled in a parallel route some distance from, but rather behind, the caravan, which was met by a party of El Harib, who were disappointed in not meeting Mr. Davidson, for whom they particularly inquired; he, however, soon came up, when he was instantly shot. From another report, it is considered, that El

Harib was at first friendly, but seized the first opportunity of destroying him treacherously at Sheh Keya, twenty days' journey from Wednoon, and about twenty-seven days' distance from Timbuctoo. Mr. Davidson has long been known to the public from the account of his travels in Mexico, Egypt, and the Holy Land, and from having delivered lectures on these subjects at several institutions.

3. Dreadful Massacre by Savages.—We have accounts from New Zealand, which contain the particulars of a dreadful slaughter and destruction of property committed by the natives of Waikatto, Matamata, and Tourango, at Makutu, where Mr. Jones, of Sydney, had an establishment, which was totally burnt down, and upwards of 100 tons of flax destroyed or carried away. It appears, that intelligence of the projected attack was conveyed to Mr. Tapsel, the manager of the establishment at Makutu, but the numbers he was able to muster were almost powerless, when opposed to those of their fierce assailants, which amounted to about 800 well-armed men, together with numerous slaves without arms, while the defenders did not amount to more than 120, women and children included. The savage assailants soon cleared every obstacle, killing every man they came across, and making the women and children prisoners. The scene was now dreadful beyond description. The unfortunate victims were dragged from their houses, and, while held down by their legs and arms to prevent resistance, savagely butchered with tomahawks. Quarters and heads of men lay scattered about in every direction, amid the exulting yells of the savages. The party remained on the station several days. A friendly chief strongly advised Mr. Tapsel to remove from the station, to which, after much persuasion, he assented. The natives then commenced removing the stores, and a general rush was made into the dwelling-house of Mr. Tapsel, which, in a few minutes afterwards, was in flames, and Mr. Tapsel effected his escape, nearly naked, with difficulty. After possessing themselves of every article that might prove of use to them, they proceeded to set fire to the houses and fence, which were wholly consumed. On their way to Makutu, the savages had fallen in with thirteen of another hostile tribe, eleven of whom they murdered, and feasted on their flesh, which they baked in ovens. At the date of the latest intelligence from New Zealand, the Waikatto tribes had retired, and tranquillity prevailed in that part of the country.

9. Execution of Pegsworth the Murderer. — The extreme penalty of the law was carried into execution this morning in front of the debtors' door, in the Old Bailey, on John Pegsworth, for the wilful murder of Mr. John Halliday Ready, tailor and draper, in Ratcliffe Highway, a few weeks ago. Since the commission of the fatal act, the wretched man has manifested the utmost resignation to the fate which awaited him. Soon after six o'clock, the rev. ordinary and Mr. Baker arrived at the prison, and were cordially received by the unfortunate object of their solicitude, who, after sleeping soundly for several hours, had arisen and wrote several letters. About seven, the sheriffs and under-sheriffs arrived at the gaol.

Some of the ward deputies and gentlemen were admitted to the room, and Pegsworth made his appearance. He approached the sheriffs' officers, and underwent the dreadful preliminary of pinioning with great nerve; one or two deep sighs escaped him, but, upon the whole, his countenance evinced solemn resignation. At eight o'clock the bell tolled, and the procession moved towards the scaffold. As soon as the executioners made their appearance, there was a clamour in the dense crowd, and the cry of "Hats off," became general, but no disapprobation in respect of the criminal. When he arrived on the scaffold, the reverend ordinary continued to read a portion of the burial service, after which he bade them a final adieu. Calcraft, the executioner, with his accustomed celerity, prepared for the final catastrophe, and, in a few minutes, the unhappy man ceased to live.

—Suppression of Female Infanticide in Malwa.—We have been much gratified, on perusing an agreement entered into by the chiefs of Malwa, in the presence of Mr. Wilkinson, the political agent of Bhopal, by which they agree to suppress female infanticide in their respective territories. The details are as follow: — "I. The first cause for the destruction of girls in this country is, that some people have a contempt to give their daughters in marriage to persons of those families in which they have no scruple to marry themselves. The people have hesitation on this head in marrying their daughters, and, with impressions of this nature, they used to kill their children. To prevent this, it is agreed, that all should issue a proclamation through their respective territories, directing that no person shall give his girl in marriage to another who scorns to give him his own daughter.—2. Should any person kill his daughter, he shall necessarily be expelled from his *vuttan* and caste; but, should any of such persons as may preserve their offspring, take money upon his daughter, he also shall be expelled from caste. In case he be poor, and unable to defray the necessary expense, his family and relations should have the marriage performed according to their rank; and, should he have no family, the marriage shall be assisted by the ruling raja, the ceremony being performed suitably to the man's condition." Changes, like these, in the opinions of the natives of the interior, ought to be a cause of sincere joy to all the friends of humanity, and the example of those who have thus come forward to make the change, should be followed by all others who are yet labouring under the delusion of ignorance, superstition, and early prejudice. A census of the children was taken from the districts in which it was suspected, that the horrid custom of female infanticide prevailed, when it appeared, that among 1,264 children, there were 824 boys, and 440 girls. The usual number of males and females being generally the same, it was concluded, that, at least, half the number of girls had been murdered by their parents. Among these people an opinion has hitherto prevailed, that marriage ought to be performed on an expensive scale, and that the greatest share of the expenses should be borne by the parents of the bride. But their parents cannot always command the means which they think necessary; they, therefore, murder

their innocent children, and sacrifice them at the altar of prejudice —we can scarcely say superstition, for religion seems to have very little share in these horrid deeds.

Extraordinary Feats of Pedestrianism. — The people of Pesth, in Hungary, have been much gratified by the arrival in that city, of the celebrated runner, Menseu Ernst, of Norway, whose reputation has been diffused throughout Europe. This man has performed the most extraordinary, and almost incredible journeys in short spaces of time. He walked from Paris to Moscow in fourteen days, and is now upon his return from Greece, which he had succeeded in reaching in only twenty-four days from Munich. Very lately he travelled from Constantinople to Calcutta in the East Indies and back, (1,124 German miles, or 6,200 English) in fifty-nine days. This latter performance would be incredible, but that it is attested by unquestionable certificates. All these great journeys were performed on foot, and under the utmost difficulties! The pedestrian has had to struggle with many privations, very often hunger and thirst; now wading through immense districts of marsh, then struggling through vast plains of sands. In the latter, he always found his Norwegian pattens, three feet long, of the greatest service to him. From Constantinople he went by Scutari and Asia Minor to Persia, Babylon, and by the Persian Gulph to Calcutta. After stopping there for two days and a half, in order to procure the necessary attestations, he returned by Tartary and Teheran, and Persia, crossed the Taurus, and arrived at Constantinople, where he delivered into the hands of the count Attesta, envoy of Sweden, a letter from Teheran, written only eight days before. At Pera he publicly exhibited as a runner, and his performance was witnessed by many of the diplomatists. Ernst is a seafaring man, and served on board of the British fleet at the battle of Navarino. Feeling some curiosity, from that circumstance, for seeing the field of the last warfare between Turkey and Russia, he crossed the Balkan, visited Shumla, Varna, and Silistria, performed quarantine at Orzova, whence he is last come to Pesth, where he has met with a complimentary reception. Although only a common sailor, he speaks, besides the Scandinavian, English, French, German, and a little Greek and Turkish. He proposes this year to start from England for Morocco, and to traverse Africa, and this, he thinks, will be his last adventure.

Curious Trial in Paris.—A singular question was decided by the Tribunal de Commerce de Paris, at its sitting on the 27th ultimo. M. Schlesinger, a celebrated musical writer, chief editor of the *Gazette Musicale*, a weekly publication, in which the productions of modern composers are criticised with remarkable talent, and with a rare impartiality, was refused admittance to the Opera Comique after he had purchased a ticket, because M. Schlesinger had justly criticised, in his *Gazette Musicale*, the wretched management of M. Crosnier. As a journalist, M. Schlesinger had sustained further damage, for he had promised his readers an account of the performance, which he was unable to supply, through the fault of M. Crosnier. The Tribunal, by its judgment, condemned

M. Crosnier to pay 500 francs damages to M. Schlesinger, with costs, and that the copy of the judgment should be published in fifty copies of the theatrical bill, as well as in four journals.

15. Attempt to Assassinate the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. — This day an attrocious attempt was made at the East India-house to assassinate Mr. Loch, the deputy-chairman of the East India Company, by a man named Kearney, who was lately employed in India as a conductor of ordnance. Having obtained admission to Mr. Loch's room, Kearney attacked that gentleman, and with a knife resembling those used by the Malays inflicted two wounds, one at the back of the head, and the other on the cheek. He was immediately secured, and brought before the lord mayor for examination. He is a person of good address, and respectable appearance.

16. Murder in France.—A woman named Tarrene, the wife of a proprietor, formerly residing at Prade, in France, and her two brothers, Aubert, have just been condemned to death by the court of assizes at Perpignan, for the murder of the woman's husband. The body of the unfortunate man was found at the foot of a precipice by the road side, leading from Prade to Clara. From the examinations it appeared, that the deceased had made his will, by which a considerable property would devolve to the wife after his death. From a feeling of impatience to inherit it, she proposed to her brothers to commit the deed. At first they refused; but a day or two before the murder took place, she offered one of them the sum of 2,500 francs, and the other 1,040. These bribes unfortunately induced them to accede to her horrid proposition, which they accomplished by attacking their victim on the night of the 20th November last. A severe struggle took place, but the murderers succeeded in knocking their victim down by a blow on the head with a stone, after which they threw him over the precipice, where the body was afterwards discovered. No emotion was evinced by the prisoners on sentence of death being pronounced against them.

Death of Eleven Persons by Starvation.—From a public investigation holden at the British consulate's office, on the arrival of the ship Diamond, from Liverpool, captain Trale, at New York, the following distressing facts are elicited:—

The ship had on board previous to sailing from Liverpool, provisions to afford a supply for the ship's crew to New-York, thence to Charleston, South Carolina, and back to Europe, with an ample supply of water for passengers and crew. The vessel sailed from Liverpool on the 7th of November. On the 24th of December, when in lat. 37. N., long. about 48. W. during a stiff breeze, a sudden lurch of the ship carried away the three topmasts, which in falling carried away the main and fore yards, and did considerable damage to the hull; at the same time the cargo shifted, a number of the water casks started, and all the provision casks belonging to the ship were stove in, and the vessel shipping much water. The wind being easterly from the 24th of December, the day on which the disaster occurred, to the 1st of January, they proceeded on to-

wards New York, at the rate of from five to six knots, when the wind changed, and, being ahead, the ship was kept to the southward, such being the proper course under such circumstances. When the wind changed on the 1st of January, they were in 62 W. long., and lat. 37, and from that day during the whole month of January the ship drifted to the eastward to 59 long., and from the state of the winds, as declared in the log, it was impracticable for Captain Toole to proceed to Bermuda, and keeping New York in view, was the most prudent course.

When out about thirty days, from the state of the winds, the captain affixed a notice in writing in the gangways, advising the men to be saving of their provisions, as they were likely to have a long voyage.

After the disaster, the same allowance of water was dealt to the cabin and steerage passengers.

Several of the steerage passengers who were present stated, that none of the passengers had the quantity of provisions required by law, while it was discovered, that a female had none, and that one man who died was not only destitute of provisions for the voyage, but of necessary clothing.

The captain and crew were acquitted of all blame, it appearing, that everything compatible with the circumstances of the case had been done to relieve the sufferings of the ill-fated passengers.

17. Distress in the Highlands—Public Meeting at the Mansion-House. — A public meeting was held this day in the Egyptian-hall of the Mansion-house, for the purpose of receiving the report of Dr. M'Leod and Mr. John Bowie, of Edinburgh and Glasgow, respecting the present state of destitution in the Western Highlands, and islands of Scotland, and for the purpose of considering the best means of affording relief to the sufferers.

The Lord Mayor was called to the chair. His lordship said, he had great pleasure in allowing the use of the Egyptian-hall for the purposes of a meeting which could not but be honourable to the city of London and its inhabitants.

The rev. Dr. M'Leod commenced his observations by remarking on the various causes from which the existing distress in the Highlands originated. The superseding of kelp, and the substitution of barilla, by throwing thousands out of employment, had doubtless been a great cause of destitution; the want of a proper system of national education had also been most detrimental to the population. He knew that there were upwards of 80,000 inhabitants of Scotland who could neither read nor write in either Gaelic or English. The dreadful season of 1835, and the effects of the still more dreadful autumn of 1836, had thrown into a miserable state of want no less than 160,000 of the population. The rev. doctor proceeded to read letters from the moderators of different Presbyteries in the Highlands; from which it appeared, that very few families had more food than was requisite to support them for two or three months, and that great fears were entertained, that before any measure of relief could be obtained, many families would actually perish from absolute want of food. The rev. doctor concluded a most

affecting address amid loud cheering.

Lord Teignmouth proposed the first resolution. He was sure nothing but a great and imperious necessity would have induced the Scottish people to send the rev. doctor, who had just addressed them at the head of a deputation, to claim the assistance of their fellow subjects in England. The resolution which the noble lord proposed was to the effect, that the facts stated were such as urgently called for the interference of the people of England.

James Oswald, esq., M.P., seconded the resolution, which was carried amidst loud cheering.

Alderman Brown moved the second resolution, which proposed, that a subscription list should be opened, and the proceeds transmitted to the committees at Glasgow and Edinburgh.

A committee was then nominated to carry into effect the objects of the meeting; and a vote of thanks having been passed to the Lord Mayor, the meeting separated, large subscriptions having been entered into on the spot.

Credulity and Fraud.—Near the town of Ardee stands one of those mounds or tumuli, the object of the erection of which has so puzzled the antiquarian in his researches, that he has surrendered the task of tracing their origin as hopeless. An impostor lately took advantage of the religious awe in which these mounds are held by the peasantry, to convert it into a source of emolument. He went to the house of a person residing near Ardee, who, he was apprised, had a little money, and told him, in a mysterious manner, that he was specially sent to make his fortune; and that, if he and his wife would come to the mound in question, bringing with them two tin saucepans, with a sovereign in each, they would return with the saucepans filled with gold; they were also to provide a ball of worsted, long enough to girth the mound three times. Thus equipped, the magician conducted them by moonlight to the place. On arriving within its precincts, he directed his dupes each to hold the ball of worsted, at the same time pronouncing a mystic rhyme, which he took great pains to teach them. Whilst they were thus occupied he was to walk round the mound with the vessels containing the sovereigns, and when they repeated the rhymes a certain number of times the charm would be complete. The sequel is easily told—the fellow decamped with the money. The person who practised this trick was decently attired. He played a similar cheat upon another man, but only made a half-sovereign by it.—*Drogheda Journal.*

20. Letters from Rome mention, that Peter Bonaparte, son of Prince Lucien, who was sentenced to death by the ordinary tribunals, had appealed to the Sacra Consulta (the Supreme Court) to revise the judgment; the result of which was, that the latter court decreed him to sixteen years' rigorous imprisonment. The pope, however, commuted this punishment to perpetual banishment from the Papal dominions. The exiled prince left Rome on the 8th, to embark at Civita Vecchia, on board the first ship that should sail for England.

Tardy Justice.—In the month of February, 1830, the chamber-

lain de Qualen, resident minister from the court of Denmark to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh Scwhwerin, was murdered in his garden, within a few yards of the house he was inhabiting at Eutin. The affair was shrouded in mystery; but after a variety of inquiries had been made, suspicion became fixed upon two of the servants, Koch a coachman, and Wister, a valet, both of whom were charged with the crime, and thrown into prison, where they have since remained. The case was brought regularly before the tribunals, and the evidence and explanations taken in writing, as they are in all the German courts; but so prone is this mode of proceeding to circumlocution, and so efficacious in the protraction of a result, that at the end of six years no real progress had been made in the discovery of the truth, whilst the writings were found to fill twenty-five volumes of folio. On the 19th of April, 1836, the Court of Gottingen, despairing of receiving any light upon the charge, proceeded to judgment and acquitted the two unfortunate prisoners of the charge, and expressed an opinion, that they ought to be indemnified for their long detention. This decision was, however, appealed from by the public accuser to the High Court of Appeal at Oldenburgh. Here the judgment was affirmed as respecting Koch, who was declared guiltless, and entitled to an idemnity; but as against Wister it was held, that though not guilty, he had not made out a case to entitle himself to an indemnity, or an exemption from the costs. The cases of these men excited great commiseration.—*German Paper.*

22. EAST INDIA HOUSE.—At a very full meeting of the proprietors this day the case of Kearney, who committed suicide last week in Giltspur-street compter, where he was confined for the attempted assassination of Mr. Loch, the Deputy-chairman, was brought before the court. The chairman, Sir J. Carnac, submitted a statement of facts descriptive of Kearney's connexion with the company, from which it appeared, that Kearney had been made a sergeant by Colonel Cunliffe, the commissary-general, for general good conduct; that he usurped upon this, but had been allowed to remain at Calcutta, instead of returning to Rangoon after leave of absence, and was put into the petty store department; that here he behaved with great insolence, because he was refused promotion in that office, though he knew there were fourteen above him: his conduct was violent in the extreme. The whole statement read by the chairman tended to show, that Kearney had not the slightest pretensions to the claims made upon the directors; and that Mr. Loch, so far from having injured him, had ever treated him in the most kind and forbearing manner. It was added, that he had, when in India, in 1816, been sentenced to 300 lashes for insolence to his superior officer, but which was remitted; and in 1818 to a similar sentence for making a false statement against the same officer, which was inflicted: that the next month, he was again sentenced to 200 lashes, for asserting that he could prove perjury against that officer, but which had emanated from his own vicious temper; and in two other instances had been sentenced to receive 800 and 300; making in the whole five convic-

tions to receive 1,900 lashes, of which 725 were inflicted. The chairman read a certificate from Mr. Loch's medical attendants, which stated, that he was going on very favourably, and that a speedy recovery was anticipated. A resolution proposed by Mr. Laurie, was then unanimously agreed to, to the effect that the court congratulated Mr. Loch on his escape from assassination, and expressing a hope, that his recovery from the attack would be a speedy one. After the transaction of other business the court adjourned.

An inquest was held on the body of Kearney, on Saturday, and after hearing evidence, the jury returned a verdict, that "The deceased had destroyed himself by poison, being at the time in a state of temporary mental derangement." About an hour after the termination of the inquest, his relatives removed the body from the compter in a hearse. Every exertion has been made to discover the means by which he became possessed of the poison which terminated his mortal career, but hitherto without success. The son, for whom he solicited a provision from the East India Company, is fourteen years of age, and a youth of exceedingly good promise. We are glad to hear, that the East India Company have expressed, through Mr. Lawford, their solicitor, an intention of providing for the poor boy. Mr. Loch is recovering from the injuries inflicted upon him.

EDINBURGH, MARCH 23.—EXTRAORDINARY SURGICAL CASE.—Considerable interest has lately been excited here amongst the members of the medical profession, by the admission of a patient into the Royal Infirmary, who reported that she had swallowed a brass padlock! The patient's history of the case was as follows:—That about five weeks ago, while amusing herself with a friend, she put the padlock in her mouth, and it instantly slipped down her throat! An emetic was soon afterwards administered, which she found great difficulty in swallowing; vomiting took place immediately afterwards, accompanied with great pain in the throat, and a discharge of blood. During the succeeding twenty-four hours she felt as if the padlock were wedged in the throat, and experienced a painful sensation of suffocation, after which she felt little pain or inconvenience, and concealed the accident from her friends until Sunday the 19th ultimo. She was soon afterwards admitted into the hospital as a patient of Professor Lizars's, who, from the moment of her admission, was of opinion, that the woman's report was accurate; but doubts on that point existing in the minds of some of his colleagues, he deferred performing the operation for the extraction of the foreign body, which, in his own opinion, was necessary, to place the woman in safety. On Saturday night last the poor woman was attacked with violent vomiting, accompanied with a feeling of suffocation and great pain in the throat, which continued all night. Dr. James Johnson (son of Mr. Johnson, surgeon, Queen-street), Professor Lizar's hospital assistant, was called at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning, and finding the patient in imminent and immediate danger, he instantly, and unassisted, introduced an instrument, invented for the purpose by

Mr. Macleod, surgical instrument maker, College-street, into the gullet, and happily succeeded in extracting the padlock, to the immediate and complete relief of the sufferer. The padlock weighed upwards of six drachms (nearly an ounce), and measured an inch and an eighth in breadth, and one inch and two-thirds in length; with the exception of the iron part being covered with rust, it was in no way changed in appearance. Much praise, we understand, is due to Dr. Johnson for his dexterity in the management of the case referred to; and we are informed, that much credit is due to our ingenious townsman, Mr. Macleod, for his scientific skill in the invention of the instrument employed.

24. Extraordinary case of Murder.—A murder at Denny, has lately created a very great sensation in Scotland. The culprit was tried before the High Court of Justiciary. We give an abridged account of the proceedings:—

Alexander Miller pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder, in having on the 12th November last, entered the house of Wester Sheillyards, in the parish of Stirling, occupied by William Jarvie, portioner there, and assaulted the said Jarvie with a stick, whereby his arms were broken and his skull fractured, in consequence of which he died, and with having taken a number of articles.—Witnesses proved the finding of the body after the murder, and also that the premises had been robbed.

John Cuthill: Was told by William Laing of Jarvie's house being robbed: he and Ray went in different directions to search for suspicious characters: witness went to the turnpike road, where he heard of the murder and of the body being found; went up to the house and saw the body lying, and a stick lying about a foot from the body; identified the stick; there were six or seven cuts on the head; the skull was completely smashed in on the top of the head, and the brains were coming out; saw that night blood and hair as at present; has seen Alexander Miller, but had no acquaintance with him; remembers, about the end of September, Jarvie called on witness to say, that the prisoner had abused him, and he was afraid of his life.

Mrs. Brown: On the night of Jarvie's murder, the prisoner came to her house between five and six o'clock; had a gun and bayonet; her daughter, another girl, and two boys were in the house; Miller sat down; one of the boys put away his gun; he seemed to be much the worse of drink; his dress was like those shown her; spoke sometimes nonsensically, and sometimes seriously; on the latter occasions he spoke as if he had a quarrel with some of his friends. On some one laughing, he said there was something he had done, which if they kent, they would be vexed for him. Witness's husband came in; Miller proposed going away, but did not; on a knock coming to the door, he said to witness's daughter, tell them I am not in, Susan. Ray and M'Innes came in; another knock came to the window; Miller gave a start, and went out to the door, and her son came in; witness's daughter went with a candle to show him to the door, the night being dark, but the prisoner did not go; they were away nearly five minutes.

Susan Brown, daughter of the

last witness, corroborated the evidence of her mother. When she took the candle to show him to the door, she asked what he had done? He said, "Wish to God that your soul may be damned in hell to all eternity, if you tell, and I'll tell you." Witness refused. He then said, say as sure as death you will not tell." She refused, but said, "I will not tell." He then said, "I've killed Willie Jarvie the night." Witness said, "O mercy, what a lie." He said, "it's no lie, for I broke into the house, and he came and catched me, and I took a paling stab and drove in his skull." Witness thought he said, that Jarvie was carrying a bundle of straw in his arms. Miller began to cry, and said, "what vexes me most is, that Jarvie lifted up his hands and said, 'Oh for God's sake let me alone,' but I committed the murder." He said he had taken a trunk from the house. Did not say that he opened it, but said there was some shawls and gowns in it. When witness would not believe it, he took a watch out of his pocket and said, there is his auld watch.

The jury, after deliberating for about fifty-five minutes, returned a verdict, finding the prisoner Guilty by a majority.

The Lords Justices severally addressed the prisoner in a solemn and impressive manner on the enormity of the crime of which he had been declared guilty. The wretched man, who appeared to be sensibly affected, was sentenced to be hanged on the 8th of April, within the burgh of Stirling.

Poison.—A young man, aged nineteen, has been brought before the Court of Assizes at Riom (Puy de Dome), France, on a charge of poisoning twenty-three individuals. It appeared in evidence that Barthelemy Levigne, the mayor of Vollesse Montagne, his family, domestics, and several labourers, amounting to twenty four persons, sat down to their evening meal on the evening of the 28th July last, Twenty three of the number who had partaken of some soup, were soon afterwards seized with violent cholic and vomiting, which excited strong apprehensions that they had been poisoned. Suspicion at length fell upon the prisoner, whose father had quarrelled with the mayor, and he was taken into custody. He was found guilty, and sentenced to twenty years' hard labour. Fortunately none of the parties died from the effects of the poison.

28. Melancholy Death of Dr. Vance.—We regret to state that Mr. Vance, the surgeon, of Sackville-street, Piccadilly, expired on Monday night about 12 o'clock, in consequence of the severe injuries he received a few days back, by being violently hurled down a staircase by Mr. Broadley, a maniac, on whom he had been professionally attending. He fell on a stone floor, and his skull was so severely fractured, that recovery was deemed hopeless from the moment the accident happened.

This day a highly respectable jury was empannelled before Mr. Gell, at the Sadlers' Arms, Swallow-street, to investigate the circumstances attending this melancholy event. The jury having been sworn, accompanied the coroner to view the body, which lay in a room at his late residence, No. 27, Sackville-street. On their return, the following evidence was taken:—

Thomas Willis, Esq., M. D., examined: He has known the de-

ceased many years. On Wednesday, the 22nd ult., between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, he attended the deceased by his own request, at his residence in Sackville-street. On seeing witness, the deceased informed him that he had received a severe injury on his head from a fall. Witness examined the injured part, and found the integument of the forehead divided, to the extent of about three inches, and of a circular form. The bone beneath was exposed. There was no appearance of fracture at the seat of the injury, nor any indication of a fracture of any other portion of the skull. He was attended, previous to witness, by Mr. Earle, who had accompanied the deceased from the house where the accident happened to his own home. On Friday, Drs. Brodie and Antram were requested to join in a consultation. From the second day following the accident, his case became desperate, and erisypelas of the head and face ensued, attended by symptoms of inflammation of the brain and effusion on the brain, He gradually got worse, and died about half past 11 on Monday night.—By the Coroner. —Did he acquaint you with the circumstances which led to the fall? — Witness: He did. He stated, that he was professionally attending a Mr. Charles Broadley, at No. 75, Lower Grosvenor-street, who was insane; that on Monday night, the night previous, he was about to visit Mr. Broadley, who was in his bed room, in the two pair, when while he was ascending the last flight, Mr. Broadley rushed against him in his progress down stairs. The collision was so violent, that he, the deceased was forced down to the bottom of the stairs, and was in a moment deprived of consciousness.—By the Jury: The deceased's impression was, that he was taken hold of by the collar of the coat. He believed, that the act was not premeditated. Witness attended Mr. Broadley professionally two months ago, when he then appeared not of sound mind.

Mr. R. Vance, sent a written statement, which added, that when his unfortunate brother fell, his head came in contact with the sill of the window, and that he afterwards fell among some earthen flower pots. On becoming sensible, he said he felt like a dying man, and he was sure he would never recover.

A gentleman here stated, that in about three hours after the accident, Mr. Broadley observed. that he was aware he had knocked down Dr. Vance, and that he was sorry he had hurt him.—Mr. Isaac Willis, No. 75, Lower Grosvenor-street, said, that Mr. Broadley had lodged with him seven years. He always appeared eccentric; but witness did not think him insane. I never heard till after the accident that he had been in a lunatic institution. After the keeper left him on Tuesday morning, he was more calm. He has estates in Yorkshire, and is a single man. His sister has been on a visit to him about two months. Mr. Broadley is now under the care of Dr. Sutherland, at Blackland House, Chelsea. A servant to the last witness said, that when Dr. Vance came, he went up to the bed room of Mr. Broadley, and left the door open. Three police constables were obtained from the station house, when the door was broken open, where Mr. Broadley had escaped, and a strait waistcoat

was put upon him. Verdict:—"The Jury find that the deceased came to his death by a fall occasioned by coming in contact with Mr. Charles Broadley, who was at the time in a state of insanity; and the Jury are of opinion that the said Mr. Charles Broadley should not in future be suffered to be at large."

APRIL.

2. Outrage on the Coast of Africa—Capture of the Schooner Vesta, of Liverpool, by the Natives of Point Clara.—(Liverpool.)—Intelligence has just arrived in this town of a shocking outrage that was committed at midnight, on the 28th of December last, by the natives of St. Clara, on the river Gaboon. It appears, that the latter, to the amount of 120 men, embarked in five canoes, and, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, boarded the schooner Vesta, of this port (Capt. Purcel, commander), which was lying at anchor in the river, off Jocker's-town. The boy who kept watch on the deck gave the alarm, but he was instantly disabled, and his wound has since been pronounced mortal. Captain Purcel, alarmed by the noise, ascended to the deck, when he was instantly shot through the head. The assailants then proceeded to secure part of the crew; the remainder they compelled to assist them in conducting the vessel from Jocker's-town to Point Clara. Here they cast anchor, and began to plunder the vessel, and to help themselves with rum. Some of the crew, it appears, wished the natives to allow them to inter the body of the unfortunate captain, but this was refused. The natives put a rope about his neck, and towed him through the water to the shore, as they would have done a log of timber. His body was thrown upon the beach, and left in that situation, none of the crew being permitted to touch him.

3. French Marriage Law.—A cause has been decided by the Court of Cassation in Paris this week, which, in the present constant intercourse between France and England, is worth giving the utmost publicity to on the other side of the channel. It was an appeal from the Royal Courts of Rennes and of Nantes to determine upon the validity of a marriage contracted in Jersey between an English lady and a French gentleman. All the formalities and rites required by the English law had been complied with, and, in consequence, the two courts of Nantes and Rennes pronounced in favour of the legality of the marriage in France. But their decisions were, on Monday, reversed by the Superior Court at Paris, on the following grounds:—Marriages in foreign countries, between French citizens, or between citizens of France and foreigners, are only valid, though contracted in conformity with the laws of the country wherein solemnized, when the previous publications have been made in France, when the party is above twenty-five years of age, when the consent of the parent has been obtained, or the formal applications, prescribed by the French laws for such consent have been made. As none of these formalities had been complied with in the case before the court, the marriage was pronounced null.

4. Murder of Four Children by their Father.—The inhabitants of the village of Old Basford, two miles north of Nottingham, were, at seven o'clock yesterday morning, horror-stricken, by a report that Thos. Greensmith had strangled his four children. On being admitted into the house, we proceeded up stairs, and there, in one bed, lay the oldest child, and in another the other three, their countenances having that remarkably livid appearance peculiar to those who die a violent death; there was not the calmness of innocence, but rather the expression of horror, written upon their countenances, which appalled every one; and that there had been a very violent death was evident, for the cord or whipthong with which it was supposed they were strangled—one having been found in the room—had not been properly placed, and had nearly separated one of the ears of the eldest child; the neck, too, of the youngest was very much lacerated; indeed, they were all so much marked, that their sufferings must have been horrible. It appeared that the father, Thomas Greensmith, is a labourer employed at the bleach-yard of Mr. George Brown, of Basford; that his wife, after being ill a considerable time, which involved him in debt, died some time ago; that on Tuesday he received about 5*l.* out of a money club, and had since then been very much harassed by persons to whom he owed money; that about eleven o'clock at night his landlord called upon him, and they went out of the house together; on his return he told the woman who looked after his children she must not sleep there that night, but get another place; she accordingly left the house. Next morning a neighbour went to call the eldest child to go to work, and finding the door open, she entered, and called at the bottom of the stairs; and not receiving an answer, went up, and on turning down the blanket which covered his face, she discovered, that he was strangled; and on examining the other children, she found they were also strangled, and the father gone. The neighbours say, he was remarkably fond of his children, but not of a communicative disposition, keeping his sorrows to himself; and that he has latterly been very fearful of being compelled to go into the workhouse, which he dreaded, and hence arose this dreadful act of infanticide.—The names of the children are—John, ten years old next September; William, eight years old next November; Ann, five years old this month; and another, two years old also this month. It is believed he took the children out of bed and strangled them separately.

Adventures of a Robber.—A paragraph last week in the *Gazette of Aix la Chapelle* stated, that the dead body of Zaun, the notorious robber of Cologne, surnamed the "Cartouch of Cologne," had been found in a rack, and that it was supposed he had been murdered. The *Journal de la Haye* contains the following particulars respecting this daring and adroit robber:—The town of Cologne and its environs were for some years subjected to the depredations of Henri Zaun, who has always contrived to evade the researches of the police. Henri Zaun is a tailor; he is a man of small stature, and there is no indication about him of that audacity and

vigour of which he has given so many proofs, In 1830, Zaun was condemned to hard labour by the Court of Assize of Cologne, for a robbery, but he contrived to escape from prison the same night, and for several months he got a living by swindling and robbery. He was, however, again taken, and this time he was sentenced to hard labour for life; and to prevent his escape, his hands were confined by a bar of iron, rivetted to two handcuffs. He soon got rid of the handcuffs, and the bar of iron became an instrument of deliverance. He forced the bars of the windows, got to the roof, reached the chapel of the prison, and by means of some matting which had been hung up to dry, he descended to the street. He was still in his prison dress, but he went on to the next village, broke open the door of the presbytery, and took some clothes belonging to the priest, and also a sum of money which he found in the wardrobe, leaving his prison clothes in exchange. From thence he went to Dusseldorf, where he committed a great many robberies, and the town being almost too hot to hold him, he resolved to go to Holland; and with a view to greater security in travelling, he had taken his measures to steal the passport of an Englishman who resembled him; but before he could carry this idea into effect, he was recognized and arrested. When again transferred to the prison of Cologne, he was clothed in a peculiar dress, half grey and half yellow, heavily ironed, and a bell attached to an iron collar in such a way that it rang at every movement. Evasion seemed impossible; but, nevertheless, he managed to escape, having found means to file his irons, and descended by a wall. Once more free, he recommenced his operations even in Cologne. In vain the police set in motion all their agents; Zaun, with a fresh disguise every day, at one time a priest, then as a workman, and afterwards as a woman, eluded their pursuits. One day he wrote to the Procureur du Roi, telling him, that he should have the honour of presenting himself at his house to commit a robbery. This set all the police agents in motion, and Zaun, knowing that they would all be busy elsewhere, on the same evening went to the house of the chaplain of the prison, and, after robbing the house, left a note thanking him for having confessed him while in prison. Upon another occasion Zaun went to a restaurateur's, placed himself at the same table with the President of the Court of Appeal, got into conversation with him, and, on retiring, gave a polite bow, which was graciously returned by the president, and left under his cover a card, on which Henri Zaun was written. In short, we should have to relate a thousand adventures if we mentioned all his exploits at Cologne. He was subsequently arrested a fourth time, placed in a narrow cell, his hand and feet chained and confined by an iron ring, attached to the wall placed round his waist. Nevertheless, he escaped for the fourth time; but it would seem from the account given in the *Gazette of Aix la Chapelle*, that his career is now at an end; unless it should turn out that the placing the dead body there, with papers, to make it be believed that it was his body, was his latest ingenious device to deceive the police.

5. Rolls' Court.—Bank of England v. the London and Westminster Bank. — Lord Langdale gave judgment in this case to-day. His Lordship said, this case came before him on a motion on the part of the Bank of England, praying for an injunction to restrain the defendants from accepting any bills of exchange at a less date than six months, and from in any other way or manner borrowing, or owing, or taking up, a sum of money on bills and notes of said company, payable on demand, or at any time less than six months. It appeared, that the London and Westminster Bank was established by the 3rd and 4th of William 4th. This motion was first made in January, 1836, in consequence of the bank at St. Alban's having drawn a bill on the London and Westminster Bank for 25*l.*, at twenty-one days' date, which bill was duly accepted by order of the directors of the London and Westminster Bank. The Bank of England thought, that the acceptance of a bill of a less date than six months by any banking establishment, containing more than six partners, and within sixty-five miles of London, was a violation of their charter. In order to determine him in his opinion, a case was prepared, and the opinion of the Court of Common Pleas was had, to the effect that the London and Westminster Bank could not legally accept bills at a less date than six months. His Lordship then referred to various acts of parliament, bearing on the case, and concluded by observing, that he fully coincided with the opinion of the Court of Common Pleas, and decreed, that an injunction should issue, restraining the London and Westminster Bank from accepting at a less date than six months. The costs in the case his Lordship would reserve for further consideration.

6. Edgware-Road Tragedy. — Apprehension, Attempted Suicide, and Confession of the Murderer. — Yesterday, at 12 o'clock, James Greenacre, and Sarah Gale, were brought up in custody of inspector Feltham, of the T. division, and placed at the bar before Messrs. Rawlinson, Shutt, and Lord Montford, at the Marylebone police-office, charged with the wilful murder of Hannah Brown, the name of the unfortunate female, whose mutilated body it will be remembered, was some time since found near the Pine Apple toll-bar, in the Edgware-road. The male prisoner is about 45 years of age, of the middle stature, and wore a brown great coat. His countenance is rather rugged, but nothing in it indicative of ferocity. He is a cabinet-maker by trade, and of rather respectable appearance on the whole. He was evidently labouring under great pain, from his having made a desperate attempt to commit suicide in one of the cells of the station-house at Paddington-green, at an early hour the same morning. The female prisoner is also a decent-looking person, about the same age.

The first witness called, was Samuel Pegler, who deposed—I am a constable of the S division, No. 104. On the 28th of December last, I received information, that the trunk of a female was lying near the Pine Apple toll bar, in the Edgware-road. I instantly repaired to the spot, and found a sack in the pathway, near

some flagstones. On opening it, I discovered the body of a female, destitute of legs, thighs, and head. Near the sack, were lying an old child's frock, and some rags. The sack and contents were conveyed to the station-house, and upon a minute examination, I found a quantity of fine mahogany shavings in the sack, which, together with the rags, were stained with blood. A coroner's inquest was subsequently held on the body, and a verdict of wilful murder, against some person or persons unknown, was returned. [The sack and other articles were here produced.] This morning, about six o'clock, I learned that a man had been taken into custody on suspicion of the murder, and I accordingly repaired to No. 1, St. Alban's-street, Lambeth, accompanied by Mr. Inspector Feltham. The prisoners had been taken into custody in this house, and on inquiry of the landlord, we found, that the female had occupied the back, and the man the front parlour. On searching the former, I found, among other things, on the female prisoner's bed, an infant's frock, which I here produce, and which I compared with the one found near the body on the Edgware-road, and have every reason to believe, they were both made by the same hands, and off the same stuff.

Elizabeth Corney, the wife of John Corney, shoemaker, 46, Union-street, Middlesex Hospital, sworn; I knew a person of the name of Hannah Brown. About a year and a half ago, she came to lodge with me. She got her living by washing, and had a mangle. The day before Christmas last, a man, resembling the prisoner, came and took her away, for the purpose of marrying her, as I understood.

Mr. Rawlinson: Can you swear to the prisoner?—Witness: No, but I believe him to be the man.

Did she dispose of her furniture previous to leaving?—Yes; she sold her mangle and other things. And in a conversation which I had with her, she told me, that her intended husband had plenty of furniture of his own, and that she (Mrs. Brown) was to have the produce of her own furniture for pocket money. The man alluded to, brought a coach for her, and assisted in putting her trunks into it. Before she drove off, I asked her for the keys of her apartment (the kitchen). She replied, that on the Tuesday following, she would call and bring the keys, together with the week's rent, which would then be due, which I believe she would have done, had she been permitted, but she went away, and I saw no more of her. The reason she assigned for not giving up the keys, was, that she had some furniture in the room which was not her own. Some time afterwards, the keys were brought to me by a boy, who said he had received them from a man. I then unlocked the kitchen door, but found nothing in the room but a birdcage. The week's rent I never received.

Have you seen the head?—I went to Paddington workhouse, and examined it on Friday. I have no doubt of its being the head of Mrs. Brown; the hair, teeth, and eyes, are an exact resemblance, but from its mutilated state, I cannot swear to it positively.

Hannah Davies, the wife of Mr. Evan Davies, cabinet-maker,

and upholsterer, Bartholomew-close, West Smithfield, was next examined: I knew Hannah Brown for five years. She formerly lived servant in the same family, with my husband's sister. She was in the habit of calling frequently at my house. The last time I saw her was on the 22nd of December last, and she then informed me that she was about to be married to the male prisoner. We conversed the matter over, and it was then arranged, that the wedding was to take place on the Christmas-day following; that my daughter was to act as bride's-maid, and that my husband was to give the bride away. It was also arranged, that after the wedding, the parties were to dine together at my house. The prisoner came in the evening, and expressed his approbation of the proposed arrangement. In the course of the conversation, Mrs. Brown said, she was going with her husband to settle at Hudson's Bay, in America. They went away about ten o'clock that night.

Mr. Rawlinson:—In what church were they to be married?—Witness: In St. Giles's, and I and my husband were to meet them there at 10 o'clock on the morning of Christmas-day; but on Christmas-eve, the prisoner came by himself, and asked if I had seen Mrs. Brown? I told him no. He then stated, that he had closely investigated her affairs, and found, that she had deceived him with regard to her property, and that, therefore, the match was for the present, broken off, as, he observed, it would not do to plunge headlong into poverty. This conversation passed at the door, and he went away much agitated. It was about 10 o'clock when this happened. Neither the prisoner nor Mrs. Brown ever came afterwards, a circumstance which excited my surprise greatly.

Was there anything particular about Mrs. Brown?—Yes; she had a slit in one of her ears, which had been fresh pierced above it, and there was, I believe, a mark on her leg, occasioned by the bite of a dog.

Mr. Feltham here said, that these marks exactly corresponded with those on the murdered woman.

Mr. Rawlinson (to the witness): How old was she?—Witness: About 45. Her hair was light brown, intermixed with gray.

George Feltham was next sworn: I am one of the inspectors of the T division. In consequence of information which I received, I applied here for a warrant on Saturday, against the male prisoner; and in the evening, I proceeded to Carpenter's-buildings, Lambeth, for the purpose of exccuting it, but found the prisoner had left. On the following (Sunday) evening I proceeded again in search of him, and after much difficulty found that he was lodging at No. 1, St. Alban's-street, in the same neighbourhood. I went there about 10 o'clock, accompanied by a constable of the L division. The landlord of the house answered the door, and said, that the prisoner lodged in the front parlour, but that he was gone to bed. I knocked at the parlour door, calling him by name. I said, "Greenacre." He said, "Yes." I said, "I want to speak to you." He said, "Who are you?" I replied, "Never mind that, I want to say something to you." I then heard him get out of bed, and at the same time he said, "Wait till I

get the tinder-box." I heard him rumbling about, and I then opened the door, which was only on the latch, and went in. The room was in darkness. I said, "I'm an inspector of police, and hold a warrant for your apprehension on suspicion of having murdered Hannah Brown." He was in his shirt. A light was shortly brought by the landlord, and I then read the warrant to him. I then asked him, if he knew Hannah Brown. He replied, "I know no such person." "I asked him, if he was never asked in church to a woman of that name?" He replied, "I don't know, you have no right to ask me the question. You had better be cautious what you say, as I shall mention your questions elsewhere?" On turning my eye round, I perceived the female prisoner in bed, and in the act of concealing something under the clothes, which turned out to be the watch I here produce. I then said to her, "Get up, for you also must go along with me." She said, "I have a child in the adjoining room, and that must go also." The male prisoner was in the act of drawing on his trousers, when I searched the pockets, and found this small watch and leather purse, the latter of which contained a sovereign. I also found, in other parts of his dress, a bunch of keys, a pair of silver spectacles, and several letters, none of which, however, threw any light upon the affair. I also found several duplicates for silk dresses, veils, &c.

Mrs. Davies was recalled, and stated that, to her knowledge, Mrs. Brown had two silk gowns and two veils. She could not, however, identify the watches or any of the articles produced. Mrs. Brown had a watch.

Mr. Feltham, in continuation, said, he sent for a coach and conveyed them all to the station-house of Paddington-green. This morning, at an early hour, a strange noise was heard in the cell in which the male prisoner was confined, and a constable repairing thither, he found him hanging by a handkerchief. He was cut down, and life restored with much difficulty. Soon after this, he went with Pegler to the prisoner's lodgings, and brought away the child's clothes as already related. There were four boxes in the prisoner's room, corded up, and upon the first entry the prisoner exclaimed, "It's a good job you're come—I should soon have been off to America." The prisoner also told him that the female prisoner lodged in the back room, and that she had been in the habit of sleeping with him.

Mr. Davies again stepped forward, and identified one of the keys as the same which he had given to Mrs. Brown some months since.

The evidence being concluded —Mr. Rawlinson, addressing the prisoner Greenacre, said: I am going to remand you for the present, have you anything you wish to say?

Prisoner: A great many falsehoods have been stated about me. I will now state the facts. It is true that I was to have been married to Mrs. Brown, and there are circumstances about it which may cost me my life, but this female, by my side, is in no way implicated in the affair. When I courted Mrs. Brown, she told me she could, at any time, command from 300*l.* to 400*l.*, and I told her I was possessed of property to some amount, which was not the case,

so that there was duplicity on both sides. On Christmas-eve, Mrs. Brown came to my lodgings in Carpenter's buildings. She was the worse for liquor. We had tea together about eight o'clock, and Mrs. Brown sent out for some rum, which she drank in her tea, which made her worse. I thought this a favourable opportunity to press her regarding her property, when she confessed she had none. I expressed my displeasure at being deceived, when she made a laugh of the matter, and said I was as bad as she was, as I had deceived her as regarded my property. She then began to sneer and laugh, at the same time rocking herself backwards and forwards in her chair, when I gave it a kick, and she fell backwards in it to the floor. Her head came with great violence against a clump of wood behind her, which I had just been using. This alarmed me very much. I took her by the hand, and lifted her up, and found, to my astonishment, that she was no more. I concluded, that I should be set down for a murderer. I was greatly excited, and came at length to the resolution not to call any one in, but to dispose of the body in the manner which has been so fully before the public, thinking it would be the safest and most prudent plan.—(At this relation, a thrill of horror ran through the office, and it was some time before silence could be obtained.)—No other person but myself witnessed the scene I have related, or had any knowledge of the disposal of the body. Some days afterwards, when I had put away the body, I invited this woman by my side, with whom I had formerly lived, to come back to me, which she did, and we were apprehended together, but she knows nothing of the death of Mrs. Brown, or the disposal of the body, limbs, &c. Upon making inquiry, I found out that though we were never married, Mrs. Brown, who bore but an indifferent character, had attempted to obtain a silk gown in my name at Mr. Smith's, a tally shop, in Long-acre.

The prisoner, in speaking, put his hand to his throat, and evidently appeared in much pain.

The female prisoner was then asked, if she had anything to say?

She replied, that she was entirely innocent of any participation in the affair, and that the watch found in her possession was her own.

The prisoners were then both remanded.

The examination lasted nearly five hours, and excited the most intense interest.

The trial of the two prisoners, Greenacre and Gale, came on at the Central Criminal Court on the 12th of April; when, on the above evidence, they were both found guilty of murder. The woman's sentence was commuted to transportation for life. Greenacre, to the last, persisted in his first statement of the accidental nature of Hannah Brown's death; but he admitted, in a subsequent conversation, that the statement he had previously made to the magistrate at Marylebone-office was not correct, as far as related to the *manner* in which the deceased had met her death; he having then ascribed it to a kick which he gave the chair on which she was sitting at the time. He then went on to state, that after Mrs. Brown and he had arrived at his house in Carpenter's-place on Christmas-

eve, they had tea together; after which, and while the deceased was washing up the tea-things, he questioned her with regard to the property which she had represented to him she possessed. She admitted, that she had deceived him in that respect, and appeared to make a laugh of it, upon which he was very much exasperated, and taking up a piece of wood used as a rolling-pin, but which was originally a roller for silk, in the heat of the moment he brandished it in his hand, and with it struck her a sort of swinging side blow on the right eye, and she immediately fell to the ground. Finding her insensible, and believing her to be dead, he left the house, and did not return for an hour after, when life appeared to be wholly gone, and then he formed the resolution, which he immediately put into effect, of severing the head from the trunk, and the limbs also, and disposing of them in the places where they were subsequently found. On being asked how he accounted for the fact that the neighbours in the two adjoining houses heard nothing of the altercation between him and the deceased, or the noise occasioned by her fall, he replied, "that the houses on either side were perfectly still at the time, and he judged, that being Christmas-eve, the inmates had gone to market, and he was strengthened in that supposition by hearing some children cry, as if they had been left alone." He was then questioned as to the absence of any trace of blood on the floor, as a considerable quantity must have flowed in cutting up the body. He replied, that such was the fact, but he procured a piece of flannel, and having soaked it up, threw the flannel into the privy, and then washed out the remaining stains.

Drunkenness.—The Prussian government has lately issued an order, that every functionary who shall be convicted of having been drunk, shall be instantly dismissed. "A police functionary," says the order, "ought not only to possess all his moral faculties for the hours of business, but ought further, at all times, to be of exemplary conduct, befitting the trust and consideration reposed in him. A drunken functionary ought, therefore, to be deprived of his employment, and it is not necessary that his superiors should have regular evidence of his immorality, but the attestation of two respectable witnesses will be deemed sufficient." The order concludes by stating, that the regulation will apply more strictly to inferior offices, which are chiefly filled by military men in retreat, who, though not young, have not forgotten the bacchanalian habits of their earlier days.

22. Deaths from Hydrophobia. — *From the Sheffield Independent.*—A sensation of horror was created in the town by the report that William Wilkinson, a grinder, had died of hydrophobia, and that another man was labouring under its dreadful symptoms. In the day, an inquest was held on Wilkinson. His wound had healed, and he had been able to be at his work until Thursday; when about to wash himself he manifested symptoms of hydrophobia; when he put his hands into the water he was seized with convulsions, and laboured under all the horrors of that intractable disease, till death put an end to his sufferings at half-past eleven on Satur-

day. He was quite conscious when the fits were coming on, which were invariably produced by any attempt to swallow either liquids or solids, or by the presence of a stranger in his room; and he requested his attendants not to come into the room without calling to him before they opened the door; and when he found the symptoms of the attack had gone off he requested them to come in. He also made them bind him down in bed, in case he should hurt any one. The jury, after hearing the evidence, returned a verdict of——Died of hydrophobia.

An inquest on a second death from this horrible disease was held on Tuesday, at the Burnt Tree, on James Ibbotson.

George Brookfield, of Attercliffe, a workman for Messrs. Marsh and Sheppard, in Forge lane, knew the deceased, who worked at the twelve o'clock wheel. On the 28th of February, Wilkinson, who died on Saturday, was passing the French Horn, Shudehill, with his dog, when he was called in by Ibbotson. Immediately on entering the house the dog flew at William Harrison, the landlord's son, but did not bite him. George Booker then called to the dog by his name, Ben, and the dog jumped upon his knees, and bit him on the fore finger. Booker pushed the dog from him, and Ibbotson called the dog, which jumped on his knee, and seized him by the lower lip, tearing it down to his chin. Ibbotson called to Wilkinson to take his dog off, saying, "This is past a joke." Wilkinson immediately took the dog off, and was himself bitten through the thumb of the right hand. The landlady sent witness for the police; but before they arrived, Wilkinson and his dog were gone. They went, however, to Wilkinson's house, and the dog was drowned

Mary Ibbotson, mother of deceased, who was twenty-three years of age, said, after he was bit he applied to Mr. Taylor, to whom he went till his lip was healed. He had been poorly several days before last Friday, with dizziness, sickness, and headache. On Friday, he went to see Wilkinson, who was then ill; and when he came home he looked very much changed. He had fits before he went to bed that night, and grew worse and worse till Sunday morning, when he died.

Booker, who was bitten at the same time as Ibbotson and Wilkinson, remains well.

29. Suicide of a Foreign Nobleman at the Burlington Hotel.—An inquest was held at the Burlington Hotel, Cork-street, on view of the body of Count Mate Alberg Schulenberg, aged 30, a Prussian nobleman of high distinction, who committed suicide under the following circumstances.

Mr. E. D. Moore, surgeon, of Arlington-street, Piccadilly, deposed, that on the 27th, Colonel Sir A. d'Este called at witness's residence, and requested him to call at the Burlington Hotel, and see the deceased, who was suffering from nervous indisposition; witness went to the hotel about one o'clock in the day; on his arrival, an alarm was given by some of the domestics of the establishment, that the Count had thrown himself out of his bedroom window. Witness and others went up to the room, which was vacant; the sash was up. In the mean time, the deceased was taken up from the pavement in Bur-

lington-street, and removed into the passage of the house, where Mr. Stafford and witness attended. Deceased was put to bed, and on examination was found to be quite insensible, and dangerously injured. Both bones of the left leg were broken, the large bone of the right leg fractured, with dislocation of the bones of the wrist, and severe contusions on different parts of his body. He continued delirious until his death, which took place about five on next morning.

By the Coroner—The deceased held a high rank in the Prussian service. He was a single gentleman. Owing to his health having been bad for some time past, he was invited to visit England by Sir Augustus d'Este. He arrived from the Hague in the Batavier steam-packet on Wednesday evening last.

Mr. Moore here produced a letter which the deceased had sent on Thursday morning to the residence of Colonel d'Este, in Connaught-square, by one of the porters of the hotel. The following is a copy of the letter in question:—

"Dear d'Este,—I request you will have the kindness, if your time admits of it, to come to me immediately at the Burlington Hotel; at the same time, take care to procure a physician for me, as I wish to consult him. I am very ill indeed—suffering from a nervous affection, brought on b my voyage in the steam-boat. So severe is my illness, that from prudence I cannot come to you; but I must speak to you. It appears to me, that rest is absolutely necessary; after which I shall go to Brighton, and have recourse to the artificial mineral water which is there impounded. All the rest, I wish to tell you by word of mouth. I have been well this winter. Do not mention me to——. Do come to me immediately, and then all will be right.

"M. A. Schulenberg."

Alexander Rocherius, one of the waiters at the hotel, stated, that on the deceased's arrival, he appeared in a very excited, disturbed state of mind; he took hold of witness's hand, and said, he was very ill; that he had been very ill-treated at the Custom-house; in the course of the evening, witness saw him write a letter, which he gave to one of the porters to take to the residence of Sir Augustus d'Este, in Connaught-square, Edgware-road.

Other domestics of the hotel were examined, who spoke to the deceased's mind being apparently in a distracted state.

The jury, after a short consultation, returned a verdict—That the deceased threw himself out of a window, being at the time in a state of temporary mental derangement.

Rights of Women.—The fair sex in Switzerland, as well as in France, are beginning to put forward claims to the enjoyment of political rights. The ladies of Zuchwyl, in Soleure, lately addressed a petition to the lower council, in which they complain of not having been consulted respecting the choice of the midwife appointed for that district, and demanded, that the present incumbent be replaced by another, more deserving of their confidence. In their memorial, the petticoat petitioners comment on, and discuss the laws on the matter with all the *aplomb* of lawyers or legislators. The petition was pre-

sented to the president of the council, by a deputation, composed of the handsomest and most eloquent females of Zuchwyl, but the assembly had the rudeness to reject their demand.

MAY.

2. Execution of Greenacre. —At an early hour last night, the Old Bailey, and the space around the angles of Newgate, were thronged with a clamorous multitude, including almost as many women as men, and amongst the latter, persons apparently of every grade in society, though, as in all such cases, the great mass was of the lowest order. Hundreds spent the night, sleeping on the steps before the doors of the prison, the opposite shops, and St. Sepulchre's Church; and all who had procured places in the windows, commanding a view of the place of execution, made sure of their seats by occupying them several hours before the dismal preparations commenced. There were not at any time of the night less than 2000 people in the street. So great was the anxiety to procure a commanding site, that several persons remained all night actually clinging to the lamp-posts! Any house that had still a seat, undisposed of, informed the public of the vacancy, by announcing the fact on large placards posted on the walls, and forthwith the rush of competitors was greater than on any former occasions. The populace did not seem, in the slightest degree, impressed with reflections upon the dreadful crime of the murderer, and the awful punishment by which he was about to expiate it. The interval was spent in jokes and amusements.

It was for some time apprehended, that Greenacre would, after all, be executed at Horsemonger-lane, instead of Newgate, and this diversity of opinion certainly caused the crowd to be less dense than it would otherwise have been. At length, at half-past three, the suspense was put an end to by the opening of the gates of the court-yard, and the appearance of the workmen with boards, for the erection of the scaffolding. The plaudits, and rejoicing of the vast multitude at this moment, were such as to reverberate through the prison, and had the effect of arousing Greenacre from a deep sleep, in which he had been wrapped for nearly five hours. After he had washed himself, and performed an act of apparent devotion, he betook himself to writing, in order to finish some letters which he had commenced on the overnight — one of which was addressed to the female who was convicted with him.

As the morning advanced, the multitude became consolidated into one vast aggregate, through which neither coaches, cabs, nor any kind of vehicle, could make their way, but with difficulty.

Greenacre came forward as the bell tolled the hour of death. He was preceded by the venerable ordinary Dr. Cotton, reading the prayers for the dead. Greenacre was totally unmanned — all his fortitude had left him—he was unable to speak—his lips quivered as if he were vainly endeavouring to articulate the responses after the venerable ordinary, and one of the officers was obliged to support him, or he would have fallen. He

neither turned to the right nor the left, and his eyes were closed as he walked along the narrow passage which leads from the cell to the platform. On his appearance outside, he was greeted with a storm of terrific yells and hisses, mingled with groans, cheers, and other expressions of reproach, revenge, hatred, and contumely; but he answered nothing to the last questions put to him, nor did he seem in any way moved—indeed, he could not have been more depressed by the horrible reception. He said not one word of hope, repentance, or reconcilement. When the dreadful uproar had, in some degree, subsided, Greenacre bowed towards the reverend ordinary and the sheriffs, and seemed anxious to thank them, but he could not speak. At length he faintly uttered his last sentence, with a final look of contempt at the crowd, "Don't leave me long in the concourse," and scarcely had the last syllable fallen, than the signal was given, the spring was touched, and at ten minutes past eight, Greenacre died without a struggle.

He left no dying directions, save that his spectacles should be given to Mrs. Gale. The crowd seemed as if they never could satisfy themselves with gazing on the hanging murderer. The women were, if possible, more ruthless than the men. As the period for taking down the body approached, a fierce conflict ensued between the two crowds, one leaving the place of execution, and the other rushing towards it. The pressure became so great in the narrow passages, that several fell in a state of exhaustion, and some narrowly escaped being trampled to death.

Greenacre has had much personal injustice done him; he was by no means an ugly man. His height was, at least, five feet eleven inches; his figure was erect and gentlemanlike, and his eyes remarkably full, clear, and penetrating.

7. Steam-boat Burned in America—One Hundred and Fifty Lives Lost.—*From a New York Paper.*—The steamer Ben Sherrod, Captain Castleman, left New Orleans on Sunday morning, the 7th of May, bound to Louisville; and on the night of the 8th, when about thirty miles below Natchez, she was found to be enveloped in flames, and out of nearly two hundred persons on board, only about fifty or sixty were saved. In a few minutes after the fire was discovered, the whole boat was enveloped in flames, Being in the stream, and her wheel-ropes burned off, it was impossible to run her ashore; and no alternative was left to the persons on board, but to jump into the water, and attempt to save themselves by swimming, or floating on such articles as they could find, or to perish in the flames. In the confusion and alarm, many who could not swim sprang overboard, without taking the precaution to provide themselves with a plank or box, and were drowned; many more, it is feared, were burned to death. Few even of those now living, would have survived, had not the steamer Columbus, Captain Jones, come to their assistance. A number were picked up, but a greater number sunk before aid could reach them. The steamer Statesman also picked up six or seven. So rapid was the spread of the fire, and so destitute were those

on board of all means of escape, that nothing could be saved, not even the register of the boat, so that it is impossible to say, how many were lost, or what were their names.

The fire is believed to have originated from the wood used for fuel being piled up near the boiler. The story of the disaster was related to us by a young man who was a cabin passenger; it is awfully interesting, and his own escape almost miraculous. When he awoke, he put on his clothes, and leaped into the yawl, which was hanging at the stern, and was followed by about forty other men, one of whom cut the rope connecting the stern of the steamer to the bow of the yawl, and the latter canted over, and hung in a perpendicular position, the bow towards the water. All on board were precipitated into the water, and are believed to have been drowned, with the exception of the narrator, and he saved himself by clinging to the thwarts. In a few minutes, about twenty of the crew made their way to the stern of the steamer, and placed themselves in the boat, suspended as she was. One of them imprudently took out his knife, and cut the rope which attached the steamer to the stern of the yawl, and she plunged, as might have been expected, full twenty feet under water. All that had been hanging to her were missing, except four, and the individual who relates the story. He says, when he rose to the surface, he found himself under the yawl, and she was lying bottom up. Being strong, active, and expert at swimming,he worked his way from underneath, and mounted on her bottom, where he was soon joined by the four other men who had saved themselves, and in this situation they floated twelve miles down the river before they were picked up by the Columbus. All the chambermaids, and women employed in the boat perished. Out of thirty five negroes that were known to have been on board, only two escaped alive. The Ben Sherrod had the largest crew of any boat on the river, and out of fifty saved, over thirty belonged to the boat; out of the sixty or seventy cabin passengers, there are but about ten or twelve left alive. One of the officers of the boat assured us, that in addition to the cabin passengers, there were at least sixty, or more deck passengers, of whom scarce six are saved.

9. Another Female murdered.—At an early hour on Tuesday morning, the neighbourhood of Frederick-street, Regent's Park, was thrown into the greatest state of excitation, in consequence of Anna Davis, a fine young woman, 21 years of age, barmaid in the service of Mr. Wadley, the proprietor of the King's-arms wine vaults, situate at the corner of Laxton-place, in the above street, having been found with her throat cut, in a dreadful manner, and under circumstances which prove, beyond doubt, that she must have been murdered. It appears, that the unfortunate victim was a native of Wales, and was much esteemed for her steadiness and attention to business. It was customary for her to rise early, and on the morning in question, she rose about six o'clock, and having procured the keys from her master, she went down stairs, and proceeded to unlock the place, before any one else in the house was stirring. About twenty minutes afterwards, a me-

chanic named Hall, residing in the same street, passed by, and seeing the door open, went in for the purpose of procuring a glass of beer. He called out, but could make nobody hear; he then looked over the counter, and was horrified at perceiving the floor of the bar deluged with blood. He ran to the staircase and gave an alarm, and in a few seconds, the pot boy, Jones, came running down half dressed, and in his progress, he stumbled over the body of the deceased, which was lying on a mat, on the landing, at the top of the first flight. Lights having been procured, the deceased was examined, when a fearful gash was perceived on the right side of her throat, which had completely severed the windpipe, the carotid and other arteries. In a few minutes afterwards, Sergeants Moody and Gladman, of the S division, arrived; the body was then carried into the front room first floor, and placed on a table. Surgical aid was sought for, when Drs. Swain and Johnson, of Albany Street, promptly attended, but of course could be of no service in restoring vitality, the unfortunate young creature being quite dead, though the body was warm. The shutters, which to this time were up, were now taken down, when a strict examination of the premises took place. The counter was found sprinkled with blood, which was traced along the bar floor up the stairs, to the place where the body was found. Attention was next directed to the door leading into the street, where the bloody print of apparently a man's fingers, was distinctly seen on it; but no blood could be traced along the floor leading in that direction, which, had the deceased cut her own throat, would not have been the case. A bloody table knife was found near the spot, with which the deed was no doubt perpetrated, and it is the opinion of the medical gentlemen alluded to, and other persons capable of forming an opinion, that the ill-fated young woman had been suddenly seized by the murderer, while her back was turned on him behind the counter, and that while in this situation he forcibly drew her head towards him, and committed the horrid deed, after which he hastily withdrew. The object which the ruffian had in view does not appear, as she had no sweetheart or followers, and the motive could not have been plunder, as a quantity of money and other property remained in the bar untouched.

We are induced to give the results of Dr. Swain's examination of the wound, as stated almost immediately after the occurrence. After a minute examination of the wound, and of the place where the event occurred, he said, on being asked his opinion, that he had no doubt the poor girl had been murdered. That at the moment the act was committed, she must have been standing with her back to the bar, which is very narrow, across which her head had been drawn by the clump of hair behind, and the wound inflicted suddenly, with great force, and by one single action, which had separated the integuments, muscles, windpipe, and right carotid artery, down to the vertebræ of the neck. Some one present having expressed surprise that she should be found on the little landing place, about six steps up, and wondering how, with such a wound in her throat, she could have got there, he

said that from appearances on her right hand and arm, and on the clothes about her bosom, she had evidently, the moment the deed was perpetrated, placed her hand over the wound to check the effusion of blood; and not being enabled, of course to use her voice, she had, in order to alarm the family, naturally sought the staircase, which in her terror she appears to have mistaken, turning the wrong way, as was evident from the trace of blood on the floor; but on ascending which, becoming exhausted, she had fallen on the first landing place, where she bled to death. The putting the hand to the wound accounted for so little blood being found on the floor about the bar, as what oozed through the fingers ran down the bosom, and was absorbed by the clothes, until she fell. On being asked whether she might not have committed the act herself, he said it was impossible.

10. Forgery and Suicide.—A lamentable occurrence has recently taken place in Barnstaple. A man named Thomas Kelly, by trade a mason, who resided at Newport, was apprehended under suspicion of forging two cheques on the West of England and South Wales District Bank. It appears that, in the afternoon of the above day, he went to the shop of Mr. Alexander, a watchmaker, in High Street, to purchase a watch in payment for which he tendered a cheque for 16*l.* 6*s.* drawn in favour of Richard Gilbert, and signed Francis Squire. Mr. Alexander, suspecting that all was not right, went immediately to the Bank; leaving Kelly in his shop, for the purpose of getting the cheque cashed. On his way thither, he met Mr. Thorne, the manager, who discovered it to be a forgery. Kelly was in consequence apprehended, and identified as the person who had succeeded in passing a forged cheque for 14*l.* 8*s.* at the shop of Mr. Kenward, linen draper, on the 17th of April last, when he purchased some cloth, and received about 12*l.* in cash. The deposition of Mr. Kenward was taken before a magistrate, and Kelly was remanded to prison till the following day. In the course of the night, however, he put an end to his existence by hanging himself, being discovered by the turnkey, on going his round in the morning, suspended quite dead in his cell; a handkerchief was round his neck which had been affixed to the grating. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, and the jury returned a verdict of *felo de se*. The body was interred in a rough shell at 12 o'clock the same night, in the churchyard, without any prayers being read over it, amidst a most revolting scene from numerous half drunken bye-standers.

12. Fatal Affair of Honour.—Between nine and ten on Thursday morning a postchaise brought to the North London Hospital three foreigners, and a fourth gentleman, the last severely wounded. Mr. Hughes, the house surgeon, found that he had received a pistol ball in the abdomen; it had entered on the right side, about two inches above the hipbone, and lodged in the intestines; the nature of the injury at once precluded all reasonable hope of the wounded man surviving, and although every possible assistance was rendered him, his demise is considered inevitable. This unfortunate gentleman is Harro Haring, a colonel in the Polish army,

who has resided in England for some years past; he served with bravery under Napoleon, and is possessed of considerable fortune; he received the wound in a hostile rencontre which took place in a field adjoining Hampstead-heath, near the Spaniard's-inn. His antagonist was also a Polish officer. The principals met on the ground, attended by seconds, and having been placed at ten paces distance, both discharged their pistols at the same instant—and the next, Colonel Haring was seen writhing on the ground in mortal agony. A professional friend of both parties, who was on the ground, pronounced the wound to be highly dangerous; and the victor, after asking and receiving pardon from the wounded, mounted his horse, and rode off at full speed to London-bridge, where he embarked on board the steam-boat for Boulogne. Colonel Haring is about forty, is married, and has a large family. His friends drove off, after seeing him attended to at the hospital.

—. The Regent's-Park Murder.—Notwithstanding the most unceasing vigilance of the police, the murderer of the ill-fated Eliza Davis has as yet eluded the grasp of justice, and no additional clue has been obtained to unravel the mystery in which the atrocious deed is involved. Several persons have been apprehended on suspicion in various parts of the country, as well as others in the metropolis, but with the exception of one man, a foreigner, apprehended at Bath, all have been liberated; it appearing, on inquiry, that there were no grounds for detention.

Some of the daily papers have stated, that there were reasons to presume that this would prove after all a case of suicide; no such conclusion can reasonably be arrived at. If the deceased destroyed herself, she must have done it by a left-handed cut, and, as she was not left-handed, she could not possess either strength or dexterity enough in that hand to inflict such a wound. The insufficiency of motive for the murder has been urged as an argument for the probability of suicide; but who can pretend to judge of motives who remembers the case of Rhynwick Williams, the woman stabber, and the many other "monsters" who, from time to time, have appeared and wounded women indiscriminately, causelessly, and without any knowledge of, or provocation from them?

21. His Majesty's Health.—We regret to learn, that both at the late levee and drawing-room his majesty showed evident symptoms of not being in his usual robust health: on both occasions the king, contrary to his usual custom, received the company sitting.

Criminal Statistics. — According to accounts laid before parliament, the total number of persons committed, or held to bail, last year for criminal offences in England and Wales, was 20,984; of whom 7,033 could neither read nor write, 10,983 could read and write imperfectly, 2,215 could read and write well, 192 were of superior education, and of 562 no account was obtained.

25. Celebration of the Princess Victoria's Birth-Day — Grand Serenade, Illuminations, &c.—The birth-day of the Princess Victoria yesterday, on which occasion her royal highness attained her majority, was cele-

brated with every demonstration of regard and attachment by the inhabitants of Kensington. At six o'clock the union jack was hoisted at the summit of the old church and on the green opposite the palace, the latter of which was surmounted by a splendid flag of pure white silk, on which was inscribed, in letters of ethereal blue, the princess's name "Victoria." From the houses of the principal inhabitants of the High-street were also displayed the royal standard, union jack, and other flags and colours, some of them of extraordinary dimensions. Soon after six o'clock the gates of Kensington-gardens were thrown open for the admission of the public, and it having got wind on the previous evening that a serenade would be performed at seven o'clock yesterday morning, at which hour her royal highness first breathed in the world, that portion of the gardens nearest the palace was long before that hour thronged by an assemblage of well-dressed persons, including a great number of ladies.

At night a ball, seldom equalled in magnificence, was given at St. James's Palace, by command of their majesties, in commemoration of the birthday.

One detraction alone rendered this festival all but a jubilee—the indisposition of their majesties, the cause of whose absence was a source of general regret.

The ball opened with a quadrille, the princess herself being led off by Lord Fitzalan, eldest son of the Earl of Surrey, and grandson of the Duke of Norfolk. Her royal highness subsequently danced with Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, son of the Austrian ambassador.

27. DREADFUL MURDER OF THREE CHILDREN BY THEIR MOTHER.—On Saturday night last, the inhabitants of Fenton, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, were thrown into great consternation by one of the most bloody tragedies that ever was heard of. Screams and cries of murder were heard proceeding from the police station-house, inhabited by one George Colley, late superintendent of police, with his wife and family of five children. Immediately after, two boys, one of eight, the other of eleven years of age, were met making their escape through the window of the lower part, in their shirts, and all over blood. On the neighbours entering and proceeding up stairs, the appalling spectacle was presented of three other children, of more tender age, lying dead, with their heads nearly severed from their bodies, and the mother on the floor with her throat dreadfully cut, and bleeding profusely. On being interrogated, she confessed that she, and she alone, had done the dreadful deed, from the dread of want. Her husband, it appears, had been some time since discharged from his situation, which had subjected the family to great privation, as they lived from day to day only upon the proceeds of their household goods. The miserable culprit is in the North Stafford Infirmary. And is recovering under the hands of the skilful surgeons of that institution. She answers questions composedly, but her wandering unfixed eye betokens, nevertheless, something like a state of mental delusion. She inquires with the greatest anxiety after her two sons who escaped, and when told they were doing well, far from being thank-

ful, she ejaculates her prayers that God will take them, for if they survive they must come to want. She seems very devout, and begs the nurse frequently to read the Bible to her. She bore a very good character, and until the misfortune of her husband's dismissal, attended church regularly. She expresses no desire of life herself, and resisted at first any attempts to bandage and stitch up the wound in her own throat. The second son, whose throat was cut, but not through the windpipe, is doing well, and has every chance of recovery. He is a good-looking interesting boy. The eldest, who gave evidence before the coroner, had one of his thumbs nearly cut off, and also the rim of one of his ears. The husband is in a state of great distraction. She repeatedly says he was one of the best of husbands and kindest of fathers. The inquest was held to-day, and returned a verdict of wilful murder against the wretched mother.

28. The Euphrates Expedition.—The Pembroke, seventy-four, arrived at Plymouth on this day, and has brought home the surviving officers and men of the Euphrates expedition. There appears, no doubt, notwithstanding the disasters which have attended this preparatory expedition, that with steamers adapted for the purpose, and when the navigation of the river is a little better known by experience in passing up and down, that the passage from Bussorah to Beles may be made in twenty days, even allowing for anchoring in the darkest part of the nights, which on the first onset would be necessary; but when the river became known, the distance might be gone over in fifteen days. Beles is only about 100 miles from the Bay of Antioch, in the Mediterranean, a comparatively civilized part of Syria, over which distance the mail-bags might be rapidly conveyed to a steamer, which could be periodically ready; the distance from Bussorah to Bombay would occupy a good steamer ten days; from Antioch to England would, unless bad weather prevailed, never occupy more than three weeks; so that when the system shall be brought into full play, the communication between Bombay and England might be fairly calculated as not exceeding fifty days. The expedition, on its way down, was a little annoyed by Arabs, a new tribe of whom was found at about every eighty miles, and who, generally speaking, are in deplorable poverty; they eagerly accepted the presents which were given, but were always refused tribute, which they invariably demanded. It is a question, therefore, whether these Arabs would always peaceably allow a steam traffic to be carried on, on this noble river. It would be a considerable time before they would be satisfied that the advantages of fair trading would equal the tribute and plunder which they now casually pick up. Colonel Chesney, while at the mouth of the Euphrates, surveyed that river from the sea to its junction with the Tigris, and from thence up to Bagdad, and some distance beyond. A most successful trade will, at no great distance of time, be created in this direction, and also up the Karoon river, for a distance of 140 miles from Bussorah, in the direction of Ispahan, to a town, called Ahway, above which are some heavy rapids not navigable; but beyond which

portage the adventurers were told boats could be used with safety, and to a considerable distance eastward. On the 25th of January, twenty-two officers and men left Bagdad on their return overland to the Mediterranean. The steamer at Bagdad was left in charge of Mr. Hector, the consul, and he intends to employ it in making regular trips for goods and passengers to Bussorah and Bushire, a distance of nearly 500 miles.

JUNE.

3. Caroline Ante and Mary Martin, two girls, were placed before the Royal Court of Jersey, on Friday, by the deputy Viscount, charged with having returned to the island from England, to where they had been transported for three years, before the expiration of their term of banishment. It appears, that the authorities of the island had sent the girls to Weymouth, but the authorities of that fashionable watering-place, not liking the idea that their elegant town should be made a penal settlement for the Channel Islands, and finding the damsels starving in the streets, sent them back again. The Court sent for the father of Ante, who was ordered to take her under his charge, thus annulling the former sentence, and ordered the other girl to be transported to Chatham, in Kent.

4. Suicide of Mr. Walker, Surgeon, of Piccadilly.—Saturday, an inquest was held on the body of Mr. George Walker, aged thirty-five, at his residence, No. 206, Piccadilly, who committed suicide by taking prussic acid. It appeared from the evidence of Mr. John French, surgeon, of Marshall-street, St. James's, that he was sent for on Monday last, to see the deceased, whom he found labouring under the effects of scarlet fever. Witness ordered him to bed, and impressed upon the mind of Mrs. Walker the necessity of her husband having a nurse at night time, as his complaint was generally attended with delirium. On the Thursday evening, when witness called, he heard that the deceased had been singing, which was contrary to his custom; this witness attributed to the effects of delirium, and gave particular directions that he should not be left alone, and that his mind might be amused as much as possible. Witness called on the following morning, Friday, about half-past twelve o'clock, when he found the unfortunate gentleman on the floor of the first landing quite insensible, he gasped twice or thrice, and then expired. An ounce phial was lying on the floor near the deceased, which, on witness examining, he found to have contained "prussic acid." After hearing some further evidence, the jury returned a verdict of "Temporary mental derangement."

7. Dreadful Explosion of a Steam Vessel, Hull.—It is our painful duty, to announce a most fatal and destructive accident which occurred this morning in the harbour. The confusion which it occasioned rendered it almost impossible to collect anything like a detailed report, but, so far as we can ascertain, the circumstances are briefly as follow:—

The Union steam-packet, which plies between Hull and Gainsborough, was lying off the jetty, taking in passengers for Gainsbo-

rough. About six o'clock, all being on board, to the number of about seventy souls, the engineer proceeded to get up the steam, when, awful to relate, the boiler burst with such violence as to carry destruction and death to all around. Many of the unfortunate people on board were blown into the air with the fragments of the vessel.

The people who were congregated on the jetty to witness the departure of the vessel were also many of them seriously wounded with pieces of the boiler, which were sent with immense violence by the force of the steam.

The vessel is a complete wreck, and immediately sank after the explosion.

As soon as the tide ebbed to the fullest extremity the vessel was found almost destroyed, and three bodies were found in the cabin, and three were found lying in the mud in the basin, some considerable distance from the spot. The aft part of the vessel is shivered to atoms, and the planks rent to pieces. It was stated, that the captain of the Union was killed, which is not the case. He has sustained several severe injuries about the body, but hopes are entertained of his recovery. The number of persons who have lost their lives are nineteen altogether, and the following persons have died in the infirmary:—A son of Mr. Goddard, of Hull, about eighteen years of age; Mr. Hutchinson (brother of the above), and Miss Louisa Moody, both of Hull; the two latter died from fractured skulls, and the former by scald. The infirmary also contains ten persons who have received broken limbs, scalds, and bruises.

His Majesty's Health.—The following bulletin, was issued at a late hour last night:—

"*Windsor Castle, June 9th*, 1837.

"The King has suffered for some time from an affection of the chest, which confines his Majesty to his apartment, and has produced considerable weakness, but has not interrupted his usual attention to business.

(Signed)

"Henry Halford.

"Wm. Fred. Chambers."

Windsor, Friday.—The public generally, we believe, are fully w r that his Majesty, for many years previous to his accession to the throne, was periodically subject to a violent attack, of what has been called "hay fever," a species of feverish asthma, accompanied by, or occasioned by a troublesome defluxion upon the lungs, and constantly recurring in the spring of every year, about the time of the *hay* harvest. It is a curious fact, however, that since his Majesty's accession to the throne, he has had no return of the disease until the spring of the present year, and now it has returned, finding him several years older, and of course so much the less able to contend against it.

Sir Henry Halford and Dr. Chambers are, one or the other, in constant attendance on the King—Dr. Chambers arriving in the evening, and remaining until he is relieved by Sir Henry Halford in the morning.

To-day his Majesty has been much less embarrassed by the cough; and for several hours this forenoon he was engaged in state business with Sir Herbert Taylor, in the course of which business, he had to listen to much argument and sign many documents;

and he did so with his customary acumen.

"*Friday night, Ten O'Clock.*

"His Majesty has continued much better throughout the latter part of this day. Sir Henry Halford, who arrived from town since dusk, pronounces his Majesty decidedly better; and there is every appearance of his health continuing to improve."

DURHAM UNIVERSITY. — At a Convocation holden on Thursday, June 8, the Royal Charta granted to the University of Durham, was formally received. This Charter, which received the Great Seal on the 1st of June, fully recognises and confirms the constitution of the University, as established by the Dean and Chapter, in pursuance of the Act of Parliament of the year 1832, incorporates the University by the title of "The Warden, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Durham," and authorises it to enjoy all the property, rights and privileges which are assured by the said Act, or are incident to a University established by royal charter. After the charter had been read and received, and a grace passed for the adoption of a University Seal, several graces were offered for conferring the degree of Bachelor of Arts on students who have completed the full number of terms, and passed the requisite examinations.

10. POISONING. — A woman named Hiron, 48 years of age, and a man named Pelletan, aged 42, were tried at the last assizes at Tours, under a charge of poison. An adulterous passion, according to the bill of indictment, led to the commission of these crimes. Towards the close of the last year, the wife of Pelletan, and the husband of the woman Hiron, died within a short period of one another, and it was observed that the same symptoms and the most excruciating sufferings had preceded the death of each. Those circumstances being made known to the Attorney General, he caused the bodies to be disinterred, and on examination, a great quantity of cantharides, was found in the stomach and intestines of both the deceased. Pelletan and the woman Hiron, denounced by public opinion as the authors of this double crime, were accordingly arrested, and their guilt fully proved on the trial, which lasted two entire days. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, with attenuating circumstances in favour of the woman, who was sentenced to hard labour for life. Pelletan was capitally convicted, and condemned to death.

13. STATE OF TRADE.—We are sorry to say that trade in this district continues in a very depressed state, and the consequence is, a scarcity of employment and low wages for the operatives, amongst whom, we regret to observe, distress prevails to a most deplorable extent.—*Manchester Courier.*

At Manchester it is stated there are 50,000 hands out of employ, and most of the large establishments are working only half time. At Wigan, which is not a large place, there are 4,000 weavers totally unable to get work. Unless a stimulus is shortly given to commerce, persons who have the means of forming the most correct opinion say, that half a million of hands at least, will be idle in the manufacturing districts in the very worst time of the year.—*Morning Chronicle.*

The pressure upon manufactures

and commerce has at last reached our county. Within a short time several extensive failures in the "How of Fife," along the Leven, as well as in the towns upon the coast, have taken place.—*Fifeshire Journal.*

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—A meeting convened by the circular of several gentlemen was held on Friday, at the Public-office, for the purpose of considering what measures could be adopted sufficient to relieve the present appalling state of commercial distress. At this meeting, it was universally admitted, that the number of unemployed workmen and the consequent distress which prevails, call for the adoption of prompt and efficient measures; and resolutions were passed expressive of the deep sympathy felt by the meeting for their suffering fellow-townsmen and their families.—*Birmingham Journal.*

We regret that we cannot announce any improvement in the state of trade in this town. There has been one failure of a respectable lace concern since our last. The number of operatives employed by public subscription on the roads is nearly 1,000. The relief committee after anxious deliberation, came to the decision on Monday evening, that in future the wages allowed could be only 8*s.* a week on day work.—*Nottingham Review.*

14. AN EXTRAORDINARY CASE.—An extraordinary sensation has been created in East-street, Lambeth-walk, under the following circumstances:—For the last sixteen years, two brothers and three sisters named Cunningham, have resided at No. 129, East-street, and procured their living by mending china, &c. About three weeks since, one of the sisters died, and was buried by Mr. Gawler (the parish clerk of Lambeth), since which time, the survivors have been in an ill state of health, and on Wednesday last one of the brothers died. On Saturday evening, Mrs. Moss, next door neighbour inquired of the surviving female how her sister was, and when her brother was to be buried? She replied, "My sister is a little better, but I have been so ill, that I have not been able to go to the undertaker's to order the coffin." Mrs. Moss thought the answer a very strange one, and at once proceeded to Mr. Gawler, to whom she stated the case, and he (Mr. Gawler) accompanied by a surgeon, instantly proceeded to the house. They knocked at the door several times, but not obtaining any answer, the door was forced open, and Mrs. Moss having procured a light, they proceeded upstairs, and found the corpse of a man in the back room, and that of a female in the front, both presenting a most horrible spectacle, being in a state of putrefaction. On descending, a male and female were discovered in the back room, sitting on two chairs apparently lifeless. A sedan chair was instantly sent for, in which they were conveyed to Lambeth workhouse. They are still alive, but their recovery is very doubtful.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.—The 16th report of the committee on public petitions was delivered on Saturday. It includes all those laid before the House up to the 19th of May. The petitions in favour of the ballot are 288, containing 139,613 signatures; for the adoption of household suffrage, 10, signatures, 12,542; and in support of universal suffrage, 8, with 1,398 signatures. Other petitions

against the proposed measure for the abolition of church-rates are 2,824, with 274,362 signatures; in favour of the plan are 1,836 petitions, and 534,591 signatures; the petitions in favour of the Lord's-day bill are 652, comprising 81,979 signatures; and those praying for the abolition of tithes in Ireland amount to 266, with 135,710 signatures; the petitions for the repeal of the corn laws, are 315, with 23,293 signatures; for the repeal of the duty on cotton. 44 petitions, signatures, 19,618; for the reduction of the duty on fire insurances, 53 petitions, with 11,355 signatures; for the repeal of the duty on soap, 101 petitions, with 12,719 signatures; for the reduction of the duty on tobacco, 26 petitions, with 37,155 signatures; for the repeal of the window-tax, 11 petitions, with 8,315 signatures; the petitions for amending the Factories Act, 83, with 25,000 signatures; in support of his majesty's present ministers in the government of Ireland, 83, with 24,898 signatures; in favour of the Highway Rates Bill, 46 petitions, with 454 signatures; in support of the Poor-law Act, 31 petitions, with 892 signatures, for amendment of the same law, 127 petitions, with 56,111 signatures; and for its repeal, 82 petitions, with 126,769 signatures.

15. MURDER AND SUICIDE.—Samuel Johnson, a labourer, living at Smethwick, near Birmingham, had been for some time past in great distress. On Thursday morning he got up about four o'clock, dressed himself, took two of his children out of bed, and carried them down to the back yard, where he tied a rope round the neck of one of them, and strangled it. He then stabbed the other to the heart, and having accomplished this double murder, hung himself. Yesterday a highly respectable jury met at the Swan Inn, Smethwick, to investigate the case.

The first witness called was Hannah Webb, who deposed as follows:—I am a widow, and reside in the house next to that in which Samuel Johnson lived. He was a labourer, and about forty years of age. His son Benjamin was about nine, and Thomas was about five years of age. Yesterday morning I got up about six. I went out by the back door to go into the brewhouse. The door of the brewhouse has been off the hinges for the last three months, so that the house was open. Since the door came off, it used generally to lie against the fire-place, but yesterday morning I found it placed against the doorway, and the window-shutter closed. When I found the door against the doorway, I went to the window and looked through it, and there saw the deceased Samuel Johnson hanging by a rope, one end of which was fastened round his neck, and the other to a beam, called the side-piece, which belongs to the roof. There was a ladder close by him—it was reared against the chimney; he must have stood upon the ladder to enable him to hang himself. I did not go into the brewhouse, because I was so terrified I was unable. I walked as well as I could into my own house, and screamed out to my daughter to come down stairs; by the time she came down I had recovered. I went to Johnson's house and called up Mrs. Johnson. I called to her for God's sake to come down, for her hus-

band had hung himself in the brewhouse. She asked, in a distracted tone, what I said. I repeated the words. She then came down, and I went into my own house. A man who was passing in the road was called in, and he cut him down, but he was quite dead. It was not known at that time that the two children were also dead. When Mrs. Johnson came down to the door she looked round her and cried out, "Where is my child Benjamin?" She then exclaimed, "Where is my child Thomas?" Mrs. Johnson then ran up the garden at the back of the house to see if the children were there, and when she got to the pigsty, she exclaimed, "Good God, my children are here!" Several persons ran up to her, and on looking in, found the two children lying both quite dead.

Mary Johnson, wife of the unfortunate man, was next examined. The poor woman was so deeply affected, that she could with great difficulty proceed. Her evidence substantially confirmed that of the preceding witness.

The Jury consulted for a few minutes, and returned a verdict—"That the children died from strangulation and stabbing, and the father from strangulation, whilst labouring under temporary insanity."

The deceased was a native of Harlston, near Lichfield. He came to Smethwick near twenty years ago, where he settled as a respectable farmer, and rented, up to about seven years ago, twenty acres of land from Mr. Reynolds: owing to reverse of fortune, it passed through his hands, and he was reduced to the state of a day labourer.

HIS MAJESTY'S HEALTH.

Windsor Castle, Monday, June 12.

The symptoms of the king's disease remain the same, but his majesty has acquired some strength since the date of the last bulletin, and continues to do the business of the country.

HENRY HALFORD.
MATTHEW TIERNEY.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

Windsor Castle, Tuesday, June 13.

His majesty had a good night; and continues in all respects in the same state as yesterday.

WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

Windsor Castle, Wed. June 14,

The king has passed another tranquil night, and his majesty appears refreshed this morning.

HENRY HALFORD.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

Windsor Castle, Thurs., June 15.

His majesty has had a good night, and is, in some respects, more comfortable this morning.

WM. FRED. CHAMBEES.
DAVID DAVIES.

Windsor Castle, Friday, June 16.

The king has had a good night, and the symptoms of his majesty's disorder are less urgent.

His majesty is feeble, but his attention to business has scarcely been interrupted.

HENRY HALFORD.
MATTHEW TIERNEY.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

The palace has been thronged during the week by the nobility and others leaving their cards.

The queen's drawing-rooms are postponed until further notice.

The queen, we regret to say, has been very seriously indisposed, owing to mental anxiety and physical debility, the latter occasioned by almost a constant attendance in the sick chamber. During the last fortnight, it is said, that her majesty has not enjoyed unbroken repose for a single night.

17. Windsor, three o'clock, p.m.

We regret to say, that his majesty was much worse this morning, having passed a restless night, which, together with the pressure of the atmosphere, increased the irritation of the lungs, and rendered his respiration exceedingly painful.

Windsor Castle, Sat. June 17.

The symptoms of his majesty's disease have undergone no essential change since yesterday morning.

WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

At the express desire of the king, the archbishops of Canterbury and York have prepared the following form of prayer for his majesty's restoration to health. It was adopted by the privy council on Friday, and is to be used immediately before the Litany, during the continuance of his majesty's illness:

"Almighty and most merciful God, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, incline thine ear, we beseech thee, to the cry of thy people, and accept our supplications and prayers which we make unto thee on behalf of thy servant, our sovereign lord the king.

"Vouchsafe, of thy goodness, O Lord, to assuage his pain, to relieve his infirmity, and to strengthen his soul by the consolations of thy grace, that so, resigning himself with all meekness and patience to thy holy will, and trusting entirely in thy mercy, he may be raised by thy power from the bed of sickness, and long continue to govern thy people, committed to his charge, in peace and righteousness.

"And finally grant, O Heavenly Father, that when it shall be thy good pleasure to call him from this world unto thee, he may receive a crown of glory in thy everlasting kingdom; through the merits and mediation of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

On Sunday afternoon, the symptoms assumed a more alarming character, than at any previous period. The fits of coughing became more frequent and severe, accompanied by extreme difficulty of respiration. The following bulletin was issued:—

Windsor Castle, Sun., June 18.

The symptoms of the king's disease have not increased, but his majesty is more feeble to-day.

HENRY HALFORD.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES.

The reports in Windsor were, however, to this effect:—"The state of the king is to the last degree alarming and dangerous. His majesty is gradually sinking." The royal sufferer himself, with a perfect consciousness of his fast-approaching dissolution, appeared quite resigned, and after partaking of the sacrament, took leave of those nearest and dearest to him, all of whom were overwhelmed with affliction. In the afternoon

the mournful intelligence of the distressing change was forwarded to such of the royal family as were not at the castle.

The bulletin issued on Monday was as follows:—

Windsor Castle, Mon. June 19.

The king continues in a very weak and feeble state, notwithstanding his majesty had some quiet sleep in the night.

After transacting his usual business yesterday, his majesty received the sacrament from the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, with attention and great apparent comfort.

HENRY HALFORD.
MATTH. JOHN TIERNEY.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES."

DEMISE OF THE KING.

Windsor Castle, Tues., June 20.

"It has pleased Almighty God to release from his sufferings our most gracious sovereign King William the Fourth. His majesty expired this morning, at twelve minutes past two o'clock.

"MATT. JOHN TIERNEY.
WM. FRED. CHAMBERS.
DAVID DAVIES."

Shortly before 5 o'clock, on Tuesday morning, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Albemarle, and sir Henry Halford, arrived in three carriages at Kensington Palace, when they were immediately admitted to an interview with her majesty and her illustrious mother the duchess of Kent, to whom they communicated the melancholy intelligence of the demise of his late majesty William the Fourth; after which they proceeded to London.

Exactly at 9 o'clock Lord Melbourne arrived at the palace, and instantly had an interview with her majesty, which lasted upwards of half an hour, when his lordship took his leave, and immediately afterwards summonses were issued for the assembling of the privy council at Kensington, at eleven o'clock, instead of at St. James's Palace, as had been at first anticipated would be the case.

About a quarter to twelve o'clock the Lord Mayor, attended by the city marshals in full uniform, on horseback, with crape on their left arms, the chamberlain, sword-bearer, comptroller, town-clerk, and deputy town-clerk, and accompanied by Aldermen Sirs Chapman Marshall and Peter Laurie, Cowan, Brown, Winchester, Thomas Wood, and the common sergeant, &c,, arrived at the palace to pay their allegiance to her majesty; immediately after which the king of Hanover, who came to the palace in Lord Lyndhurst's carriage, quitted in his state carriage for St. James's.

On Sunday night his majesty observed to Dr. Chambers, who was in attendance, "This is the last day on which I shall see the sun go down." This was not uttered in tones of regret, but rather, as is said, with the meekness and the hopefulness of a spirit that is aspiring to a better world.

Dr. Chambers, in reply to this observation, expressed a hope that his majesty would yet live to see many suns go down. "Oh!" said his majesty, using a phrase which was familiar to him, "that's another thing."

On Monday morning the king rose from his bed at half-past seven, and sent for Sir H. Taylor, for the purpose of transacting bu-

siness, as had been his habit from the time he was taken ill to almost the very close of life. He seemed perfectly resigned, and manifested that fearlessness which a mind composed and prepared for death can alone display. He again repeated to Sir Herbert Taylor the conviction he had previously expressed to Dr. Chambers. He felt, he said, that that day would be his last. About the middle of the day, however, Sir H. Taylor was again summoned to the royal presence, to transact business. On Monday morning, on rising, as we before mentioned, his majesty, addressing the attendants who waited round him, and were affording their assistance to dress and support him in his very enfeebled state, said, in the most affectionate manner, "God bless you all!"

The queen was present when his majesty expired; and conducted herself with that resignation which became her, and which was consonant with the whole tenour of her life. The members of his majesty's family were also present, and the scene was a most distressing one. Lady Gordon, we understand, was carried from the room in hysterics. The queen remained in the room nearly ten minutes after the rest of the mourning relatives had withdrawn.

The king had been perfectly cognizant of every thing about him, during a temporary relaxation of his symptoms, about an hour before he died; after which he sunk into one of those profound slumbers which have marked the course of his disease; and from which he never awoke, but expired so gently, that some doubt existed as to the precise moment at which he actually did expire. The final stroke of death was almost imperceptible.

Official Announcement.—On Tuesday morning, the 20th of June instant, at twelve minutes past two o'clock, our late most gracious sovereign King William the Fourth expired, at his castle of Windsor, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign. This event has caused one universal feeling of regret and sorrow to his late majesty's faithful and attached subjects, to whom he was endeared by the deep interest in their welfare which he invariably manifested, as well as by the many manly virtues which marked and adorned his character.

Upon the intimation of this distressing event, the lords of the privy council assembled this day, at Kensington Palace, and gave orders for proclaiming her present majesty, who made a most gracious declaration to them, and caused all the Lords and others of the late king's privy council who were then present to be sworn of her Majesty's privy council.

"Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late sovereign lord, king William the Fourth, of blessed and glorious memory, by whose decease the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty princess, Alexandrina Victoria, saving the rights of any issue of his late majesty, king William the Fourth, which may be born of his late majesty's consort; we, therefore, the lords spiritual and temporal of this realm, being here assisted with these of his late Majesty's privy council, with numbers of others principal gentlemen

of quality, with the lord mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of London, do now hereby, with one voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim, that the high and mighty princess Alexandrina Victoria, is now, by the death of our late sovereign, of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful liege Lady Victoria, by the grace of God queen of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, saving, as aforesaid. To whom, saving as aforesaid, we do acknowledge all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection, beseeching God, by whom kings and queens do reign, to bless the royal princess Victoria with long and happy years to reign over us."

"Given at the Court at Kensington, this 20th day of June, 1837. (Signed by all the Lords of the Privy Council, present.)

"God save the Queen."

"*Whitehall, June* 20, 1837."

HER MAJESTY'S FIRST DECLARATION.—At the court at Kensington, the 20th day of June, 1837. Present: The queen's most excellent majesty in council.

Her majesty being this day present in council, was pleased to make the following Declaration, viz.:—

"The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age, and to longer experience.

"I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament, and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage, that I succeed to a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration.

"Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country.

"It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty; and I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

Whereupon the lords of the council made it their humble request to her majesty, that her majesty's most gracious declaration to their lordships might be made public, which her majesty was pleased to order accordingly.

C. C. GREVILLE.

At the court at Kensington, the 20th day of June, 1837. Present: The queen's most excellent majesty in council.

Her majesty, at her first coming into the council, was this day pleased to declare, that understanding that the law requires she should, at her accession to the crown, take and subscribe the oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, she was now ready to do it this first opportunity, which her majesty was graciously pleased to do according to the forms used by the law of Scotland, and subscribed two instruments thereof in the presence of the lords of the council, who witnessed the same. And her majesty was pleased to order, that one of the said instruments be transmitted to the court of session, to be recorded in the books of sederunt, and afterwards to be forthwith lodged in the public register of Scotland, and that the other of them remain among the records of the council, and be entered in the council books.

A deputation from the city, including the lord mayor, attended by his chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Child, Aldermen Brown, Venables, Sir Peter Laurie, Winchester, Sir Chapman Marshall, Thomas Wood, Cowan, Pirie; the sheriffs, Sir James Duke and Johnson, the city chamberlain, the remembrancer, the common sergeant, the comptroller, Mr. Sergeant Arabin, Undersheriffs France and Wire, and the city solicitor, arrived at twelve o'clock.

The attorney-general and the solicitor-general also arrived.

A privy-council was held, at which most of the privy councillors were re-sworn of her majesty's most honourable privy council. At the council, the lord mayor attended.

The members of the royal family, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the other privy councillors, the lord mayor, and the members of the city deputation, afterwards signed, in another room, the proclamation on the accession of the queen.

Privy Council.—At an early hour on Wednesday morning the following summons, by order of Lord John Russell, was sent to the lords and members of his late majesty's privy council:—

"Council-office,
"Tuesday morning, July 20th.

"Let the messenger acquaint the lords and others of his late majesty's hon. privy council, that a council will be held at Kensington-palace this morning at 11 o'clock."

Shortly after 11 o'clock, a great number of privy councillors, amongst whom were all the cabinet ministers, the great officers of state, and household, arrived at Kensington-palace, and were ushered into the state apartments.

The young queen Victoria, accompanied by the duchess of Kent and the officers of her household, soon afterwards entered the council-chamber, and took her seat on a throne which had been erected for the occasion.

On the queen being seated, the lord chancellor administered to her majesty the usual oaths, that she would govern the kingdom according to its laws and customs, afford security to the church of Scotland, &c.

The cabinet ministers then advanced to the throne, and, kneeling, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This ceremony was afterwards observed by the other privy councillors present.

The cabinet ministers then tendered to the queen the seals of their respective offices, which her

majesty was most graciously pleased to return, and they severally kissed hands on their re-appointment.

At the council, the stamps to be affixed to official documents were ordered to be altered, and also the form of prayer used in the church service.

A proclamation was ordered, proclaiming her majesty, with the usual ceremonies, as Queen Alexandrina Victoria I. The proclamation was signed by all the privy councillors present, and afterwards by a great number of the nobility and gentry.

Her majesty's pleasure was taken as to the time when it would be her royal will and pleasure to be proclaimed queen, and her majesty appointed Wednesday for that purpose. The great seal, which had been delivered up to the queen, having been returned to the lord chancellor, it was affixed to the official proclamation, which appeared in the *Gazette* on Tuesday evening.

The queen, in the course of the morning, received a great many noble and distinguished personages, who came to take the oaths of allegiance, or to pay their respects to her majesty.

Her majesty then took the usual oaths to maintain the Protestant religion. The oaths were administered to her majesty by the archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop of York was also present. The proclamation of her majesty by the name, style, and title of Alexandrina Victoria was then agreed to, and the proceedings of the council having terminated, a minute of them was made by the clerk of the council, with which he proceeded to the Council-office.

21. Proclamation of Queen Victoria.—Wednesday being the day appointed for the proclamation of the accession to the throne of these realms of her most gracious majesty the queen Victoria, everything within and about the precincts of the palace of St. James's betokened, at an early hour, the activity and excitement consequent upon the occasion.

Her majesty, queen Victoria, arrived at St. James's-palace at ten o'clock, where she was received by most of the members of the royal family, the various officers of the household, the ministers of state, &c.

Long before ten o'clock all the avenues to the palace were crowded, every balcony, window, and elevated position being filled with spectators. The space in the quadrangle, in front of the window at which her majesty was to appear, was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and even the parapets above were filled with people. Mr. O'Connell, in the front line opposite the windows, attracted considerable attention, by waving his hat, and cheering most vehemently.

At ten o'clock, the guns in the park fired a salute, and, immediately after, the queen made her appearance at the window of the tapestried anteroom adjoining the audience chamber, and was received with deafening cheers. She stood between Lords Melbourne and Lansdowne, in their state dresses and blue ribbands, who were also cheered, as was likewise her royal highness the duchess of Kent. At this, and the two other windows, we recognised the king of Hanover, the dukes of Sussex, Wellington, and Argyle; lords Hill, Combermere, Denbigh, Dun-

cannon, Albemarle, and Winchester; Sir E. Codrington, Sir William Houston, and a number of other lords and gentlemen, with several ladies.

Her Majesty looked extremely fatigued and pale, but returned the repeated cheers with which she was greeted, with remarkable ease and dignity. She was dressed in deep mourning, with a white tippet, white cuffs, and a border of white lace under a small black bonnet, which was placed far back on her head, exhibiting her light hair in front simply parted over the forehead. Her Majesty seemed to view the proceedings with considerable interest. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent was similarly dressed to the Queen.

In the court-yard, were Garter King-at-arms, with heralds and pursuivants in their robes of office, and eight officers of arms on horseback, bearing massive silver maces; Sergeants-at-arms with their maces and collars; the Sergeant Trumpeter, with his mace and collar; the trumpets, drum-major and drums, and Knights Marshal and men.

On her Majesty showing herself at the presence chamber window, Garter Principal King-at-arms, having taken his station in the court yard under the window, accompanied by the duke of Norfolk, as earl marshal of England, read the proclamation, containing the formal and official announcement of the demise of king William IV., and of the consequent accession of Queen Alexandrina Victoria to the throne of these realms.

The following was the proclamation:—

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late Sovereign Lord, King William the Fourth, of blessed memory, by whose decease the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Princess AlexandrinaVictoria, we, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this realm being here, assisted with these of his late Majesty's privy council, with numbers of other principal gentlemen of quality, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of London, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue, proclaim that the High and Mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria is now, by the death of our late Sovereign William the Fourth, of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful liege Lady Alexandrina Victoria I., Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith (and so forth), to whom we acknowledge all faith and constant obedience, with all humble and hearty affection, beseeching God, by whom kings and queens do reign, to bless the royal Princess Alexandrina Victoria with long and happy years to reign. God save the Queen."

At the termination of this proclamation, the band struck up the national anthem, and a signal was given for the Park and Tower guns to fire, in order to announce the fact of the proclamation being made. During the reading of the proclamation, her Majesty stood at the presence chamber window, and immediately upon its conclusion, the air was rent with the loudest acclamations by those within the area, which were responded to by the thousands without.

JULY.

1. Extraordinary Accusation.—It will be remembered, that in the month of May last year, a charge of a criminal nature was preferred before the Lewisham magistrates by Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson Boyce, widow, against Mr. John Frederick Parker, solicitor, who for many years had resided at Lewisham, where he filled the office of clerk to the district magistrates, and held other official appointments. Mr. Lester, solicitor, of Blackheath, appeared on behalf of Mrs. Boyce, and an information was exhibited, charging Mr. Parker with having, in the spring of that year, administered certain drugs to Mrs. Boyce, to procure abortion, she then being pregnant by him, and with having subsequently taken her to the house of a German surgeon in London, where, in a darkened room, an operation was performed upon her, which produced the intended effect of causing abortion. —Upon this information, a warrant was issued, and Mr. Parker was brought before a magistrate, when time being asked on behalf of the accused to rebut the charge, the magistrate consented to grant it, and without then entering into an examination, fixed a day when the inquiry should be gone into before a full bench, and, in the interval, consented to take bail for Mr. Parker's appearance. Two gentlemen of known property and character immediately became sureties for Mr. Parker's appearance on the day appointed, each in 500*l.*, and Mr. Parker having entered into a personal recognizance of 1,000*l.*, he was liberated.—The day appointed for the hearing arrived, and there was a very full bench of magistrates assembled. Mr. Lester appeared as solicitor, and Mr. Bodkin was in attendance as counsel, for the prosecution. Mrs. Boyce and Mr. Tanner, her father, were also present as witnesses to support the charge, but the accused was not forthcoming, and on inquiry, it was ascertained he had quitted his residence at Lewisham, and was gone, no one knew where. He was in the usual form called upon for his recognizances, and, not answering, they were ordered to be estreated. Large placards offering a reward of 50*l.* for his apprehension, were, a few days afterwards, posted about the towns of Greenwich, Deptford, and Lewisham, but they led to nothing. Notwithstanding the disappearance of the accused, the magistrates deemed it their duty to take the deposition of Mrs. Boyce, as to all the details of her accusation. A long narrative was given by her of the circumstances out of which her acquaintance with Mr. Parker arose, the illicit intercourse which followed, her becoming pregnant, and giving birth to a child. A subsequent renewal of the intercourse, and her becoming a second time pregnant, upon which occasion she alleged the attempts to have been made to procure abortion, by administering drugs, and these failing, that she was taken by Mr. Parker to a German surgeon in London, where, by an instrument, the end was accomplished. Mr. Tanner, her father, was also examined as a witness upon some collateral matters of minor importance. The depositions of the witnesses were carefully reduced to writing by the clerk of the magistrates, and hav-

ing been read over to Mrs. Boyce and Mr. Tanner, they subscribed their signatures to their respective depositions. Orders were given by the magistrates, to estreat the recognizances of Mr. Parker, against which, an appeal was lodged by the sureties, and, upon argument before the quarter session, the recognizances were declared invalid, a single magistrate having no power to admit to bail when the charge was of felony. The affair, as might be expected, caused much excitement and conversation in the neighbourhood, but, like all other things, at length was forgotten, till it was most unexpectedly revived, by the accused himself challenging inquiry into his conduct.

About ten days since, a formal notice was served upon the clerks of the magistrates, informing them that Mr. Parker would forthwith surrender himself to meet the charges which had been preferred against him. Similar notices were served upon Mrs. Boyce, Mr. Tanner, and Mr. Lester the solicitor.

On the day appointed, the magistrates met in the assembly room of the tavern, for the purpose of entering upon the examination of the prisoner.

The accused, John Frederick Parker, was produced by Atkins. He is a good looking man, of middle stature, and apparently in the prime of life. Several respectable friends accompanied him.

The information was read by the clerk of the magistrates. It contained the charges before stated, to which Mr. Parker pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Bodkin said, he was now instructed to say, that when Mrs. Boyce preferred her extraordinary charge, she was labouring under great irritation and excitement of mind, and had been improperly urged on by others to make statements which she could not, now that she had regained her self-possession, possibly attempt to substantiate, and which, therefore, she wished to withdraw. He had only to add, that he had received a letter from Mrs. Boyce, in which she admitted the charges preferred by her against Mr. Parker, to be altogether untrue.

The room was ordered to be cleared, and the magistrates continued in private deliberation full half an hour, when the doors were re-opened, and the prisoner, the counsel, and other parties resumed their places in the room.

The Chairman asked if the witnesses whose depositions were taken on the former occasion were in attendance?—Mr. Bodkin said, he believed not.

The magistrate's clerk asked if Mrs. Boyce was there?—Mr. Bodkin said she was not.

Mr. James Lester, the solicitor for Mrs. Boyce on the first investigation, was ordered to be sent for.

Mr. Lester entered the room and was asked by the clerk if he had anything to say in respect of the charge?—Mr. Lester said he had nothing of himself to offer. He was no longer the professional adviser of Mrs. Boyce.

The Chairman said, that under all the circumstances of the case the magistrates had determined to remand Mr. Parker to allow an opportunity for a full investigation.

Mr. Parker was accordingly transferred into the custody of Fisher, the high constable, who received a warrant for conveying him to the county gaol.

2. Queen's Bench.—Monday. Crim. Con.—Perry *v.* Murray. —The Attorney General stated, that this was an action for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. The plaintiff was a gentleman whose father had left him a competent fortune, and whose taste led him to the enjoyment of a literary leisure. He had been a visitor to Italy. While there, he met his present wife, who was the second daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel De Courcy ; she had been educated abroad, and to great personal attractions added the highest accomplishments of education. An intimacy had been formed between them, which soon ripened into attachment, and in 1830 they were married. For some time they resided abroad, at different places in Italy and Germany, but at the close of 1835, Mr. Perry came to England. He received shortly after, the appointment of Master of the Horse to the earl of Mulgrave, the viceroy of Ireland, and he removed his wife to Dublin, where they lived very happily together, till the defendant, who was very highly connected, and was an officer in the 15th Hussars, became acquainted with the family, and by his seductive arts destroyed the domestic peace of that family, into which he had been received as a friend, and forced the husband now to appear as a plaintiff claiming compensation for an irreparable injury.

The marriage of the plaintiff was proved.

Ernesteine Schneider, a German female servant, was examined through the medium of an interpreter. She stated, that she entered the service of Mrs. Perry, at Baden, in the month of November 1835. She was lady's maid. Mrs. Perry was then living at Baden with her two children. She remained there till the following February. She afterwards came to London, and stayed here about eight or ten days and then went to Dublin. Mr. Perry met her at Dublin, and conveyed her to the castle. They continued together in Dublin, till the month of September, when Mr. Perry went to England. He always behaved very kindly to Mrs. Perry. Witness knew the defendant. He was a captain in the 15th Hussars. She had not observed anything particular in his attention to Mrs. Perry before he left Dublin. After Mr. Perry left, the defendant used to come every day to the house. He generally came about one o'clock in the day, and remained till five or six. He then went home to dress, and returned to dinner, and he used frequently to remain till one or two in the morning. They dined together alone. Witness knew that Mrs. Perry received letters from the defendant, and had seen her burn them afterwards. Once, when Mr. Perry was in Dublin, he came home at nine o'clock in the evening, and found the defendant there. He expressed much displeasure at the circumstance. Witness had delivered letters from the defendant to Mrs. Perry, and also letters from Mrs. Perry to the defendant, sometimes as often as twice a day. Witness had gone with Mrs. Perry to 19, Suffolk street, Dublin, where she saw the defendant. (The witness here mentioned circumstances to show that an adulterous intercourse had taken place.) At that time Mrs. Perry did not sleep with her husband. Her health was not good. Witness mentioned to Mr. Perry

what she had seen. He turned very pale.—Cross-examined ; Mr. Perry had left Baden before Mrs. Perry quitted it. Witness never saw him there. Mrs. Perry was visited by several acquaintances when at Baden. Colonel Lanskoff was one of her acquaintances there. He visited her frequently. She was also some time at Mayence, and the colonel lodged in the same hotel. They dined together several times. They went to Frankfort. Mr. and Mrs. Perry slept in separate rooms in Dublin. She frequently remained whole days in her room without seeing her husband. On one occasion, when he was in Dublin she remained out all one night. She came home about seven o'clock the next evening. Mr. Perry inquired for her in the morning, and witness said she was not well and would remain in bed. When the dinner hour arrived, he inquired if she would come down to dinner. Witness answered that she would not, and he sent up dinner to her. Witness knew at the same time, that she was not at home. Witness said so at Mrs. Perry's desire. Witness was still in the service of Mr. Perry.

David Piccard kept a shop at 59, Suffolk street, Dublin. Witness knew the defendant, who took a room in witness's house, saying he had a French lady he wished to marry. Witness asked if she was quite correct ; defendant said that she was ; the room was a parlour ; it had a sofa and chairs in it ; defendant met the young lady there ; witness opened the door ; she came several times and went into the room with the defendant ; they remained there an hour and a half alone ; they generally came between daylight and dusk ; witness tried the door once, and found that it was locked ; the defendant used to go out first and call a coach, and then the lady went away with him ; witness once found the cushions of the sofa on the floor, and mentioned it to the defendant, who said, " That's nothing ! " — Cross-examined ;— Witness would not have allowed them to come again if he thought that there was anything wrong in it.

Mr. Thesiger addressed the jury for the defendant. After a charge from Lord Denman, a verdict was returned for the plaintiff. Damages 100*l.*

3. A New Arithmetical Prodigy.—(From the *Medical Gazette.*)—A boy who is able to perform very complicated arithmetical operations, mentally, was exhibited at the sitting of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. His name is *Vito Mangiamele,* and he was born in a village in the environs of Syracuse ; he is the son of a shepherd, and has been a shepherd himself. The person who has brought him from Sicily says that he is ten years and a half old. At a very early age (says this same person) he shewed a great readiness in calculating ; and the compendious methods by which he solves the questions proposed (which he generally does in a much shorter time than can be done in the ordinary way, and with the pen in one's hand,) are entirely of his own invention. The only thing which he has been taught is the meaning of the words employed in arithmetic—such as *square, cube, power, root, ratio, &c.* This child has not that appearance of suffering, which one too often sees in little prodigies, and which shows that they are worn out by toil. His plumpness and rosy complexion bear witness to his

good health, and the composure of his features while solving a problem, proves that he is not doing anything unpleasant to himself. His features are deficient in delicacy, but there is something agreeable in their *ensemble*. The following questions were put to him:

1. What is the cube root of 3,796,416?

In less than half a minute the child answered, that it was 156; which is right.

2. What number has the following properties: if its cube is added to five times its square, and then 42 times the number, and also the number 42 are subtracted from the result, the remainder is equal to zero?

M. Arago repeated this sentence a second time, to be certain that he had heard the numbers; but while he was finishing the last word, the child replied, "the number is 5;" which is right.

3. A number is raised to the fifth power; four times the number is then subtracted, and also 16,779; the remainder is zero.

The child was now four minutes without answering. M. Arago then asked the person who accompanied the child, if he wished an easier problem to be proposed, as the Academy could not spend much time upon this examination. He answered that the young calculator could not attend to any fresh question while his mind was occupied with the last.

At the end of about another minute the child said that the number was 7; which was right again.

4. Lastly, he was asked the 10th root of 282,475,249.

In two minutes he answered, that the number required was 3. This was not correct, and he was told so; in a few seconds he said, that the root required was 7; which is right.

A commission composed of M M. Lacroix, Arago, Libri, and Sturm, was appointed to examine the young Vito Mangiamele, and report the result of the examination to the Academy.

4. Death of a Carlist.—The *Gazette des Tribunaux* contains a letter from its Christino correspondent in Tolosa, which presents a striking scene:—"I was on the point of going to bed, when my patron came to tell me, that tomorrow morning they were going to shoot a young merchant, who had been accused and condemned as a Carlist recruiting agent. Three days previous, this man had endeavoured to seduce a corporal who lodged with him, and to persuade him that the service of Don Carlos was far preferable to that of the Queen. The corporal seemed to acquiesce, and also promised to endeavour to influence some of his company, whom he expected would have as little hesitation as himself in changing service. That evening, the corporal presented himself with three others, who volunteered to desert along with him to the troops of Don Carlos. However, during the night, they arrested the unfortunate merchant, whom they instantly brought before a court martial. He was tried on the spot, and condemned to death on the evidence of the four individuals he had endeavoured to seduce. About seven o'clock on the following morning, the garrison of Tolosa, its commandant at its head, marched out—the dead march awakening painful emotions in the hearts of all the inhabitants. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, the solemn roll of drums was heard in the distance,

and a troop, in the midst of which marched the prisoner, was beheld crossing the bridge. The culprit's hands were tied with a cord, of which a soldier held the ends. Beside him marched two priests. I shall never forget the appearance of this young man, aged 27, named Diego Pina. His chest was large, his shoulders strong; his aspect breathed a noble pride; his bright black eyes, aquiline nose, and slender compressed lips, announced a resolute character. No man in the escort marched with a firmer step. His colour was pale, but the Spanish paleness often masks a temperament of fire. He wore the Carlist colours—a blue boyna, a round blue jacket, and blue trousers. He appeared not to hear the exhortations of the old priest who accompanied him. Notwithstanding his coarse habit, and the cords which bound him, he maintained an imposing air. Arrived at the place of execution, they untied his hands, when he took a glass of wine, drank it off, making two steps in advance and exclaiming, "Viva Carlos el Rey!" After which, he requested the spectators to pray for him. They then tied his hands again, bound his eyes with a handkerchief, placed him sitting on a chair, and the officer gave the word, "Fire!" Without uttering a single cry, he fell dead on the ground. A ball had passed through his head. Four old men then brought a coffin, and the body was carried off. In the first instance, the impression produced on the assistants by this painful spectacle was such, that a profound silence reigned throughout the crowd. Some minutes afterwards, they spoke in an under tone of the terrible drama just consummated. They commented on the last words of Diego. They joked about the matter; presently laughter was heard, and every body went back to town, as gaily as if returning from a bull fight!"

5. In the Court of Queen's Bench, Mr. C. W. Day, an artist, and author of a little book called, *Hints on Etiquette,* obtained a verdict against Messrs. Whittaker and Co., for pirating his work by publishing another book substantially the same, entitled *Science of Etiquette.* It appeared that Mr. Day, in the course of a professional tour, had been very much disgusted by the want of delicacy and refinement in the manners of the people of Hull, who picked their teeth with their forks at dinner, and committed other abominations of a similar kind. He resolved to effect a reform in Hull,—or, as he expressed it, to "make a silk purse out of a sow's ear,"—and published his *Hints on Etiquette* in Hull. Finding that the work took, he made a bargain with Messrs. Longman for publishing it in London; but those gentlemen thinking that Mr. Day was not quite *au fait* of the manners of high life, got the hon. lady Murray, to correct and polish Mr. Day's production. The result of the united efforts of Day and Murray was the work which, it was pretty clearly made out, the defendants had pirated: and the jury found their verdict accordingly; so an injunction will probably be granted by the Chancellor to restrain the publication of the *Science of Etiquette.* No fewer than twelve editions, and 12,000 copies of the *Hints on Etiquette* had been sold, at a considerable profit.

6. A Marriage in Prison.—A remarkable occurrence has just taken place at the Conciergerie

prison, Paris—namely, the celebration of a marriage between two of the prisoners; indeed, it is stated that such an event never before took place in the chapel there since it had been the chapel of a prison. Several of the officers of police, and other parties connected with the prison, received a circular, inviting them to be present at the "nuptial benediction about to be bestowed on the parties by the venerable Abbé Montes." The circular was signed by Pierre Chatelain and Marianne Rossin. These two individuals had both been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for being concerned with a gang of forty robbers, the one to ten years of solitary confinement, the other to five years' imprisonment, not solitary. Before their capture, Chatelain and the girl had lived together, and since they had been there, both were remarkable for their good conduct; the result of which was, that they obtained a commutation of their punishments. Although they were placed in different parts of the prison, they had still retained an ardent affection for each other, and they wished to cement their former connexion by marriage. They accordingly wrote to the authorities for permission to fulfil their desires, and it being considered, that to allow the prayer of their petition would be setting a good example, it was immediately complied with. They were married the next day, the civil portion of the contract being performed before the mayor of the 11th arrondissement, and the religious part in the chapel before mentioned. The Abbé Montes addressed the newly married couple in a very impressive and affecting manner, after the performance of the ceremony; the parties themselves, and many of those present, were moved to tears. An attempt is about to be made to procure a pardon for these two well-conducted prisoners.

7. Funeral of the late King.—This morning the preparations for exhibiting the remains of the late king in state were completed, the workmen having been employed all night. At about half-past nine carriages arrived at Windsor from all quarters; and the streets leading to the gate of the Castle at which the public were to be admitted were much crowded. Soon after ten o'clock the gates of the Castle were opened, and the public admitted to see the lying in state. They passed along the different avenues to the Waterloo Chamber, where the coffin, containing the royal remains, was placed upon a platform, or elevation, at one end of the apartment. It was guarded by Lord Lilford, Lord Templemore, and Lord Byron, three of his late Majesty's Lords of the Bedchamber, Colonel Armstrong, and Sir James Reynett, two of his late Majesty's Grooms of the Bedchamber, by the Officers at Arms, the Gentlemen Ushers, six of the honourable band of Gentlemen at Arms, and eight of the Yeomen of the Guard. The coffin was covered with a splendid crimson pall, on which were emblazoned the escocheons of the Royal arms, with the Imperial crown of the United Kingdom, and the Royal crown of Hanover, under a purple cloth canopy. Under this canopy were also suspended the Royal standard, the Union banner, and the banners of St. George, Scotland, Ireland, Hanover, and Brunswick. They were supported by

the Gentlemen at Arms, and were suspended on each side of the Royal body. The public having passed through the room where the mortal remains of the late Sovereign were deposited, passed out of the Waterloo Chamber by another door, and through another part of the Castle, and retired by the St. George's-gate. As each portion of the company retired, its place was immediately supplied by fresh visiters. The utmost decorum prevailed, notwithstanding admission was afforded indiscriminately to all who presented themselves to claim it. The Castle was closed against visiters at four o'clock.

8. The Plague.—The *Suabian Mercury* gives the following extract of a letter from Smyrna, dated July 8th:—"The French physician, Dr. Bulard, who inoculated himself with the plague, is perfectly convalescent, but is still in quarantine. The archbishop, the grand vicar, and all the foreign consuls have been to see him. The principal inhabitants have resolved to have a medal struck in his honour. The plague is diminishing, and the experiments made and published by Dr. Bulard have dissipated the prejudices entertained against his mode of treatment, and have at length created general confidence in him."

9. Last evening the funeral obsequies of his late Majesty, King William IVth. were performed in the royal chapel of St. George, at Windsor.

The Procession.—The marshalling of the funeral procession, a difficult and tedious business, having been completed, the royal coffin was placed on a car, the wheels of which were concealed from view by the sable trappings which hung down to the ground. As the bier had to travel over an inclined plane from the state apartments to the vault, its progress was rendered safe and easy. The body was brought down the great staircase of the Waterloo Chamber. The Castle clock struck nine, and a rocket was immediately fired off. The guns in the Long Walk were now fired every minute. A blast of trumpets from within faintly announced to those without, that the procession had commenced. It advanced with sluggish pace, until the trumpeters at the head emerged from the Norman gate. Another blast from the trumpets, more audible than the first, struck the ear, and it was followed by the more dismal music of the muffled drums. The Dead March in *Saul* followed, and was played by the several bands during the progress of the procession to the chapel, which advanced, according to the official ceremonial, in the following order:—

Trumpets and Kettle Drums, and Drums and Fifes of the Foot Guards.
Drums and Fifes of the Royal Household.
Trumpets and Kettle Drums of the Royal Household.
Knight Marshal's Men, two and two, with black Staves.
The Knight Marshal.
Naval Knights of Windsor.
Military Knights of Windsor.
Pages of her Majesty the Queen Dowager.
Pages of his late Majesty.

Apothecary to his late Majesty.

Surgeon to his late Majesty's Household.

The Curate of Windsor. The Vicar of Windsor.
Gentlemen Ushers Quarterly Waiters to his late Majesty.
Pages of Honour to his late Majesty.
Grooms of the Privy Chamber to his late Majesty.
Gentlemen Ushers Daily Waiters to his late Majesty.
Serjeant Surgeons to his late Majesty.
Physicians in Ordinary to his late Majesty.
Household Chaplain to his late Majesty.
Equerries to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent.
Equerries to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Glocester.
Equerries to her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta.
Equerries to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.
Aides-de-Camp to his late Majesty.
Quarter Master-General of the Forces. Adjutant-General of the Forces.
Equerries to her Majesty the Queen Dowager.
Equerries to his late Majesty.
Clerk-Marshal and First Equerry to his late Majesty.
Gentlemen Ushers to her Majesty the Queen Dowager.
Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to his late Majesty.
Groom of the Robes to his late Majesty.
Grooms of the Bedchamber to his late Majesty.
Master of the Robes to his late Majesty.
Solicitor-General. Attorney-General.
Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy.
Judges of the Court of Bankruptcy.
Chief Judge of the Court of Bankruptcy.
Barons of the Exchequer.
Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.
Justices of the Court of Queen's Bench.
The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
The Vice-Chancellor of England. The Master of the Rolls.
The Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.
Officers of the Board of Green Cloth, viz.:—
Master of his late Majesty's Houshold. Treasurer of his late Majesty's Household. Controller of his late Majesty's Household.
Privy Councillors (not Peers) attended by the Clerks of the Council in Ordinary.
Peers and their eldest Sons according to their respective ranks of Precedence.
The Minister of State of Hanover.
The Earl Marshal of England. The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain.
The Lord Privy Seal. The Lord President of the Council.
Herald.
Archbishops.
The Lord Chancellor.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.
Norroy King of Arms.
Lords of his late Majesty's Bedchamber.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Captain of the hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms.

Master of the Horse to her Majesty the Queen Dowager.

Groom of the Stole to his late Majesty.

Master of the Horse to his late Majesty.

Banners to be borne by Peers—viz.

The Banner of Brunswick.
The Banner of Ireland.
The Banner of St. George.

The Banner of Hanover.
The Banner of Scotland.
The Union Banner.

THE ROYAL STANDARD.

THE ROYAL CROWN

Supporter: Gentleman Usher to his late Majesty.

OF HANOVER, borne on a Purple Velvet Cushion by the Secretary of the Hanoverian Legation.

Supporter: Gentleman Usher to his late Majesty.

THE IMPERIAL CROWN

Supporter: Gentleman Usher to his late Majesty.

of the UNITED KINGDOM, borne on a Purple Velvet Cushion by Clarenceux King of Arms.

Supporter: Gentleman Usher to his late Majesty.

The Lord Steward of his late Majesty' Household.

Vice Chamberlain to her Majesty the Queen Dowager, in the absence of her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain.

Vice Chamberlain of his late Majesty's Household.

Gentleman Usher to His late Majesty.

The Lord Chamberlain of his late Majesty's Household.

Gentleman Usher to His late Majesty.

Supporters of the Canopy, FIVE PEERS, assisted by Eight Admirals.

Supporters of the Pall, THREE DUKES, assisted by Two Eldest Sons of Dukes.

THE BODY OF HIS LATE MAJESTY,

Supporters of the Canopy, FIVE PEERS, assisted by Eight General Officers.

Supporters of the Pall, THREE DUKES, assisted by Two Eldest Sons of Dukes.

Covered with a Purple Velvet Pall, adorned with Ten Escocheons of the Imperial Arms, under a Canopy of Purple Velvet.

Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter to his late Majesty.

Garter Principal King of Arms, bearing his Sceptre.

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod bearing his Rod.

THE CHIEF MOURNER,
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,
in a long Black Cloak, with the Star of the Order of the Garter embroidered thereon, wearing the Collar of that Most Noble Order.

Supporter: A Duke.

Supporter: A Duke.

Train Bearers—Two Dukes.
Sixteen Peers, Assistants to the Chief Mourner.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE GEORGE OF CAMBRIDGE,
in a long black cloak, with the Star of the Order of the Garter embroidered thereon, and wearing the Collar of that Most Noble Order.
His Train borne by Two Gentlemen.
The Executors named in the Will of his late Most Sacred Majesty.
His Serene Highness the Reigning Duke of Saxe Meiningen, K.G.
His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen.
His Serene Highness Prince Ernest of Hesse Philippsthal Barchfield, G.C.B.
Gentlemen at Arms, with their axes reversed.
Yeomen of the Guard, with their partisans reversed.

The Duke of Cambridge was to have been present at the funeral, and to have followed next to the Duke of Sussex, but was prevented from attending by indisposition. Prince George of Cambridge was there. The Duke of Sussex appeared to be lame, and was not looking well. As usual, he wore a black velvet cap. Among the pall-bearers was the Duke of Wellington.

Upon the arrival of the procession at the south door of St. George's Chapel, the trumpets and drums and the knight marshalmen filed off without the door.

At ten minutes to ten o'clock the long deep thrilling echoes of the trumpet blast, combined with the low rumbling murmurs of the kettle drums, announced the approach of the procession. The Dean of Windsor, the prebendaries, and choristers, carrying lighted tapers, then advanced towards the south door, where was a canopy of purple velvet, supported by eight gentlemen in deep mourning. At ten minutes after ten o'clock the royal body was received at the entrance of the chapel.

The procession gradually entered the choir, and as it wound its way slowly along to the royal vault, the different members of it filed off to the stations which had been previously allotted to them by the Heralds. The Dean and Prebendaries of St. George's Chapel took their station within the rails of the altar. It had been arranged, that during the service the Knights of the Garter should occupy their respective stalls, with the exception of the supporters to the chief mourner and the supporters of the pall; but by accident some of their seats were preoccupied by the Bishops, and they

had, in consequence, to look for accommodation elsewhere. The Ministers of State, the great officers of the Household, the nobility, Privy Councillors, Judges, and law officers, were placed in the vacant stalls and in the lower seats on each side of the choir. The Grooms of the Bedchamber, Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber, the Equerries, and the other members of the procession, arranged themselves on each side of the altar, whilst the peers, who carried the banners of Brunswick, Hanover, Ireland, Scotland, St. George, and the Union, stood at the foot of the coffin on the steps of the communion table.

After the coffin reached the platform by which it was to be lowered into the tomb, and had been placed under the canopy of purple velvet previously prepared for it, the pall was removed, two cushions were placed on it, and on these cushions were deposited the Royal Crown of Hanover and the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom. His royal highness the Duke of Sussex, walked to the edge of the platform, and then took his seat at the head of the corpse, upon a chair provided for his use. His supporters stood on each side of him. His royal highness Prince George of Cambridge was also seated near his royal uncle. The marquis Conyngham, as lord chamberlain of his Majesty's household, took his place at the foot of the corpse, and the supporters and assistant-supporters of the pall and of the canopy arranged themselves on each side of the royal body. The earl marshal stood near the duke of Sussex, as did also the duke of Wellington. The peers who acted as assistants to the chief mourner, and the other noblemen and gentlemen who followed the royal body, arranged themselves in the best order they could behind the royal body. At this moment a scene of funereal grandeur presented itself to the eye at once solemn and picturesque. Every stall and seat in the chapel was filled save that of the Sovereign, and there was scarcely standing room left for the dense mass of distinguished persons in naval and military uniforms who had entered the choir along with the corpse. The eyes of many were at this moment turned up to the royal closet, in which her majesty queen Adelaide had been for some time seated. After the chant was finished, the dean of Windsor moved from the communion-table through the mass of mourners to a station provided for him on the right hand of the corpse, and proceeded to read, in a loud and impressive voice, the rubric after the sentences, during the performance of which the body is usually committed to the grave. As soon as he commenced reading it the platform descended slowly but silently; and just as the coffin disappeared from view, the dean having said, "We commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the porter of the college threw some sand upon it from a bag of sand which he had brought with him for this purpose. Immediately after the solemn interment of the body was finished, the sound of a rocket discharged from the gate of the chapel, as a signal to strike the flag of the Round Tower, was heard.

The dean now read the collect and the blessing. At that moment sir William Woods, Claren-

ceux Deputy Garter King of Arms, came forward and pronounced the styles of his late most sacred Majesty, and announced Queen Victoria as his true and legitimate successor.

The duke of Sussex and prince George of Cambridge then rose from their chairs, and quitted the chapel by the door under the royal closet. Her majesty queen Adelaide had quitted the chapel by the same road a few minutes before the declaration of his Majesty's styles, by the deputy garter king of arms. The Dead March in *Saul* was then played on the organ, and this being considered as a signal that the funeral was over, the members of the procession, who were much fatigued by the toil they had undergone in the course of it, and by the sultry heat of the chapel, proceeded to quit as quickly and as quietly as possible. Nothing like order was observed in the return of it to the palace.

10. Dissolution of Parliament.—The Queen set out from the new palace at a quarter to two o'clock, in the state carriage, drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by the marshalmen, a party of the yeomen of the guard in state costumes, and runners. The fourth carriage, drawn by six black horses, contained the marchioness of Lansdowne, the duchess of Sutherland, the duke of Argyll, lord steward, and gold stick in waiting. The Queen was accompanied by the Earl of Albemarle, master of the horse, and the countess of Mulgrave, the lady in waiting. On her Majesty's entering the state coach the band of the Queen's guard, who were on duty in the court-yard, played "God save the Queen." A squadron of the royal horse guards formed the escort. The procession moved into Whitehall by the Horse Guards, and was saluted in its passage through Parliament-street by the deafening acclamations of the mass which lined the streets and covered the house-tops. Every spot whence a view of the pageant could be obtained was densely occupied. Her Majesty acknowledged the loyalty of her subjects with dignity and grace, that won the admiration of all, and drew forth fresh manifestations of it. On arriving opposite the entrance of the House of Lords, her Majesty was received by a battalion of the grenadier guards, whose splendid band, when she alighted, played the national anthem. The grand chambers were lined by the yeomen of the guard, headed by the master of the check.—The procession returned in the same order, and amidst the same acclamations from the concourse.

11. Court of Common Pleas, Dublin.—This was a breach of promise case, in which Miss Henrietta Ann Head was plaintiff, and Simon George Purdon, esq., defendant. The damages were laid at 20,000*l*., and the defendant pleaded the general issue and the statute of limitations. The parties are cousins-german, and reside on the borders of the river Shannon, in the county of Tipperary. Their attachment commenced in 1825, and continued until 1836, during which time a great number of letters were received by the lady, in which Mr. Purdon professed the most ardent love, and designated her as his "adored wife."

The defendant had been educated at Oxford, and spent a

siderable time in diplomatic employment, as *attaché* of an embassy to Sweden, of which Lord Vesey and Fitzgerald was the head. He came home from Sweden in 1825, when the attachment between the parties commenced. All the letters written by the defendant having been read, Mr. Litton, leading counsel for the plaintiff, thus concluded his statement:—"Major Purdon died in February, 1836. The defendant did not, it is plain, anticipate he would die so soon, or he would have sought some cause for quarrel to countenance his intended desertion, and to save his reputation. I mean his reputation as a man of feeling—I mean his reputation as an honest man—I mean his reputation as a man of honour—who should rather perish than do any thing mean or dishonourable. Mr. Purdon, at his father's death, found himself master of 5,000*l.* a year. In the mean time, he became acquainted with the present Bishop of Derry, who was then Dean Ponsonby, and afterwards became Bishop of Killaloe; and it is beyond doubt, that before this period he had formed some design of connecting himself with one of the daughters of that prelate. In August, 1836, he married Louisa Ponsonby, of his attachment to whom not a member of the bereaved, deserted, and almost disgraced family had ever heard. Major Purdon died in February. That month passed, and in March he went to Dublin, for the purpose of making arrangements for his marriage with Miss Ponsonby, at the very time he was winding his chains more closely round the heart of this confiding woman. He returned to the country at the end of March, but paid no visit to his uncle's house; and this circumstance, I need not say, caused the deepest anxiety. There was no one in the country, from the highest to the lowest, that did not know the outlines of the circumstances he had stated; for every thing relating to such a distinguished family was a matter of conversation and comment, and his desertion was the more marked and the more galling. On the 6th of April, 1836, a letter was received from Mr. Purdon, trying to account for his unmanly conduct. (The letter was read, and he offered in it as the reason for his breaking off the correspondence, that his father left it a dying injunction upon him.) He wants you," continued the learned counsel, "to believe this pretext—he wants you to believe what I tell him I don't believe, except I believe it to be a shameless subterfuge—I believe it to be as cold-hearted a pretence as ever was imagined by a heartless betrayer.' The learned counsel, after stating that Miss Head had written to the defendant, and received an answer from him, which he characterised as cold-hearted and unfeeling, and after remarking upon the conduct of the opposite party in pleading the statute of limitations, concluded by an eloquent appeal for his client. When he concluded, the bar applauded him by clapping vehemently.

Mr. George Bennett, king's counsel, addressed the jury for the defendant, and Chief Justice Doherty having briefly charged, the jury, after a few minutes' deliberation, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff—3,000*l.* damages, and 6*d.* costs.

12. DIABOLICAL ATTEMPT TO FIRE THE PARISH CHURCH OF LEEDS.—Last night an attempt,

which happily proved unsuccessful, was made to destroy by fire that venerable edifice, the parish church of Leeds. About twenty minutes past five this morning, Mr. Pickard, the sexton, was called up by a man named John Silveraides, who had been engaged to letter the tomb-stone of Miss Dixon. Mr. Pickard was giving some instructions to him, when the stone-cutter's boy came and told them that somebody had been breaking the windows of the church. When Mr. Pickard arrived at the church he discovered, that a Bible and a quarto Prayer-book had been stolen. Whilst Mr. Pickard was gone to acquaint the vicar and churchwardens of the robbery, the grave-digger, the stone-cutter, and their assistants, continued the search, to discover the extent of the property taken, and on going up stairs to the organ-loft an extraordinary scene presented itself. In the passage, on the northern side of the organ, they discovered a quarto Prayer-book, which had been taken from one of the corporation pews, laid open, also one of the Prayer-books from the reading desks, likewise open; and in the organist's pew were found a great number of Prayer-books, all open, a number of loose papers which had been procured from a drawer in the vestry, including part of an index to the baptismal registers, which is in course of preparation, a copy of the Annals of Leeds, the Leeds Directory, and a music book. The large folio Bible from the reading-desk was also laid with the leaves open, and there were, moreover, a number of papers twisted like curl papers, amongst which was found a lucifer match, and several other lucifer matches were observed lying about, one of them having the appearance of having been drawn through the sand paper without effect, all the composition being nearly rubbed off. All these appearances indicate that a conflagration was intended, but whether it was prevented by the party attempting it being interrupted, or by the failure of some composition on which he relied for ignition after he left the place, remains yet to be ascertained.

European Savage.—The *Precurseur*, of Antwerp, gives some details respecting a young girl who has lived for some time in the environs of Maestricht, in a sort of savage state. Her name is Genevieve Colombo. She says she is a native of Piedmont, and that for some years an old gentleman used to come to the asylum at Novane, where she was placed, and pay an annual sum for her support; but the old gentleman being dead, the pension was discontinued. Some papers were found which stated that her father's fortune had been left to her brother, a canon of Maestricht, who, however, was directed to pay his sister a small annual pension. Entrance to the fortress was refused her, but her efforts to obtain admission became such an annoyance, that she was told if she did not leave the kingdom she would be sent to prison. She then retired to the grotto of St. Pierre, where she stayed for eighteen months on a rock, taking no other nourishment than was left by the peasants. There it was, that she lost her reason. She says that she was only born to trample the grass under her feet. She will wear nothing but silk gowns and velvet shoes; when any other

description of dress is given to her, she tears it into atoms. The poor girl is about to be sent back to the asylum at Novane.

13. Occupation of Buckingham Palace by the Queen.— Greatly to the regret of the inhabitants of Kensington, her Majesty and her illustrious mother the Duchess of Kent took their departure from Kensington Palace this afternoon, for the purpose of taking up their residence at Buckingham Palace. Shortly after one o'clock an escort of Lancers took up a position on the palace-green, long previous to which an immense concourse of respectable persons had thronged the avenue and every open space near the palace from whence a view of the departure of the august personages could be obtained. About half-past one o'clock an open landau drawn by four gray horses, preceded by two outriders, and followed by an open barouche drawn by four bay horses, arrived from the Queen's Mews, Pimlico, and drew up at the grand entrance to the duchess of Kent's apartments. The Queen, accompanied by the Duchess of Kent and Baroness Lehzen, almost immediately got into the first carriage, amid the deafening cheers and salutations of the numerous crowd, which her Majesty acknowledged with the greatest kindness and condescension. The Queen appeared rather pale, and a feeling of regret appeared at the moment to come over her Majesty's countenance at leaving the place of her birth, and in which all her early, but we most earnestly hope, not happiest years have been spent, in peaceful retirement, in the society of her illustrious mother.

14. Cambridge Assizes. — A Forgiving Wife. — Peter Dunwell, aged 23, was capitally indicted for administering two drachms of laudanum to Eliza, his wife, with intent to kill and murder her. The parties in this case are poor people residing in Cambridge, and have been married four years, during which the prosecutrix has become the mother of two children. On the evening of the 19th of June she sat down to her supper as usual, and the prisoner went out for her half pint of beer, which he brought and set on the table by her. She put the mug to her lips, but finding, that the beer had an extremely nauseous flavour, she took only a small quantity into her mouth and immediately put it out again. She then asked the prisoner to taste it, but he declined to do so. She next took the mug to the publican's, and having ascertained from him that the beer was not in the state in which he had given it to the prisoner, she called in a neighbour, who also tasted it, and who instantly collared the prisoner, and accused him of having mixed something with it, which he strenuously denied. The prisoner then got away and quitted the House, and in half an hour afterwards, finding that the police were in search of him, he left the town, and was apprehended on the following night at Bury, in Suffolk, a distance of thirty miles from Cambridge. Upon inquiry, it appeared, that about half an hour before he went for the beer for his wife's supper on the evening in question, he had bought two drachms of laudanum at a shop in the town, where he was well known; and upon an analysis of the beer in the mug, it was found to contain a considerable quantity

of that poison. Some doubt was stated as to whether a drachm and a half, or two drachms of laudanum, would be sufficient to destroy life in an adult, but the doctors inclined to think that it would. Upon the examination of the prosecutrix, it appeared, that she and the prisoner were living very happily together, and never had "any but very slight quarrels;" and she stated, that if he were at large again, she should be most happy to live with him as she had done for four years. She had a child seven months old, which was very wakeful and noisy. Mr. Gunning addressed the jury for the prisoner, pointing out the absence of all motives to murder. Mr. Justice Bosanquet summed up the evidence, and then left it to the jury to say, with what intent the prisoner, in their judgment, had administered the poison, directing them to acquit him, unless they were satisfied that that intent was, to murder his wife. The jury found the prisoner Not Guilty, to the evident satisfaction of his wife, with whom he walked out of court, arm in arm, in a very friendly manner.

16. The Settlement at Swan River.—Letters have just been received from Swan River to the end of March. The colony is going on very favourably. The last harvest had proved abundant, and all the necessaries of life were plentiful, and the prices moderate. Beef and mutton $8\frac{3}{4}d.$ per lb., pork 7d., kangaroo $5d.$, flour $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., wheat and barley $5s.$ per bushel, butter $1s.$ $6d.$ per lb. ducks $4s.$ $6d.$ per couple. Cattle and stock of all kinds had greatly increased. The colonists, encouraged by the success of their first attempts, are now embarking in the whale fishery, and have established a whaling joint-stock company. Two American ships had been engaged in that fishery last season, and had been so successful, that the owners had expressed their intention of sending next season a considerable number of vessels to that coast for the same employment. The climate seems particularly suited to the growth of wheat, so much so, that some settlers intend sowing an additional quantity this year, for the purpose of feeding pigs on. Hitherto Western Australia has been visited by none of the droughts which have occurred so frequently on the eastern side of the island.

17. Dreadful Conflagration in India.—Bombay *Gazettes* to the 3rd of May inclusive have been received. They contain accounts of an awful and destructive fire which had destroyed three-fourths of Surat (comprising from 5,000 to 6,000 houses), above 500 lives, and an immense quantity of property. The fire originated in the house of a Parsee, but whether from accident or design, had not been ascertained. The fire was at first neglected, the neighbours refusing to allow water from their wells to extinguish it, and soon spread through the best part of Surat. The heat and dryness of the season aided the combustion, and the conflagration was soon beyond the power of man to control. It raged with terrific fierceness till midnight on Tuesday, when it burned itself out, and left Surat one vast extended heap of ruins. This ancient city, declining as it has been for years, and now nearly bereft of commerce, could not, it was feared, recover from the effects of this awful and overwhelming calamity.

24. Descent of a Parachute. —Fatal Catastrophe.—Mr. Robert Cocking, a landscape painter, had long had a strong desire to get up to the clouds, and come down in a parachute of his own construction. For many years he had been urging Mr. Green to allow him to descend from his balloon, but never obtained permission until Monday, 24th June. His parachute was then attached to Green's balloon; and it ascended from Vauxhall Gardens, about twenty minutes before eight. The balloon had mounted to a considerable height, Mr. Green supposes about a mile and a half from the ground; the parachute was unloosed; the balloon was observed to shoot up like an arrow, and the parachute to drop, as an eye-witness who saw it from his garden in Norwood described it, like a large stone through a vacuum. The fate of its rash occupant was thus described at an inquest, held at the village of Lee, in Kent, on Wednesday, the 26th, on his corpse.

John Chamberlain, shepherd to Mr. Richard Norman, of Burnt Ash Farm, in the parish of Lee, said, "that on Monday last, about a quarter past nine o'clock, he saw the balloon, and something hanging from it, which presently fell. At first it came down like thunder, that is, with respect to the noise; it frightened all the sheep. It appeared to come down in a lump together, and he thought it turned over and came down on the slant. By the time it reached the ground, he had got over the hedge, so that he could see it fall. The basket, or car, touched the ground first, and the other part of the parachute fell partly upon it. The machinery was broken to pieces, and covered a large space of ground. The deceased was in the basket up to his chest, with his head out; he was lying on his back, and the basket appeared to protect the body from any weight. He could not say whether the basket came down on the edge, or the bottom. He ran and lifted up the parachute; but on seeing the deceased there, he became frightened, and let it down upon him again. He heard a groan when he first went up to him. The deceased did not move his eyes nor any part of his body; his wig lay at a short distance from his head. There was no hat. Soon after this Mr. Norman came up; and he informed that gentleman that there was a man underneath. Mr. Norman presently directed him to get two hurdles; which he did. He should say, that two or three minutes elapsed between the time the parachute left the balloon and when it touched the ground. A great many persons quickly came up."

Thomas Grisdall, another servant of Mr. Norman, saw the parachute falling:—"The parachute appeared to turn over and over; and there was a great cracking issued from it. It came down in a lump altogether. He assisted in taking the deceased out of the basket; to do which, they were obliged to unloose various ropes and some pullies. The deceased groaned, and breathed for about two minutes after he got up to him. There was no rope attached to the body that he noticed. He was insensible; and his master said he was dead, and was about to bleed him, when a surgeon came up and endeavoured to do so, but without effect. He, in the end, cut him in the temple; from which gash a few drops of blood flowed.

He heard no noise, except that which was occasioned by the fall of the machine. The parachute was extended at first, but when the cracking took place, it closed, and then it came down more rapidly. The deceased had both eyes open, but they did not move."

Mr. Finch, a surgeon, said, "that he endeavoured, without success, to bleed the deceased, in several places. He saw the parachute falling; it came down aslant, like an oyster-shell diving through the water. It appeared, on an examination of the car, that the deceased pitched on his feet. The deceased had a wound on the right eyebrow of about one inch in length; but that wound did not occasion death. The wound might have been caused by the machine falling upon him. Nearly all the ribs were either fractured or displaced. The sternum seemed to have been broken and fractured the ribs. The cause of death, he should say, was the internal injuries to the chest, and the general shock to the nervous system. He had no doubt, that there was laceration in the interior. The injuries were received when he reached the ground. Indeed, he did not see what was to kill him before. They knew of cases on a railroad where there was an enormous speed without loss of life. It had been no uncommon thing for persons to travel at the rate of sixty miles an hour, without loss of life. Now, according to the statements, it was clear, that the deceased descended only at the rate of thirty; and therefore it must be perfectly apparent, that the velocity of the journey could not have caused death."

Mr. Green was examined at great length. He mentioned his own reluctance to the experiment; and the desire of the Vauxhall proprietors to prevent it, although they should have had to return the money to the visitors. He had nothing whatever to do with the construction of the parachute. The parachute was in shape an inverted cone, not very unlike an umbrella turned upside down. Its circumference was 107 feet 4 inches. From the bottom of this machine, which was constructed of fine Irish linen, a basket of wicker was suspended, in which Mr. Cocking placed himself. The distance between this basket and the car, was between forty and fifty feet. Mr. Green gave the following account of the voyage. He stated, "that upon their arrival over Kennington common, he was desirous of throwing out loose ballast, but was prevented from doing so in consequence of the canvas tube attached to the balloon and parachute, to assist the descent of the ballast, having become disordered. He was fearful of damaging property or of injuring individuals by throwing out the ballast in bags, until after they had cleared the metropolis and suburban districts. Over Kennington common the balloon was stationary for some time; and the deceased here addressed him and his companion (Mr. Spencer) by inquiring their altitude. Mr. Green replied, that they were about a thousand feet from the surface of the earth. The deceased said, 'Very well; but let me know when we arrive at about fifteen hundred feet, and at every additional five hundred, until we arrive at five thousand feet (near a mile), for that is the altitude at which I wish to descend.' Mr. Green replied in the affirmative;

and continued affording the deceased this required information, until they arrived at the beforementioned altitude, when the witness said, that he did not think he could ascend higher from the weight that was attached to the balloon. The deceased then said, 'Very well, I shall soon leave you.' After the lapse of a couple of minutes, the deceased again spoke and said, 'Good bye, Green; good bye, Spencer.' Witness and Mr. Spencer then seized hold of the ropes of the car, to prevent a sudden jerk, as they expected momentarily that the deceased would liberate himself. They shortly after felt a slight jerk. He was about to quit his seat for the purpose of looking over the car, when, all of a moment, the shock was renewed, and the balloon commenced ascending with the velocity of a rocket; and then witness and Mr. Spencer became convinced, that the descent of the parachute had taken place. Such was the rapidity of the ascent of the balloon after it had been relieved of its additional weight, that for a few minutes the aeronauts were placed in imminent danger, and narrowly escaped suffocation from the descent of the gas by the pressure after the valves of the balloon had been thrown open.

Mr. Green felt convinced, that, as the parachute had resisted the pressure of air in the ascent, it would descend safely; and was surprised as well as horrified when he heard of the dreadful accident. Throughout the whole of the experiment, Mr. Cocking was quite composed and fearless. He was sixty-one years of age; married, but without children.

The inquest, which adjourned over Thursday, was resumed yesterday; and a great deal of additional evidence was given, by Professor Airey, Mr. Monck Mason, and Mr. Gye of Vauxhall Gardens. The professor described the construction of the parachute, and went into a scientific argument to prove, that it could not possibly have resisted the pressure of the atmosphere in its descent. Mr. Mason concurred with Professor Airey. In his opinion, whether the machine had broken in the descent or not, the main result would have been the same; the insufficiency of the parachute to support the individual within the limits of velocity required by nature for the preservation of life, was the real cause of the catastrophe. The rupture of the machine was merely an accident, which had occurred during the consummation of his fate."

Mr. Gye stated the terms of the bargain with Mr. Cocking. For the first descent he was to receive nothing; for the two next 21*l.* each; for every subsequent descent 30*l.*, to be made when and where the Vauxhall proprietors should require.

In reply to a question from the coroner, the keeper of the public-house at Lee admitted, that he had received 10*l.* (in sixpences) from persons wishing to see the mangled body. The coroner said, that he understood the man had given out, that the money was to go to Cocking's widow; and he advised him to let her have it.

The following is the verdict:— "We find, that the deceased, Robert Cocking, came to his death casually and by misfortune, in consequence of serious injuries which he received from a fall in a parachute of his own invention

and contrivance, which was appended to a balloon; and we further find, that the parachute as 'moving' towards his death is deodand, and forfeit to our sovereign lady the queen.

The balloon itself descended, about nine o'clock on Monday evening, in a field near Maidstone.

NATIONAL VACCINE ESTABLISHMENT—COPY OF THE LAST REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FROM THE NATIONAL VACCINE INSTITUTION.—To the right hon. Lord John Russell, Secretary of State, &c.

My Lord,—A considerable time has now elapsed since we reported, to the department over which your Lordship presides, the successful labours of the National Vaccine Institution. And as, notwithstanding the manifest proofs which we have already presented of the valuable protection which vaccination affords against the scourge of small pox, yet, from indolence or thoughtlessness, many still forbear altogether, or delay until too late, to avail themselves of this great preventive; and others are induced, by the arts of disreputable practitioners, to continue to prefer inoculation. We think it necessary, therefore, to repeat in strong terms our sense of the advantages which the former has over the latter.

That vaccination has this superior merit it might be a sufficient argument to convince the least considerate person, that if 300 children be vaccinated, one will be susceptible of small pox afterwards, but only in a mild and perfectly safe form; whereas if 300 be inoculated, one will surely die.

To this argument we might add, that the annual loss of life by small pox in the metropolis, and within the bills of mortality only, before vaccination was established, exceeded 5,000; whereas in the course of last year only 300 died of that distemper. And it is probable, that even this mortality, however comparatively small, is owing to the continued partial practice of inoculation, which is liable to disseminate far and wide its contagious influence, to the imminent danger of all who have not been protected by previous vaccination, or by having had the disease already.

And this consideration suggests to us a question, whether the introduction of inoculation into this country at the beginning of the last century, were the blessing which it claims to have been. We know that, before the practice of it was brought from Constantinople, the small pox used to prevail epidemically now and then, and to occasion a great mortality when it did prevail; but there were intervals in which the disease was scarcely heard of; and we really believe, that the loss of life occasioned by the small pox recurring after considerable intervals, has been by far exceeded by the accumulated mortality of successive years, in consequence of the disease being continually propagated through the practice of inoculation.

We have only to add, my lord, that although we lament sincerely the mistaken judgment which prefers inoculation to vaccination, whether on the supposition, amongst other ill-founded notions, of which we sometimes hear, that the original virtue of the vaccine virus has been worn out by time, or on any other equally ill-grounded opinion, we have the satisfac-

tion of knowing, that vaccination has made considerable progress since our last report, and, that we have supplied lymph not only to every part of this kingdom in the course of the last year, but to all the colonies also, and to many of the capitals of Europe.

(Signed) HENRY HALFORD,
President of the Vaccine Board.
ASTLEY PASTON COOPER,
President of the College of Surgeons.
J. A. PARIS,
Censor of the Royal College of Physicians.
CLEMENT HUE,
July, 1837. Registrar.

ANECDOTE OF HIS LATE MAJESTY.—The following anecdote was told with great glee by his late majesty at a dinner party given by George IV., at the cottage, Windsor-park, in 1827. It is to be observed, that William IV., when Duke of Clarence, used frequently during his residence at Bushy-park, to ride out unaccompanied by any servant. "I was riding in the park the other day," said his royal highness, "on the road between Teddington and Hampton-wick, when I was overtaken by a butcher's boy on horseback, with a tray of meat under his arm. 'Nice pony that of yours, old gentleman,' said he. 'Pretty fair,' was my reply. 'Mine's a good 'un too,' rejoined he, 'and I'll trot you to Hampton-wick for a pot o'beer.' I declined the match; and the butcher's boy, as he struck his single spur into his horse's side exclaimed, with a look of contempt, 'I thought you were only a muff!'"

AUGUST.

THIEVING IN HIGH LIFE.—A complete gang of thieves has just been discovered at Rome, all the members of which belong to noble families, and several of them are even serving in the Pope's body guard. They were most of them looked upon as persons of more than ordinary piety. Countess Compagnoni, of Macerata, was the first to denounce their proceedings. Among those already arrested are, Count Dionisi da Treja and the Countess Angellucci da Treja. At their houses were found a great number of watches, snuff boxes, jewels, &c., many of which have since been recognised as stolen property.

ROME.—It has been usual in the States of the Church for criminals condemned to death to be shot by soldiers. This species of punishment is henceforth to be abolished, the soldiers having, on a recent occasion, mutinied, declaring, that they would not be employed as executioners, unless in the case of their own comrades, condemned by a court-martial.

5. MYSTERIOUS FIRE AT SHOREDITCH CHURCH.—Between three and four o'clock on this morning, as the gravedigger of Shoreditch church was at work in the yard, preparing for the Sunday's interments, he observed a volume of smoke, accompanied by a strong smell of fire, issue from between the grating of one of the vaults underneath the principal aisle of the church; he instantly ran into the street, and with the assistance of a police-constable, gave an alarm. The keys of the church were procured from the churchwarden, and on entering it, the

whole body of the building was found to be filled with smoke. On descending to the vault in question, which has not been opened since 1804, eleven of the coffins were found to be on fire, and the outer parts so much consumed, that the leaden cases inside were completely melted. The fire was then extinguished without doing further injury. The origin of the fire is not known, but, it is concluded, that some combustible matter, in a state of ignition, must have been thrown into the vault through the grating.

6. Lord Munster.—The following letter appeared in the evening papers of this day:—

"Byam House, Brighton,
"Aug. 6, 1837.

"Sir,—May I beg of you, as the *John Bull* newspaper does not appear till Sunday, to correct an error the editor has fallen into, in a paragraph dated this day, respecting my appointment as Constable of the Castle of Windsor?

"It states—'*That hints were thrown out that if the Earl of Munster would accommodate his political feelings to the views and designs of the present ministers, he might still retain his office.*'

"In fairness to all parties, I beg to deny most explicitly that any hints were thrown out—that any conditions, political or otherwise, were offered, or that any exist—while, on the contrary, I received an intimation I was to kiss hands on the Friday, even before I had heard from or seen lord Melbourne, who had evinced an immediate desire to correct the mistake the moment it was pointed out, through the kindness of his royal highness the duke of Sussex.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant, Munster."

The facts, we believe, are simply these:—Lord Munster, soon after the death of William the Fourth, waited upon the Queen, to tender to her his baton as constable of Windsor Castle, which her majesty, not then apprised of the nature of the office, or of the circumstances in which his lordship had been appointed to it, did not immediately restore to him.

7. Distress in Paisley. — A public meeting was held at the King's Head, Poultry, to institute a public subscription for the relief of the weavers of Paisley, who have suffered great privations during the last four weeks. Mr. Alderman Pirie was called to the chair, on the motion of Mr. Hastie, M.P., and having briefly stated the objects of the meeting, introduced the rev. Dr. Burns, and other members of a deputation sent from Paisley, to make known to the sympathising people of London the severe distress in the former town. Dr. Burns stated, that 14,000 men, generally engaged in the weaving of fancy goods, had been for four months deprived of employment, and that the funds collected for their relief among their townsmen were totally exhausted. The winter season was approaching, when their sufferings would be still more severe. It cost 120*l.* per day to to keep these peaceable and well-disposed men from absolute starvation, and the society established in Paisley for their relief had already contracted a debt of 800*l.* Under these circumstances, he confidently appealed to the sympathy of the meeting. Several other gentlemen made similar statements, and before the meeting separated, a subscription was entered into in the room, and a reso-

lution agreed to, that an appeal should be made to the public at large.

8. Distressing Case of Suicide.—An investigation was taken in the committee-room of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on view of the body of George Stewart, aged sixty years, who committed suicide. Mrs. Eliza Adams, of No. 4, Pitman's buildings, City-road, stated, that the deceased and his wife and son had lodged in her house for the last three months; the deceased had been very poorly for the last three weeks, so much so, that he was confined to his room. On one occasion, the wife of the deceased told witness, in his presence, that he had attempted to throw himself into the water butt. At another time the deceased, while in conversation with witness, said, "I am determined to destroy myself, and if I cannot do it one way, I will another, but I think I shall throw myself into the water butt." He was composed and collected when he said this. Witness reasoned seriously with him, and told him he ought to wait until it pleased God to call him, but he replied, "I cannot wait, my suffering is so great." This conversation took place a few days before he destroyed himself. On Monday morning last, witness was informed that he had cut his throat.

Mr. Alfred Hannington, assistant to Mr. Broackes, of Regent-place, City-road, surgeon, stated, that he had attended the deceased for the last three weeks for acute inflammation of the lungs; he was in so bad a state that nothing could be done for him. Mr. Tuck, house-surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, stated, that he attended the deceased on his being brought into the hospital, and found he had a wound in his throat about four inches long; he seemed to have lost a large quantity of blood; the deceased said, that he had done the act himself with a razor, and that he would sooner die than live; on a *post mortem* examination of the body, witness found that the deceased had been suffering under a disease of the heart of long standing. The jury then consulted together, and, after some time, the foreman came forward and said, that he and his brother jurors were of opinion, that the deceased had destroyed himself in a fit of temporary insanity, brought on by intense suffering.

10. Summer Assizes.—Gloucester.—John Beard, a fine-looking middle-aged man, who was a merchant of Gloucester, and also a member of the Society of Friends, was charged with having uttered a bill of exchange for 200*l.*, with a forged acceptance of Mr. John Woodman upon it, well knowing the acceptance to have been forged.—Mr. Thomas Andrews: I am a cashier in the National Provincial Bank at Gloucester. The prisoner kept an account at that bank. On the 5th of December he came to the bank, and paid in an acceptance for 200*l.*, and desired it to be placed to the credit of "Beard and Herbert." It was endorsed by the prisoner. Across the bill was written, "Accepted, payable, at Spooner, Attwood, and Co.'s, bankers, London. John Woodman."—Mr. John Woodman: I know the prisoner. The acceptance on this bill is not in my hand-writing, and I did not authorise any person to accept it.—Cross-examined: I have known the prisoner eight years, and have had money transactions with him.

The prisoner was a coal and timber merchant in Gloucester, and he also imported slates. When I first knew him, he was a person of property residing on his own estate. He was, during all the time I have known him, a man of the highest respectability. I was partner with him in the hat manufactory. I did not always know what the acceptances were for, as I depended on his honour. — Examined by the learned judge: My intimacy with the prisoner had never broken off. He might have drawn on me without apprising me of it; but if such a thing occurred, it must have been five or six years ago. Whether from any circumstances of our dealing, the prisoner considered he had a right to accept in my name, I can hardly answer. I had never before paid any bill on which he had written my name. Mr. Price addressed the jury for the prisoner, and submitted that there was no intent to defraud; and that from the intimacy which subsisted between the prisoner, and Mr. Woodman, he considered that he was authorised to use his name. — Mr. Justice Coleridge summed up the evidence, and the jury retired for about five minutes, and then returned a verdict of Guilty, with a recommendation to mercy, on the ground of the intimacy of the parties.—Mr. Justice Coleridge sentenced the prisoner to be transported for life, observing, that he had no discretion as to the punishment.

14. Murder and Suicide.—A most savage murder, afterwards followed by the suicide of the perpetrator, was committed at Cernay, on the 14th of August, at night, which caused much consternation among the population, little accustomed to such horrible circumstances. It appears, that there had existed for some time past a deadly hatred between two young men, not natives of the town, but who had both established themselves there a few years ago. One of them, named L., a professor of music, was married, and had a child; the other a M. C., was the son of a post-master of the place. The matter which caused this hatred between them was the honour of a family which C. pretended that L. had outraged in the person of a sister. Provocations to a duel had been exchanged for some time past, but without any results to the two parties themselves. Some time, however, had elapsed, and the frequent meetings which almost of necessity took place between them in so small a town, appeared to have blunted the feelings of hatred and projects of vengeance secretly meditated by M. C. against M. L. On the 14th they passed the evening together in a café, when after having taken, between themselves and some friends, liqueurs and champagne, they engaged together in a game in which it is stated, that M. L. gained about 100 crowns from M. C. The latter first quitted the café; M. L. also left the house at a later hour and alone, and turning down a little street he was assailed by an assassin, and fell dead to the ground, stabbed in nearly twenty places, and the assassin was C. The struggle must have been very violent, for L. was a much more muscular man than C., but being taken unawares and unarmed he was thrown down before he could defend himself. The number of stabs, however, which the victim had received in the front of his body, and the fact of four of his

fingers being nearly cut off, prove, that he did not yield up his life without a dreadful struggle. Some of the neighbours, awakened by the noise, arrived at the scene of the bloody rencontre, and found, lying by the mutilated body of L., a watch with a broken chain, which was subsequently discovered to be that of M. C. The gendarmerie having been informed of the transaction, proceeded the same night to the residence of the latter, who, with a single servant, occupied the house of his father, who had gone to Paris on business connected with the post-office. After several knocks had been given at the door, C., hearing the words, "Open, in the name of justice," pronounced from without, without a moment's delay quitted the bureau at which he was seated, occupied in writing; and the moment the servant, who had been informed by her master of the crime he had committed, opened the door, he drew out one of the pistols he was in the habit of keeping loaded in his bureau, and blew his brains out. He instantly fell dead into the arms of the gendarmes. A letter, found in the bureau, which he was in the act of writing when the officers arrived, and which he had not had time to finish, informed his father of the crime he had committed, to avenge, as he said, the honour of his family. "I am about to saddle my horse," he proceeded, "to save myself by flying to some foreign country, whence—" here his hand had dropped the pen to seize the pistol which completed the scene of carnage, which has thrown two respectable families into the greatest grief and distress.

Fires in London and Paris.—From an elaborate statement, published by Mr. Baddeley, it appears, that during the last year there were in London 564 fires, 126 alarms from chimneys; total, 690. The fires in Paris during the same period amounted to 191, alarms from chimneys, 1,352, total 1,543. The number of lives lost was, by a singular coincidence, fourteen, both in London and Paris. The firemen of Paris are greatly inferior to those of London, in respect to their machinery and equipments, but are noted for their numerical strength, and for the excellent state of dicipline in which they are maintained. The greatest number of fires in London has taken place in licensed victuallers' houses and in lodging-houses, being in the former thirty-six and the latter thirty-five. The next highest number has been in carpenters' shops, namely, twenty-six; and the next to those bookbinders, booksellers, and stationers, twenty. The greatest number of fires, seventy-two, has arisen from defective or ignited flues. As many as seventy-one conflagrations have originated from bed curtains catching fire. The month of December had the most fires, namely, fifty-eight; the month of August the fewest, thirty-five. In May there were fifty-seven; in July, fifty-five. With respect to the days of the week, fires seem pretty equally distributed: last year, there happened on Sunday, eighty; Monday, seventy-six; Tuesday, seventy-six; Wednesday, eighty-seven; Thursday, eighty; Friday, ninety-one; and Saturday, seventy-four. The greatest number of fires has broken out at ten o'clock at night, viz., fifty-eight; the least number at nine o'clock in the morning, viz. five.

14. Murder by an Idiot.—A painful sensation has been excited at Leeds by the murder of a

little boy, about three years and a half old, son of Mr. Webster, a pocket-book maker, of St. Alban's-street, Wade-lane. In the immediate vicinity of the street is an open piece of ground, where children are in the habit of meeting to play. About half-past six on the evening of the 14th the deceased child went there to play, and about eight he was found with his throat cut in a dreadful manner. The poor child lingered until the following afternoon, and then expired. It was some time before any clue could be obtained likely to lead to the discovery of the murderer, but by the exertions of the police, information was at length gained which led to the apprehension of Joseph Jeffgate, a youth of nineteen years of age, an idiot, who, it appears, was frequently teased by the children, and had been heard to declare, that he would murder all the little boys he met with. On the 16th an inquest was held on the body of the deceased. Joseph Jeffgate, the prisoner, was in the room during the whole examination. He had that peculiar expression of countenance characteristic of insanity. Elizabeth Marston, who lived as servant with Mr. Webster, stated, that the last time she saw the deceased alive was about half-past six on the 14th, when he said he was going out to play with some boys, which he was in the habit of doing without anybody going out with him. A little before eight her master sent her out to look for him. On inquiring of a woman if she had seen a little boy, she uttered a shriek, and said there was a child killed. Witness ran to the spot and found it was the little boy she was in search of. A table knife found in the coat pocket of the prisoner was produced; a part of the blade had been broken off, the remainder was about three inches long, and had marks of blood upon it. The jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against the prisoner, who has since been committed to York Castle. While confined in the court-house he attempted self-destruction by hanging himself, but was cut down in time to save his life.

16. Discovery of the Remains of a Subterranean Forest.—A few days since, the labourers who are excavating the *cloaca magna*, or common sewer, in High-street, St. Giles's, discovered just opposite the church two elm trees, in a high state of preservation, at a depth of about fifteen feet under the surface of the ground, lying completely across the part undergoing excavation, and being parallel to each other, though at a distance of several yards. They were obliged to be sawn through, and the pieces which were removed to the surface were each about nine feet long, and five in circumference. These trees are supposed to have belonged to a forest which once covered this and the surrounding district, and by reference to the parish registers and other books it has been found, that they must have lain in their recent situation upwards of 600 years. On examination the exhumed timber was found to be as sound as if it had been felled only a few months. The superincumbent strata were composed of common rubble, clay, and sand, the whole of which were remarkably dry to the above depth.

17. Desperate Attempt at Suicide.—This morning a man of genteel appearance went into the shop of Mr. Ashton, hairdres-

ser, Charlton-street, Islington, and requested him to lend him a razor for a few moments to shave off, as he said, some superfluous hairs that were growing on his upper lip. Mr. Ashton having frequently seen the man in his shop before had no hesitation in lending him the instrument; but at the same time offered the stranger his own services gratuitously to effect the object, which the other declined, observing, that it was a trifle which he could do himself in a minute. He then took the razor in his hand, and approached the looking-glass; but, instead of shaving, he pulled off a silk handkerchief from his neck and inflicted there a most desperate wound. Mr. Ashton was very much terrified, to find the unfortunate man standing against the wall bleeding profusely, and the razor in his hand covered with blood. He immediately attempted to stop the blood with a napkin, upon which the wounded man, aware of his intention, with a sudden and desperate effort, sprang from the chair and seized the razor, which he was again about to apply to his throat, when Mr. Ashton secured his arm, and for the moment prevented him. A desperate struggle ensued, in the course of which he made several attempts to cut Mr. Ashton with the weapon, who, at length overcome, was obliged to save himself by running into the back room and locking the door, disabled from renewing the attempt by several severe wounds in his hand. The stranger then drew the razor several times across his throat, and at one of them the effusion of blood was so great as to apparently suffocate him, and he dropped down inanimate. A surgeon having been summoned, he pronounced his wounds to be of a very dangerous nature. His name has been ascertained to be Saunders; he is a master carpenter of some property, but through a variety of adventitious circumstances he is now on the brink of insolvency. Some disagreement with his creditors is supposed to have incited him to make this suicidal attempt.

23. THAMES TUNNEL.—Another irruption of the river has taken place in these works. The following account of the breaking in of the water has been furnished by one of Mr. Brunel's assistants:—

"We were at work about two o'clock on Wednesday, when we found the water coming in faster than usual. At first, we observed a quantity of loose sand falling near the gallery, which changed to thin muddy drops. This convinced us, that the *stratum* in which the men were working was bad loose soil. The increase of water made it necessary to withdraw the men, which was done by a passage under the crown of the arch, made for their safety in case of accident. No injury was sustained by any of the men. I was not satisfied at the time of the real extent of the bad soil, and I ordered a boat to be brought with a rope of length sufficient to enable us to float to the shield. The boat was brought, but the rope attached to it, and by which we were to be hauled into the shaft, was shorter than we had ordered it. This deficiency probably saved our lives. We had not proceeded far in the boat when I perceived by the twinkling of the lights in the tunnel, and other indications of inundation, that the water came in with increased rapidity. I then

gave the signal to be hauled into the shaft, and had scarcely done so when I observed the ground above give way, and the water descending in a thousand streams, like a cascade, or the falls of Niagara. We were rescued, but had the rope by which we were rescued from our perilous situation, been of a length to allow the boat to go to the extremity of the tunnel, in all probability we should have been drowned. This happened about four o'clock, and soon after five the tunnel was entirely filled. No lives were lost. The only injury done is a suspension of the works. The steam engine, when the leak is stopped, will throw out a tun of water per minute, and in three days and nights the whole of the tunnel may be pumped dry."

24. THE MARQUIS OF WATERFORD — BERGEN. — The well-known Marquis of Waterford arrived here last week on board his handsome yacht. In our streets he attempted to play the pranks by which he has acquired a very equivocal reputation in the United Kingdom, but unhappily encountered a watchman who is one of the most vigorous of our guardians of the night, and a blow of whose staff felled the marquis to the ground, whence he was taken up half dead.

30. ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A WIFE AND HER PARAMOUR. — BOULOGNE-SUR-MER.—Considerable excitement was created in this town yesterday morning in consequence of the following occurrence:—It appears, that for some time past Mons. Robeir Volant, the maitre des postes, residing at the termination of the Rue Royale, on the Paris road, has had some suspicion of the fidelity of his lady, whom he had long narrowly watched but without making the anticipated discovery. The suspected party was M. Genoux Courtenier, a married man, and an extensive and wealthy corn-merchant, residing in the Rue de l'Hospital, who had been observed to pay Madame Volant those attentions which were incompatible with propriety and decorum. The result of those attentions at length became so apparent (the injured party not having cohabited with his wife for the last eight months), that the husband hit upon the following expedient to arrive at the truth of his conjectures:—He pretended to his frail rib that he was under the necessity of proceeding to his father's at St. Omer, on most urgent business, and that he would be absent from home three or four days. He left Boulogne on Monday, and was bade adieu, in the most affectionate manner, by his young wife. He remained a short distance from the town until about three o'clock on the following morning, when, determined to be convinced of his wife's infidelity, and to punish her betrayer, he returned home armed with three pistols loaded with ball. Upon entering his chamber he there discovered Madame Volant and her paramour together. The first pistol he fired at his wife, which but slightly wounded her in the abdomen—the agitation of her husband prevented him taking the deadly aim he intended. The report awakened M. Courtenier, who thereupon flew to the window to escape. The second pistol aimed at the seducer flashed in the pan, and he was thus fortunately enabled to make his exit from the window in a whole skin,

"*sans* every thing," with the exception of his drawers, and took refuge in a neighbouring wine and beer house, where he procured some clothes to enable him to return to his own residence, in the Rue de l'Hospital. The report of the pistol alarmed one of the postillions, who slept in the house, and who entered the room just in time to arrest the arm of the excited husband, who had raised the third pistol to his head, with the intention of blowing out his own brains. An alarm being given, the police immediately repaired to the spot, and a *proces verbal* of the affair was drawn up by the commissaire, who took possession of the whole of the apparel left behind by M. Courtenier. The husband was removed to the house of a friend in the greatest anxiety of mind; his frail partner was sent home to her parents, and the gay Lothario is *non est inventus*. The brother of the seducer was to have been married to a lady of high respectability and great beauty, but in consequence of this unfortunate affair, the ceremony has been postponed, and it is feared will be entirely broken off.

Monsieur and Madame Volant have been married about two years. Shortly after his marriage M. Volant entered into partnership with the destroyer of his happiness and the seducer of his wife, M. Courtenier, and they have since carried on a very flourishing and prosperous business as corn-dealers. Not long since Madame Volant went to Paris for a short time, where, it is supposed, she did not lead the most quiet and virtuous life. On her return she complained of serious indisposition, and a separation of beds consequently took place; but at this period not the slightest suspicions were entertained by her husband of her guilt. She is a woman of high spirit, and of a temper not the most gentle. Upon her friends being apprised of the disgraceful affair, they refused to give her shelter under their roof, and she was compelled to abide at the house of her husband until she is sufficiently recovered from her wound to be sent permanently away. The wound is more severe than was at first imagined, the ball having entered near the groin, and passed out through the ribs. She is under the care of Dr. Dunand, and is doing well. The husband, who is at present residing at his uncle's, has not seen her since the lamentable affair occurred. A divorce will be immediately sued for by the husband, and a dissolution of partnership between Volant and Courtenier is about to take place.

The office which M. Volant holds is that of Directeur des Postes des Chevaux, or Postmaster General of Horses between Boulogne and Paris—a government appointment of great importance and profit; and for the due and efficient discharge of his duties he is under a bond of 75,000 francs, binding himself always to have ready, when called upon, 200 horses for the use of the state. His number, however, greatly exceeds that, and he is considered one of the most affluent postmasters in the north of France.

31. The Marquis of Waterford's Fracas at Bergen.—Christiana, Aug. 31. — Mr. Fietxentz, master of police at Bergen, has sent into the department of justice and police a copy of an examination made in the chamber of police at Bergen, on

the 14th inst., at the request of the British Consul, in consequence of a complaint lodged by the friends of the Marquis of Waterford, of the pleasure yacht Charlotte, from London, belonging to the royal yacht squadron.—The first witness examined was the watchman, Brynild Larsen Hamre, forty-four years of age, who deposed, that while on his post at the Halvkand Height, at eleven o'clock in the evening of the 11th instant, he had heard loud vociferations down in the New-way. On the side of the hill he met a woman with a man's hat on, and by her side a man without a hat. Hearing that the man, who was dressed in a white smock-frock, was a stranger, he (the watchman) ordered the woman to be quiet. They paid no attention to his remonstrance, and the stranger stooped, lifted up a stone, and advanced towards him. He wished to make the stranger incapable of mischief by giving him a smart blow on the right arm; but, as the latter stooped at the moment to catch hold of him, the blow unintentionally came upon the head, and the stranger fell.—The fire officer on duty, Mr. Albert Mohn, a merchant, said he had come up on hearing the blow given, and seeing a man fall. The watchman appeared to him to be sober, but the Englishman seemed to be intoxicated. The morning star used on this occasion was a stick with an iron spike at one end, and a bullet at the other; it was the latter end that the watchman struck, and the bullet was broken off by the blow.—Anne Catherine Uldenhoft, twenty-three years of age, resided with two other girls at the public house of Hoffett, in Nostest. After eleven o'clock in the evening, on the 11th instant, six or seven Englishmen came to the house, and one of them had gone out with her to take a walk over the New-way. He had put his hat on her head before leaving the house. He took a bottle out of his pocket and put it to his mouth, but observing that the cork was still in it, he burst into a loud laugh. At that moment the watchman came up, abused them for making a noise, and, with his morning star, struck the Englishman on his back, at which the latter laughed louder than before. They then went over the Halvkands Height, passing the watchman, but, as the Englishman continued to laugh out aloud, she was not able to get away from him until the watchman came up and struck him a blow, which threw him on the ground.—Dr. A. Heiberg, town-physician, deposed on the 16th, that the blow had fallen on the right temple, and had inflicted a wound which had pierced to the bone. A considerable swelling and discolouring of the skin ensued subsequently, extending over the whole temple and eyelid. Nearer to the cranium were two superficial wounds of no importance. The blow must have been struck with extraordinary force, and had occasioned so severe a concussion of the brain that the marquis's life was still in danger. On the back there was no mark of a blow having been given; but on the loins there is a round blue spot of the size of a dollar, evidently occasioned by some external act of violence. The farther examination was then adjourned till his lordship's recovery. The last accounts from Bergen are to the 24th instant, when he was getting

better, and was considered out of danger.

SEPTEMBER.

3. The Cholera at Rome.—Letters from Rome, of the 3rd instant, give a deplorable account of the cholera, which, however, had proved less severe in the last two or three days. It had reached Albano, Gensano, Frescati ; and to the north of Rome, it had spread as far as Viterbo, Narni, and Perrugia. Some of our countrymen were shut up in some of those towns ; amongst others, Mr. and Mrs. Jerningham, who were at Albano. All the other towns had established quarantines of fourteen days, and so terrified were the people everywhere, that when the Bavarian minister, who was at Albano, went to Rome upon business, he was fumigated from head to foot. Among the persons of note who had died of the cholera were the old Princess Chigi, the old Princess Massimo, the Duke of Fiano, and Monseigneur A. A. Chigi ; the Duchess of Fiano was also dying. All classes had been attacked, and many nuns of the convent of the Trinita del Monte had fallen victims to that destructive malady. The Princess Chigi would, perhaps, have escaped but for her imprudence ; the day she died she got very angry at not seeing a melon upon her table ; one was immediately procured, and she ate of it abundantly ; in the evening she went to the house of a friend to play at cards, came home, and died in a few hours. She, as well as the Princess Massimo, was carried to her grave in a common cart, drawn by six galley slaves. The Jesuits were most active in visiting the sick, and Lord Clifford was a zealous participator in the charitable task. The wealthier classes have distributed large sums to the poor, and the Princes Piombino and Borghese and Duke Torlonia alone had given a hundred thousand crowns. Lady Clare was amongst those who could not leave the country. The worst day was the 25th day of August, when the deaths amounted to 300.

In Rome, according to the *Diario*, there were on the 29th ult., 336 new cases of cholera, and 217 deaths ; and on the 30th, 357 new cases, and 211 deaths. Among the most recent victims are named the Duke of Fiano and Count Virginio Cenic Bolognetti. The reports from all parts of Sicily, according to the same authority, were favourable. In Palermo the cholera seemed to have entirely ceased, no new cases occurring. Many of the inhabitants have completely secluded themselves from all communication with those outside of their own houses, and in others, strangers are only admitted, after having submitted to a most pestiferous fumigation. The futility of these precautions is shown in the case of the papal palace of the Quirinal, where the strictest precautions had been taken to avoid all communication from without, and where, nevertheless, several cases of cholera have occurred.

Letters from Malta to the 15th ult., received by the way of Trieste, describe the cholera as rapidly declining, though, on the preceding day, there had been no less than twenty deaths.

5. Collision of Steamers.—This morning the Apollo, a steamer of about 120 tons, devoted

solely to the conveyance of passengers, was coming up the river on her way from Yarmouth to London, with twenty-five persons besides her crew, on board, when she was met by the Monarch, a Leith packet, on her way down, in Northfleet Hope, and, while rounding the point, a dreadful collision took place, by which the Apollo, being the smaller body, suffered, and soon went down. When the two vessels met, it was about three o'clock, and the night was very dark and hazy, the tide being nearly at its height; and, when the crash took place, the affrighted passengers, all of whom were below in their berths, and a majority of them asleep, were aroused, and rushed on deck, believing their doom was fixed, and the shouts of the men and their cries for help, mingled with the cries and shrieks of the females, formed a scene of terrific confusion. The passengers in the Monarch were soon quieted, and it was ascertained that she had received very little damage by the concussion. She proceeded immediately alongside the Apollo, which filled rapidly, and took her passengers and crew on board, when it was ascertained that all were saved except the stewardess and two children. In ten minutes afterwards, the Apollo disappeared; she went down in deep water. The Monarch remained close to her until daylight, when the Newcastle, a towing steamer, hove in sight, and the Apollo's passengers were transferred to her, and conveyed to London, where they did not arrive until ten o'clock, and the anxious inquirers assembled at the wharf, ascertained the real extent of the calamity.

It appears that the Monarch lft the Brunswick Steam Packet Wharf on the morning of the 5th with goods and passengers; and from the statement made by Mr. George Rooke her pilot, who has the reputation of being a very skilful and careful man, she proceeded very cautiously at half speed only down the river, owing to the darkness of the night and the haziness of the weather. Captain Bain the master of the Monarch, was stationed on one paddle box, and Mr. Rooke the pilot on the other, and a good look out, it is asserted by the latter, was kept ahead by men placed in the bows. There were two strong lights hoisted aboard the Monarch, one at the mast head, a large illuminating light, and the other at her stern. In this manner the Monarch proceeded as far as Northfleet Hope, and when off Grays, in rounding the point, the Apollo was first seen, bearing towards her in the same direction; she was within a very short distance of the Monarch, and Mr. Rooke states, that the order to ease and stop the engines was immediately given. The collision, however, which is described by all parties as a most fearful one, took place, the Monarch striking the starboard bow just before the fore rigging. The Monarch rebounded with the shock, and in order to prevent her going right over the Apollo, the engines were reversed, and she afterwards went alongside and took the passengers out.

The captain and crew of the Apollo persist that no sufficient look out was kept on board the Monarch, and that men stationed on the larboard and starboard bows hailed her to bear away, long before she came up to the Apollo, and that no notice was taken of

their cries, nor was the vessel eased until she ran into them.

7. Murder and Adultery.—On the 7th of April last, died at Mende, in the department of the Lozere, in France, one Etienne Rouquette, an agent for procuring substitutes in the army. Public opinion immediately attributed his death to poison, and without hesitation pointed out as authors of the crime, the widow of the deceased and her paramour, Victor Almeras. On the body being opened, arsenic was found in the stomach. It appears, that Victor Almeras had arrived at Mende, a few months previously, to offer himself as a military substitute, and with that view had applied to Rouquette. The latter had received him into his house, in expectation of a favourable opportunity of placing his *protegé*. From this domestic arrangement, arose a guilty intercourse between Almeras and the wife of his host. About a month before the death of Rouquette, the other inhabitants of the house were disturbed by a violent uproar in his kitchen. Madame Rouch hastened to the scene, and had the greatest difficulty in parting Rouquette, his wife, and Almeras, who were fighting. Rouquette then went down to the room of Rouch, whom he told that his wife and Almeras had been doing all that they could to make him drunk; that as he had already entertained some suspicions, he had feigned intoxication, and had thus become the witness of a scene which had excited him to the violent conduct of which he had been guilty. After this scene, however, Almeras continued to reside in the family of Rouquette, who either wished to hide his domestic disgrace, or was unwilling to lose the chance of being repaid the expense at which he had been in maintaining the young soldier. Not long before the death of Rouquette, his wife had said to a girl of the name of Marguerite Marcon, "You know they forced me to marry Rouquette, but I'll not live long with him; sooner or later I will poison him." Thereupon she asked Marguerite to buy some poison for her, a request which she vainly repeated several times, without ever concealing the use she intended to make of it. In the month of March, Rouquette had a violent attack of cholic, but soon recovered. On the 2nd of April, after eating some rice soup, which he soon threw up again, he felt himself suddenly ill, but did not allow this to prevent him from going out on the following day. On the succeeding day, he was decidedly worse, and took some warm *tisanes* which his wife had prepared, and which were given him sometimes by her, and sometimes by Almeras. Almost always after having drunk, he vomited. During the illness of her husband, the wife did not forget her own pecuniary interests, but asked him whether he would not make his will. On the afternoon of the same day, she said to Madame Rouch, "The wretch' ll not die of it. It would take less to kill the ass of a poor man." During the night from the 6th to the 7th, a girl of the name of Floret entered Rouquette's chamber. Rouquette had just asked for some drink, and his wife, turning to Almeras, asked, "From which pot did you take it—from the big one? Did you put any of the stuff in the paper into it?" Almeras then went down into the kitchen; Madame Rouquette fol-

lowed shortly afterwards, and was some time before she returned with the *tisane*. On the following day, at ten in the morning; Rouquette expired.

All the charges detailed in the indictment were sufficiently proved during the course of the trial, which occupied two days and a night.—The jury remained out of court for about an hour, when they returned a verdict of Guilty against Elizabeth Renouard, the widow of Rouquette, but acquitted Victor Almeras. The existence of *extenuating circumstances* having been admitted by the jury, the widow Rouquette, was condemned to hard labour for life, and to be exposed in the pillory.—At the moment when Victor Almeras was ordered to be set at liberty, and an eternal barrier was raised between him and the guilty woman, she was observed to sob bitterly.

The crowd assembled at the trial seemed to manifest dissatisfaction with the sentence pronounced, as an insufficient expiation of a crime, perseveringly committed, during four days and four nights, though her extreme youth, and total want of education, may be supposed to have excited the compassion of her judges, and made them unwilling to inflict the extreme penalty of the law. The dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the department with the mildness of the sentence, appears to have proceeded from the multitude of atrocious murders committed in the Lozere, within the last few years; and an idea has become prevalent there, that their frequent repetition is owing to the circumstance, that in none of these instances has the criminal been put to death. It is not long, since another woman, of the name of Razin, was convicted of poisoning her husband; a man of the name of Lamande of murdering a young girl to whom he had been appointed guardian; and a man named Carlat and his wife, though convicted of parricide, were condemned to hard labour for life, because the jury had admitted the existence of *extenuating circumstances*. The consequence has been, the prevalence of an opinion among the country people, that the punishment of death has been abolished. The woman Carlat; before killing her father, is known to have said that the penalty of death had been done away with; and other criminals appear frequently to have made use of similar language.

9. MUTINY AND MURDER AT SEA.—A mutiny, accompanied with massacre, has taken place on board the British ship Fanny, Capt. M'Kay, master, formerly sailing from London, The ship left Chunuroo Bay for Lintin, on the 17th of August, 1836, with a mixed crew of Europeans, Manilla cunnies, and Lascars. On the same night, the Manilla men, who had entered into a conspiracy to take the vessel and murder the captain, officers and Europeans, rose upon them, aad first despatched the unfortunate commander with their knives, and threw his body overboard. The villains then murdered the Europeans, who were surprised and overpowered. The mutineers took possession of the Fanny, and took her to the north coast of Luconia, and there, after plundering the vessel, sunk her. Captain M'Kay had spent many years at sea, and was about to return to this country with upwards of 50,000*l.* he had amassed by his

own exertions. At the time the Fanny was cut off, there was specie on board to the amount of 100,000 dollars, and this it is supposed excited the cupidity of the men to murder the captain and officers, and seize the ship.

13. Suspicious Case of Alleged Suicide.—This evening, an inquest was held at the Gunmakers' Arms public house in Bow Common lane, Stepney, on the body of Harriet Hughes, a fine young woman twenty years of age, which had been taken out of the Regent's Canal on Sunday night last.

John Watson of Cobman's court Spitalfields, deposed, that he had kept company with the deceased for about two years, and used frequently to see her. On that day week he walked out with her, and while going along the canal at the very spot where she was found, he directed her attention to the bubbling on the water, caused by the small fish rising to the surface, when she said she would come there some night herself and jump in, as it was such a pretty place to die. On Sunday evening he called at the house of her master, in company with two other young men, and she walked with them to a public house, where they had a pot of ale. While there, she cried, and appeared very low spirited, but would not tell him the cause. He subsequently saw her home, and left her at the house of her master, in Berners-street, at about half past ten o'clock, and that was the last time he saw her alive.

Juror: Has such an intercourse taken place between you and the deceased as might lead to her pregnancy?—Witness: Not at all, Sir, and I am certain she was not pregnant, as she did not keep company with, or go out with any body but me.—Juror: Did you promise her marriage?—Witness: Yes, I told her I'd marry her in five months.—Coroner: Well, what did she say to that?—Witness: Why, she said I never should be hers.

Mr. Johnson, a plumber at Bow said, that on Sunday night, at about a quarter to eleven, as he, his wife and son, were returning home across the Ben Jonson fields, he, on approaching the canal, heard a kind of moan in the water, and at the same time saw a young man, dressed in a dark frock coat and white pantaloons, standing close to the water on the foot path. Witness saw the deceased rise to the surface of the water, about the centre of the canal, and throw her arms about, but sunk almost immediately; and this time the young man he had before alluded to, went away in a hurried manner. Witness gave an alarm, the drags were procured, and the body got out in about half an hour.

The jury returned a verdict of "Found drowned," thereby leaving the case open to further investigation, in case anything should be discovered to lead to the criminality of the young man before alluded to, whose conduct was so suspicious.

14. Extraordinary Surgical Operation.—On the 22nd of last month, a single woman, named Frances Manley, aged 39 years, was admitted into Lambeth poor-house, in an advanced state of pregnancy, for the purpose of being passed in the usual way to her parish, Sevenoaks, in Kent. Upon being visited by Mr. Bryant, the parish surgeon, he found it would

be a matter of impossibility, from the mal-formation of the patient, that her accouchement could take place in the ordinary course of nature. A consultation of five surgeons was held, and it was ultimately decided that she should undergo the Cæsarean section. The operation was most skilfully performed, by Mr. Bryant, his assistant (Mr. Osborne), and three other surgeons, in three minutes, on Wednesday last. The unfortunate woman went through the dreadful trial with wonderful fortitude, but expired in three hours. The child is a remarkably fine boy. It is alive and doing well. This is the fourth operation of the kind performed in England.

Sanguinary Duel.—The following account of an "affair of honour," which we extract from the *Brownville Banner*, an American paper, gives no very flattering picture of Transatlantic civilization :—" For some time past, a slight misunderstanding had existed between Mr. Henry W. Anderson, of Bolivar, and Mr. Richard M. Jones, merchant, of this place. Near the close of the week, Anderson came to Brownville, and, according to custom placed his name on the hotel register. Shortly afterwards, he discovered a remark immediately under his name, impugning his character, and bearing the signature of R. H. Jones. He then wrote a reply, attaching his proper signature. On Monday morning last, at an early hour, Mr. Jones called at the hotel, and seeing the appended remark, became much enraged and declared he would have satisfaction. He walked to the door of a store into which Mr. Anderson had just entered, and called to him to come out. He complied; when Mr. Jones demanded of him whether he had written the remark alluded to above or not. Mr. Anderson answered in the affirmative, at which moment, each resorted to a pistol, standing about four feet apart; in an instant, they fired simultaneously, making but one report. Mr. Jones's ball lodged in the muzzle of his adversary's pistol, and the contents of Mr. Anderson's pistol (three balls) lodged in Mr. Jones's breast, over the right nipple. He expired in two or three hours, leaving a wife and two or three children. Mr. Anderson submitted immediately to the civil authorities, and was discharged. Upon examination, it was found that it was a misunderstanding, and if the parties had only conversed together on the subject, no difficulty would have ensued. Thus, by entering precipitately and prematurely into strict measures, have we lost a respectable citizen, and poignant regret has been driven to the heart of another—while a tender wife and infant babes, have witnessed the flowing of blood and dying groans of him who was to them most dear on earth."

14. Destructive Fire in the Strand. — Three lives lost.—Shortly after four o'clock this morning, the neighbourhood of the Strand and Adelphi was alarmed by a cry of " fire " raised by a chimney sweep who happened to be passing, and who discovered flames rushing out at the windows of the house, of Mr. Harris, who kept an India rubber and shell shop, The instant the alarm was given by the sweep, several police constables came to the spot, and having sprung their rattles, with little delay procured all the assistance within call. The flames were,

however, in the mean time making the most alarming progress, and the materials of which the house was constructed, (old lath and plaster) threatened soon to become one vast mass of fire. The people who had assembled were busied in various ways in attempting to afford some assistance to the inmates, whose perilous situation was manifest from the oldness and combustible nature of this, as well as several of the adjoining houses. At length a servant girl appeared at the second floor window in a dreadful state of alarm, crying to the firemen, "Oh, the child! my master and his child!" Her master, Mr. Harris, also appeared in a few seconds, at the window, but at that time there were no ladders nor fire escapes of any kind, and the poor girl soon disappeared from the window, and was never afterwards seen alive. Several persons called to them to jump out, but this they appeared afraid to do; and it is believed, that the unfortunate Mr. Harris was surprised by the flames breaking in upon him before he had time to make his escape towards the back part of the premises.

15. Lord Melbourne and the Queen.—The following extraordinary fact, (for the truth of which, of course, we do not vouch) was told by Major Cumming Bruce at the Conservative dinner given to him and Mr. M'Kenzie jun., of Scatwell, at Forres: — Major Cumming Bruce said, he rose not only to tell a tale, but to crave a bumper. The circumstance alluded to by the chairman was not a tale, but a fact. Lord Melbourne the prime minister, in the course of his official duty, lately waited upon the Queen at Windsor. After the business was concluded, the noble Lord said, there was a subject which he felt called upon to press upon her Majesty's attention. It was, whether there was any individual for whom her Majesty entertained such a preference that she might wish to have associated with her in the cares of that sovereignty with which Providence had blessed her. The Queen, no doubt felt a little surprised at the question, she requested to know if it was as a minister of the crown and as a matter of state policy, that he asked the question; for if it was she would endeavour to give him an answer. His Lordship replied, that under no other circumstances would he have presumed to put such a question to her Majesty. "Then," said the Queen, "there is one individual for whom I entertain a decided preference, and that individual is the Duke of Wellington." "Gentlemen," added Major Cumming Bruce, "I leave you to figure the length of Lord Melbourne's face on receiving this answer. For the correctness of the statement I give the guarantee of my name."

Romance in Real Life.—An event had taken place at the shop of a respectable watchmaker at Liverpool, which had nearly been attended with a tragical result. A young lady had, it appears, for a long period, received visits from the gentleman in question. She either had, or concluded she had, reason for believing that the consummation would be matrimony. Suddenly, however, and as the lady avers, without any reason assigned, the gentleman discontinued his visits. She repeatedly called at his shop, and requested to see him, but either by accident or design, her wishes in this respect were frustrated. Last Mon-

day week she called at the shop, where she found the gentleman. She asked him if he intended to call at her house. He said no, he did not intend to call any more. At that moment she placed her hand in her pocket, and he heard the click of a pistol-lock. The sound was that of placing the weapon on full cock. She drew the pistol from her pocket, and he rushed towards her and seized it with the intention of disarming her. A struggle ensued during which the pistol went off. The ball entered the young man's leg, just above the knee, and shattered the bone in a most dreadful manner. She immediately threw away another pistol and rushed from the shop. The young man took up the pistol which she had thrown away, and, on examining it found it to be loaded with ball. An application was made to the magistrates last week for a summons against the lady, and the case was heard this day. The young man is in a very precarious state, and was so ill from the effects of his wound, that it was found expedient to have the case heard in the office of the magistrates' clerks. The above facts were stated, and the young woman was bound over to keep the peace for twelve months.

20. Rome.—The cholera is rapidly on the decline. On the 31st ult. the deaths were 241 ; and on the 13th of September, the deaths were 44 ; and on the 15th, the deaths were 30.

24. Dover.—Extensive Forgeries. — This morning more than usual degree of interest was created here, arising from its being known, that a young man who drove his coach and four, was to be finally examined on a charge of forgery. The accused, whose name is Henry Brooks, about twenty-four years of age, was examined before the mayor, William Cock, Esq., and several magistrates, and ultimately was fully committed for trial.

From the facts adduced in the examination, it appears, that the prisoner for some years past had lived as clerk to his uncle, of the Strand, London, who, in partnership with some other gentlemen, carried on the business of an extensive glass manufacturer, and which situation he left three months ago. On that occasion, he went to Mr. Edmonds, silversmith, residing at Charing-cross, and presented a check for 25*l*., signed "John Smith," and drawn upon Drummond and Co. He reached Mr. Edmonds's just after the banking-house had closed, when he stated, that the firm was short of change, and he would be obliged to Mr. Edmonds to cash it. Knowing the high respectability of the house of Messrs. Brooks and Co., Mr. Edmonds cashed the check. The same system he practised on Mr. Goodchilds, glass manufacturer and hop merchant, of the Borough, from whom he obtained 25*l*. From a tradesman in Gerrard-street, Soho, he procured 35*l*., as well as from several other persons who were in the habit of transacting business with his uncle, until his forgeries amounted to nearly 400*l*.

On the above discoveries being made, information was given to Goddard, one of the officers of Bow-street, who, after great exertion, succeeded in tracing out the prisoner, who had been travelling about under the assumed name of Beauclerk, and had represented himself as belonging to the family

of the duke of St. Alban's. To carry on the deception, he wore the undress of a naval captain, and under this assumed name, he remained at Waite's hotel, Milton, near Gravesend, for three or four weeks, accompanied by a young and fashionably dressed woman, about twenty-seven years of age, who, since the apprehension of the prisoner, states her name to be Beresford. While they were there, they were seen daily driving about in a carriage, or in a post chaise.

On the 20th, the prisoner called at the mansion of lady Darnley; he afterwards went to the Bull Inn, and there partook of a luncheon, on which occasion he stated himself to be the brother of the marquess of Waterford, and that he was going off to the Continent. He then left the Bull, and, in the course of a short time, he was again observed to pass the place in a carriage and four, driven by two postillions, and accompanied by a lady; they changed horses at the Red Lion, Ospringe, when it was intimated to the persons about the inn that his lordship had run away with a rich heiress. This affair of gallantry of the *soi disant* noble lord spread like wildfire along the line of route, and when the carriage arrived at the Rose Inn, Canterbury, between three and four hundred persons assembled to catch a glimpse of the runaway fair. After stopping about ten minutes at the Rose, they proceeded to Dover, and the prisoner took up his residence at the Ship Hotel, and commenced living in a most magnificent style. On the following morning, he desired Mr. Worthington, the proprietor, to order him a travelling chariot and four, as unexpected business called him to London. In the meantime, a letter was sent to Mr. Thistleton, a tradesman at Dover, to give the prisoner into custody, if he attempted to obtain any money. While the carriage was getting ready, the prisoner went to Mr. Thistleton, and begged of him to change a check for 50*l*., at the same time presenting one signed Henry Beauclerk, drawn upon Coutts and Co. Instead of obtaining the money, he was handed over to the custody of a constable immediately, examined, and remanded. In the course of an hour and a half after his apprehension, Goddard arrived in a post-chaise and four, when, finding that the prisoner had not been searched, he proceeded to the gaol, where he found him lying asleep on a bed; on the table were three cigars, a lighted candle, and a decanter containing a pint of sherry. He was immediately taken into custody, and Goddard then proceeded to the Ship, and seeing Mrs. Beresford, obtained from her some money which belonged to the prisoner, arising out of the produce of his forgeries; the lady, at the same time, packed up her jewellery, which was of considerable value, and started immediately for London by the mail.

OCTOBER.

2. A singular, but melancholy discovery has been made this week in the village of Buttington, near Pool, Montgomeryshire. In digging the foundation for a school-house, near the church, the workmen's labours were interrupted by the discovery of immense quantities of human skulls huddled together in holes, with other bones

of the human frame scattered around, to the amount of several cart-loads. Ninety skulls were taken from one hole, and upwards of 300 are ranged in grisly show in the church. In many the teeth are perfect, having belonged to men in the prime of life.

3. The Royal Stud. — This extensive stud, about which so much has been said and written during the last six or eight weeks, came to the hammer to-day in the Hampton-court paddocks, having excited extraordinary interest both at home and abroad. The stallions excited a great interest. The first put up was the Colonel, who was bought of the hon. E. Petre, after winning the St. Leger, for 4000 guineas; he broke down at Ascot in 1831, after running a dead heat with Mouche; and it is a proof of the excellence of George IV.'s judgment, that when he first saw him after his purchase, he pointed out the leg in which he would fail; he fetched 1150 guineas, being 400 or 500 guineas less than was expected; he is the sire of Cobham, winner of the Two-year old Stakes at Doncaster, of D'Egville, winner of the Prendergast Stakes last week, and of many other winners. Actæon, bought of lord Kelburn for 1000 guineas, remains in England for the present, but is expected to go to Russia. He brought 920 guineas. The black Arabian, from the Imaum of Muscat, goes to Germany, and his bay companion to France; they brought excellent prices, the former 580, and the latter 410 guineas. The general produce of the sale, which surpassed the most sanguine expectations, was as follows:— Brood mares, 9568 guineas; colt foals, 1471 guineas; filly foals, 1112 guineas; the stallions and two half-bred colts, 3541 guineas, total; 15,692 guineas.

Pauperism in Austria.—According to an account published officially by the Austrian government, 67,455 individuals were relieved as paupers in Vienna in the course of 1836. The population of the city is estimated at 356,000, consequently nearly one-fifth of the inhabitants of Vienna are paupers! The money expended for their relief amounted to a million and a half of florins.

Ravages of the Plague.— Accounts from an ecclesiastic at Constantinople give a frightful description of the plague, which has not for many years been so fatal to the Frank population as now. All family ties are dissolved by fear of the disorder. Parents forsake their children, children their parents; man and wife, brother and sister, shun each other when one is seized with this dreadful disease. Every one thinks of saving his own life; medical aid is not to be thought of; every one attacked by the plague implores those belonging to him to avoid him, and is left to despair. Strangers who have no house of their own fare the worst; they are driven without mercy from their lodgings, so that many of them, after some days' suffering, die in the open air. How mild does the cholera appear in comparison! We hope to be soon freed from it, especially as we have the finest autumnal weather, and the air is purer. A solemn mass has already been performed in the church of the Magdalene for those who have fallen victims to the disorder, and it is in contemplation soon to perform *Te Deum* for our entire delivery from this scourge.—*German paper.*

4. Coroner's Inquest.—This afternoon, an inquest was held in the Board-room of the University College Hospital, on view of the body of Thomas Seymour, aged 11 years, whose death was caused by hydrophobia, brought on by the bite of a cat. Mrs. Catherine Bolland, deposed, that in the beginning of last July, she was sitting in her shop with some of her children, and the deceased lad was standing in the street near the door, when a strange black cat ran into the shop; it appeared in a rabid state. She desired her children and the deceased not to touch it, as she thought it was mad; a few minutes afterwards, the cat ran out of the shop into the parlour of Mr. Gollager's house, opposite, and then ran out again into the street, in a very wild manner; the deceased then attempted to lay hold of the animal, when it clung round the right wrist of the poor boy, fixing its teeth in the thick part of his thumb, where it hung a minute and a half, or two minutes. Several men came to the spot with sticks, and with some difficulty killed the animal; the deceased afterwards went home, and was brought to this hospital by his friends to have his wounds dressed. Mr. Watts, house surgeon of the hospital, stated, that the lad was admitted on Saturday, labouring under all the symptoms of hydrophobia. A consultation of all the medical officers took place as to the case, and everything was done, but notwithstanding, the symptoms increased; and the unfortunate youth, after great suffering, died on Sunday evening. The jury returned a verdict — "That the deceased died of hydrophobia."

The Middle Classes.—From documents submitted to the British Association, at their late meeting, it appears, that the increase of carriages from 1820 to 1833 was one-fourth; armorial bearings, one third; and male-servants, one-third. With respect to those articles, which indicate the condition of the middle classes, the consumption of tea had increased twenty-four per cent; and of coffee 136 per cent; stage-coaches had doubled, and so had the consumption of textile fabrics. The deposits in savings banks had been greatly increased in the agricultural districts; and in the manufacturing districts, the number of the depositors, and the amount of deposits had both increased one-third; while the increase of population was only one-eleventh. The decennial increase of population in the five greatest of our manufacturing towns averages forty-two per cent; while the increase in the nation generally is only eleven per cent; and for London twenty per cent.

10. Love and Murder. — It has been remarked, by statistical writers, that a fine season in France, augments the number of crimes committed through love and jealousy. Daily instances confirm the inference. The following example of this deliberate mania is given in the *National* of the 11th. On the 10th instant, one of the omnibusses plying on the Neuilly road from Paris, set down at Port Maillot a young man, about twenty-five, and a female somewhat younger. After taking a walk for an hour or two in the Bois de Boulogne, they entered a neighbouring restaurateur's and ordered breakfast. After serving it, the waiter heard the man,

in a vehement voice, charging the female with infidelity, and immediately after was startled by the discharge of fire-arms. He called the two gensd'armes always stationed at the Port de Maillot, and all three entering the apartment, together, found the young woman bathed in blood on the floor. The criminal, roused by their sudden appearance, seized a remaining undischarged pistol, as if to defend himself, but, taking advantage of their momentary hesitation, applied it to his mouth, and blew out his brains. He died instantly, and nothing being found on his person to indicate his name or address, his body was carried to La Morgue. The girl, who still breathed, was conveyed to the hospital of Beaujon.

11. An inquest was held in the committee-room of the workhouse at Tottenham, Middlesex, on the body of Miss Ann Cooper, a highly-respectable young lady, aged 22, who was visiting at a friend's in Hackney, and who met her death under the following circumstances :—

Thomas Vaughan, jun., examined :—I was going down the fields about three o'clock on Saturday afternoon to milk the cows in the marsh ; I passed close by the deceased, who was sitting near the cistern of one of the locks, called Edmonton-lock, in the river Lea. She had a drawing-book, and a parasol in her hand, and was eating something as I passed. In about a quarter of an hour afterwards, I had occasion to pass by her a second time, and I observed she was taking a sketch of the place. I saw her so engaged for nearly an hour, during which time I was milking, when all of a sudden I missed her from the spot. I looked round, and as I could not see her anywhere, I became alarmed, and ran to the place where she was, and I saw her drawing book, pencil, and parasol, lying on the ground, and the boa she wore, floating on the surface of the water. I ran to the nearest house, and a man returned with me to the place with a boat-hook. I afterwards procured the drags, and succeeded in finding the body within two or three yards of the place where she had been sitting. The deceased was in the water about three quarters of an hour, and when taken out, appeared to be quite dead ; she was, however, carried with all possible speed to this house, and every means were tried by Mr. Moore, the surgeon, to restore animation, but without effect. I was about sixty yards from the deceased, when she fell into the water. It was impossible for me to hear the splash, as the water makes such a noise running through the cracks of the lock. When I passed deceased, she was standing within a yard of the edge of the river.

A relative of the unfortunate young lady, who was present, stated, that the deceased was not subject to fits, or any other thing of the kind. Her mind was not in the slightest degree affected. She was highly accomplished, and of great personal attractions.

The Coroner having summed up, the jury returned a verdict of Accidental Death.

12. Discovery of Hidden Treasure.—A jury was impanelled at Lewisham, to inquire into the circumstances under which a considerable quantity of gold coin was found hidden in the ground in the neighbourhood. Mr. Maule, the treasury solicitor, attended on

behalf of the crown. The jury having inspected the coins, 420 in number, and which consisted of the "Unicorn of Charles 1st," and the "Broadpiece of James 1st," the Coroner proceeded to explain to the jury the Queen's right, under the law of treasure-trove, to property discovered under similar circumstances, to the present. Mr. George Walford, silversmith and jeweller, stated, that he attended on behalf of the crown, for the purpose of examining the coin in question, which he had done, and found it to weigh 118 ounces, one pennyweight, and one grain, the value of it being 454*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Charles Jordan, a labourer, stated, that on the 22nd of last February, he was digging in the garden of Mr. Forster, a solicitor, living at Southend, when he turned up two earthen pots, about four inches deep, and three inches wide, each of them being covered over with lead on the top, tied over with wire. On taking off the covering, he discovered them to contain the gold pieces now produced, and he nearly directly acquainted Mr. Forster of what had transpired, and delivered the treasure into his keeping. Mr. Carttar, addressing the jury, said, it appeared from the evidence of Jordan, the finder, that the treasure was discovered in a depth of eighteen inches below the surface of the soil. Hence it was clear, according to law, that it was to be deemed hidden treasure, or, as it was called in legal parlance, *treasure trove,* and consequently was the property of the crown; had the coins been found upon the surface of the ground, they would belong to the finder. The Coroner said, the honesty of Jordan was highly commendable. Several of the jury wished to present a memorial to the Treasury on behalf of Jordan. Mr. Maule said, that would be unnecessary, as government was always liberal on such occasions. The jury then returned a verdict of "Treasure-trove," and the coin was seized by the Coroner in the name of the Queen.

12. Death of the Queen of the Netherlands—The Hague, Oct. 12.—The royal family, and the whole country have this day been plunged in deep mourning by the death of her Majesty, the Queen, who, this afternoon, sunk under the effects of the malady from which she had long been suffering, and which, within the last few days, had assumed the most alarming symptoms. The loss of this princess, whose virtues and piety had long secured to her the love and esteem of the whole nation, will be a subject of very general grief; but, above all, the poor will have cause to deplore the bereavement of one, whose secret benefactions had made them look on her with almost filial affection. Her Majesty, Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina of Prussia, was born on the 18th of Nov., 1774, and had consequently nearly completed her 63rd year. She was a daughter of King Frederick William 2nd, and was married to the Prince of Orange, our present king, on the 1st. of Oct., 1791.

13. Ferocious Parricide.—A few days back at Belleville, near Paris, a young man named Guy, was committed to prison for stabbing his mother. The crime was aggravated by atrocious circumstances. Guy had forcibly robbed his mother on several occasions; and driven to desperation

by his spendthrift excesses, he, after supping with her on the previous evening, had required her to give him 50 francs which she informed him she had reserved to pay her rent on the next day. Having finally attempted to break open her secretaire, and she opposing it, he seized a table knife, and stabbed her in eleven places in the neck and bosom. Guy was taken to the watch house of the municipal guard of Belleville, amidst the execrations of the populace. His miserable parent still breathed, but without any chance of survival.

15. A coroner's jury assembled in the Board room of the North London Hospital, to inquire into the circumstances attending the death of James Chaplin, the shoemaker, who was stabbed at Hampstead by George Smith, a discharged soldier, on the previous Wednesday night. It appeared from the evidence that a party of soldiers were drinking at the Horse Shoe public house, High Street, Hampstead, on Wednesday evening. One of them, George Smith, had been that day discharged on account of mental imbecility; which, however, was suspected to have been partly assumed. Several other men, not soldiers, one of them being Chaplin, were drinking with the soldiers. A quarrel arose between this George Smith and another soldier, whom Smith called "a lobster;" they began to fight; when Chaplin suddenly leaped across the table, attacked Smith, and knocked him down. The landlord dragged Chaplin out of the room; but he soon after came in again; and George Smith, with his brother Richard, who was one of the soldiers, left the house Chaplin followed them asking why they did not pay for the beer, and swearing that he would "serve them out." It appeared, that George had ordered some beer which he did not pay for. Richard Smith had a bayonet, but George had no weapon. Chaplin was next seen by two men, who had been alarmed by his cries, lying on his back in Church Lane, with a bayonet wound in the groin. One of them asked him to get up; but he said, "My dear fellow I shall never get up—I must lie here and die." The two Smiths were seen running away; George Smith, with Richard's bloody bayonet in his hand. They were secured with difficulty by Joseph Bowers, a labourer, (who tripped up George Smith as he was running) and another man. Both the Smiths were drunk. Chaplin died next day: but before he died, he pointed out George Smith as the man who had stabbed him. When George was taken, his hand was cut and his nose was bleeding. The above are all the material facts; and the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder," against George Smith; Smith was afterwards tried for the fact and acquitted.

Suicide of a Murderer.—Ann Colley, who was tried at the last Stafford assizes for murdering her three children, and who was detained in custody during her Majesty's pleasure, destroyed herself in the county gaol, in a fit of insanity, on Thursday. On the preceding day, her husband visited her, and very incautiously gave her a locket, containing portions of the hair of the murdered children. This appears to have pro-

duced great agitation and excitement, which continued throughout the day and night with slight interruption, and terminated in her hanging herself.

17. Royal Marriage at Paris.—The marriage of the Princess Marie and Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, was solemnized at nine o'clock on Tuesday night at Trianon. The royal family dined in private, but a table of forty covers was laid in the grand gallery. After dinner, the court went into one of the saloons, where the chancellor in full robes, read the civil contract. The assemblage consisted of the King and Queen, their Majesties of Belgium, the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, Mme. Adelaide, the royal bride and bridegroom, the Princess Clementine, the Dukes d'Aumale and de Montpensier, Prince Paul of Wirtemberg, Prince Alexander's cousin, and Prince Ernest, his brother, the household of their Majesties, and the princes, and all the ministers. After the signatures to the civil contract had been affixed, the party entered the new chapel at Trianon, built by king Louis Philippe, where the Bishop of Versailles, after an impressive and affecting discourse, pronounced the nuptial benediction; he was supported by the Abbé Gallard, Bishop of Meaux, and the Abbe Guillon, Bishop of Morocco. The marriage ceremony, according to the Protestant Church, was performed by M. Cuvier. The Queen and Princesses were very simply dressed, but the bride was resplendent with diamonds and other jewels, and her dignified, graceful and modest demeanour, excited universal admiration. The King will remain there till about the 24th, when the royal family will come to the Tuileries for the winter, and the Prince and Princess of Wirtemberg will afterwards take their departure for Stutgard.

19. Henry Palmer a fashionably dressed young man, was brought before the Birmingham magistrates, accused of having passed a number of fictitious bills of exchange, purporting to be drawn by the Sheerness and Queenborough bank and the Flintshire District Banking Company, (no such banks being in existence) on the London and Westminster Bank. It is said that Palmer is only one of a gang who are carrying on such fraudulent practices to a great extent. He was remanded. Two other members of the gang, by name Jones and Roberts, have since been taken in an attempt to pass the same bills; the first in Manchester, the other in Liverpool.

20. At the Liverpool police office on Saturday, George Darwell, who had for some years been a confidential clerk of Mr. Wostenholme, a cotton broker, was examined on a charge of embezzling sums of money belonging to his employer, to the amount of 8,200*l*. He had stolen this money at various times, and given it to a former paramour,—Frances Maclean, a coarse large woman of forty, who, it appeared, had inveigled him into this course of rascality. Frances Maclean and Richard Maclean, a relation of the woman, were also remanded as accomplices of the chief delinquent. Darwell is fifty years of age. A singularity of the case is, that he had preserved regular entries of the sums paid to the woman from time to time. The money had

been partly vested in the purchase of houses, and in the manufacture of bricks.

25. ELECTION LIBEL. — The Court of Common Pleas was occupied with the trial of an action for libel, brought by Mr. Easthope, M.P. and one of the proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle*, against Mr. Charles Molloy West macott, registered proprietor of the *Age*. The damages were laid at 2,000*l*. Counsel for the plaintiff, Mr. Sergeant Wilde, Mr. M. D. Hill, and Mr. Erskine Perry; for the defendant, Sir William Follett, Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Addison. The libel was contained in the following passage of a fictitious letter, which pretended to be an electioneering address to the voters of Lewes.

"To sum up. I am a friend to liberty in its fullest and most comprehensive, indeed, I may say, in an exclusive and peculiar sense. I am for giving a man the liberty of not paying gratuitously his debts, especially those of honour; and I will put a case in illustration. Suppose a man, a member of the Stock Exchange, is a defaulter to a heavy amount; he implores a friend, in order to save his character and credit, to lend him — say 6,000*l*. The friend complies and his credit is saved. I am of opinion that the borrower has no right to acknowledge the debt, and may deny the obligation, and defy the duped saviour of his character and credit to recover the amount of his loan. This, I make no doubt, you will think is going pretty far; but if you will inquire at the Stock Exchange you will find I have not thrown the hatchet.

"In conclusion, I have a share in a newspaper, am a stockjobber, know what Parliament is, and can do the right trick. Prove, therefore, your *independence*, and return, the ejected and rejected most honest,

"JOHN EASTHOPE."

The defendant pleaded the general issue, and also put in a special plea of justification; which, however, imputed dishonourable conduct to Mr. Easthope in *another* transaction and was declared by the Court to be altogether irrelevant.

In stating the case of the plaintiff to the jury, Mr. Sergeant Wilde detailed the particulars of the transaction referred to in the libel. Mr. Easthope was formerly a stockbroker, in partnership with a Mr. Allen: on the expiration of the partnership in 1831, accounts long open were to be settled, and Mr. Allen claimed a considerable sum as a balance due from Mr. Easthope to the concern; an arrangement was entered into by the parties, satisfactory to Mr. Allen; Mr. Easthope giving security for the payment of 2,375*l*. to Mr. Allen; that sum and another of equal amount were in due time paid to Mr. Allen, in discharge of all claims. Subsequently, however, Mr. Allen wished the partnership account to be re-examined, and called upon Mr. Easthope for a further sum; Mr. Easthope demurred to this. Mr. Allen wished the books to be referred to a committee of the Stock Exchange; which Mr. Easthope very reasonably objected to; but, rather than allow the concerns of the persons who had employed him, and who, of course relied on his secrecy, to be exhibited, he gave Mr. Allen a check for 4,000*l*.; and thus got rid of every species of claim upon him.

To this statement the defendant had nothing to reply. Sir William Follett admitted its truth; and could only say, that his client was smarting under a personal attack in the *Morning Chronicle* when he wrote the libel. The plea of justification was withdrawn; and Mr. Easthope having completely rebutted the calumny, consented to take nominal damages,—at the same time expressing his regret that any personal attack should have been made on the defendant in the *Chronicle;* it was altogether without his knowledge or sanction, and he would have disapproved of it if he had seen it before publication. A verdict with 40*s.* damages was then given against Mr. Westmacott.

27. Assault.—At the Middlesex Sessions, Mr. John Newman, a barrister, was charged with a violent assault on Mr. Richard Samuel White, an old gentleman, and father of a lady who had rejected Mr. Newman's addresses. Newman had attacked Mr. White in the street and struck him several times with a heavy stick; one of the blows cut his hat in two. At the same time Newman called him a liar, hypocrite, tyrant, and coward. A good deal of correspondence between Mr. White, Miss White, and the prisoner, was read in Court. It appears that there was no just cause of offence to Newman given by the father, and that Miss White had behaved with great propriety. The conduct of the prisoner during the trial was most outrageous. The chairman told him that the most ignorant prisoner at the bar never behaved worse. Newman gave the lie repeatedly to Mr. Clarkson, who was the prosecutor's counsel, and insisted upon going into a number of irrelevant details, distressing to Mr. White and his daughter. He fully admitted the assault and the abusive language; and the Court sentenced him to a month's imprisonment, a fine of 50*l.*, and to give security for keeping the peace, himself in 200*l.* and two sureties in 100*l.* each. The trial lasted thirteen hours.

28. New Houses of Parliament.—The first contracts for the commencement of the works were entered into the beginning of last month, and are the most important in regard to construction. They comprehend the formation of an embankment, 886 feet in length, projecting into the river ninety-eight feet before the present embankment; the front will be in a line with the inner side of the third pier of Westminster-bridge, in four feet of water at low water; the whole to be surrounded by a river wall, thirty feet high from the base, and 1,141 feet in length, with a curvilinear batten and faced with granite; a terrace 673 feet long next the river, and thirty-five feet wide, is to be formed in the front of the new houses, with an esplanade at each end 100 feet square, and landing stairs from the river twelve feet wide. The foundation wall of the front of the new building, the length of the terrace, and thirty feet high, is included in the contract, as is also the whole surface of the front building, which is to be excavated and filled in with concrete twelve feet thick, forming a permanent and solid foundation for the superstructure; and a coffer dam is to be made surrounding the works 1,236 feet long, and ten feet wide, before they can be commenced.

Loss of the Steam-packet

HOME, AND FROM EIGHTY TO -NINETY LIVES. — A very deep sensation was produced in New York on October 18, by the receipt of intelligence that the new steam-packet Home, which left this port on Saturday, the 7th inst., for Charleston, was lost on Monday evening following, near Ocracoke, N.C., with most of the persons on board. All the afternoon and evening the bulletins were crowded with readers, many of whom were seeking to ascertain the fate of relatives and friends. The annexed letter from the captain of the Home, to her owner, which has been furnished us for publication, gives a brief statement of the disaster, and its melancholy consequences. Out of about 130 persons on board, including forty-five belonging to the boat, it appears that not above forty have escaped :—

"Ocracoke, N.C.

"Dear Sir,—I have now the painful duty of informing you of the total loss of the steam-packet Home, and the lives of most of the passengers and crew. There can be very little saved from the wreck. We had a heavy gale of wind after leaving New York, from N.E. The boat sprung a leak a little to the northward of Hatteras ; at first we were able to pump the water out as fast as it came in, but the leak soon increased, so that it gained very fast on us. We scuttled the cabin floor, and all hands, passengers, gentlemen, and ladies, commenced baling with buckets, kettles, &c., but the water soon came up to the furnaces, and put the fires out, and we were obliged to run under sails only. By the time we came to the shore the water was over the cabin-floors ; we ran her head on but, owing to her having so much water in, she stopped in the outward breakers. The first sea that came after she struck stove the weather quarter boat, and all the houses on the deck were stove in ; and twenty-five minutes after she struck she was all to pieces, and I suppose about eighty souls were drowned. Both mates, all three of the engineers, and James B. Allaire are lost. Most of the passengers saved have lost nearly all their baggage. I have lost every thing; have nothing but one pair of pantaloons, and a shirt that I had on when I was washed ashore. In haste, yours respectfully,

"CARLETON WHITE."

NOVEMBER.

1. Intelligence has reached London of the total loss of the ship Colonist, by fire, at the Motherbank, off Portsmouth. The vessel, which was bound to Barbadoes, left the London Dock on Wednesday morning, and arrived at Portsmouth on the following night, where she cast anchor. On the following morning, about eight o'clock, while the crew were employed aloft bending sails, the ship was discovered to be on fire. The flames suddenly burst forth from all the hatches at once ; the wind was blowing fresh from the south-west, and in a few minutes the vessel was in a blaze from stem to stern. The ship's boats were lowered ; and the people below were quickly aroused ; but the crew and passengers were saved with much difficulty, many of the latter in a state of nudity. So rapid was the progress of the

flames, that it was impossible to save any property from below. Captain Smith, the commander of the Colonist, in his letter to Messrs. T. Daniell and Son, the owners of the vessel, states, that the origin of the fire was unknown, but was supposed to have been caused by the ignition of some part of the cargo. He narrowly escaped with his life in attending to his passengers. A lady and three children had a miraculous escape. The smoke was so thick that they were unable to ascend from the cabin; and the mate courageously descended, with a rope about his body, and brought them up, with a cash and jewel-box of very great value. The Colonist was a ship of about 500 tons burden, and had been several years in the West India trade. Her cargo consisted chiefly of plantation stores. The loss is estimated at 60,000*l*. The owners, a wealthy firm in Mincing Lane, are partly insured.

3. ANOTHER ACCIDENT AT THE THAMES TUNNEL.—At a few minutes before four o'clock, this morning (it being then nearly high water), a sudden irruption of the river took place and filled the tunnel. Every necessary precaution had been previously taken to secure the retreat of the workmen in case of any accident taking place; but, unfortunately, on calling over their names, one of the miners was found missing, and upon inquiry being made of his fellow-workmen, it was ascertained, that he was last seen returning to the shield, instead of attending to the orders which had been then given for all the men to ascend the shaft, and which was safely effected by about seventy other individuals.

5. A BRAHMIN BECOME A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.—Baboo Krishna Mohuna Banerja was ordained at the chapel of the Bishop's College by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. The Baboo is well known as having been a member of a high caste Brahmin family. He received his education at the Hindoo College, and was, in the first instance, engaged as a teacher of Mr. Hare's school. While there he started the *Enquirer*, which he conducted for a number of years with great ability. He subsequently became a convert to Christianity, of which he has ever since been a devoted follower.

7. EXTRAORDINARY CASE OF HOMICIDE AT NORWICH.—JUDGES' CHAMBERS, ROLLS'-GARDENS. — It will be in the recollection of our readers, that a Mr. Cooper, an attorney at Norwich, was, on the 10th of September last, arrested on the charge of wilfully shooting a man, named Cornelius Moor, on the highway, between the village of Calton and the city of Norwich, by discharging a loaded pistol at him from his gig, in which he was driving, accompanied by his clerk, named Thirkettle. The prisoner was subsequently charged with having also fired at a man, named Ford, near the same place, on the same evening, with intent to murder, or do him some grievous bodily harm. The death of Moore, under such peculiar circumstances, caused great excitement in Norwich. In some provincial papers, statements, which were copied into some of the London papers, were inserted, alleging or insinuating that the prisoner had entertained malice towards the unfortunate man, arising out of circumstances connected with

the Norwich election, the prisoner having been professionally engaged for the Conservative side, and the deceased having promised the Conservatives, and then voted for the Ministerialists. On the coroner's inquest the imputation of malice, or any preconceived design, was so completely negatived by the evidence, and more especially by the dying declaration of the unfortunate man, who, it appears, was quite unknown to the prisoner, that the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter, which so greatly excited the indignation of the populace, that they were with difficulty prevented from assaulting the jurymen on their leaving the inquest-room. There was also a hearing of the case before Mr. Preston, the recorder of Norwich, and another magistrate, and similar evidence having been given to that adduced on the coroner's inquest, the prisoner was committed to Norwich Castle on the *mittimus* of the magistrates, and also upon their warrant. A warrant of the mayor of Norwich was also lodged against him as a detainer, and he was confined in one of the felons' cells in the county gaol. Under an act passed in the 6th year of the late King's reign, which extends the power of the magistrates to bail in cases of felony, an application was made to the justices of Norfolk to bail him, and refused. Under these circumstances, counsel was instructed to apply to a judge of the Queen's Bench for an order to the Norfolk magistrates to admit the prisoner to bail. Accordingly, on this, Mr. Sydney Taylor attended at the judges' chambers, and applied for the order to admit the prisoner to bail, without the necessity of bringing him up to town for that purpose, by a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was accordingly granted.

9. The Queen's Visit to the City.—At the earliest dawn of day the avenues leading to St. James's Park were crowded by pedestrians, all pressing towards the New Palace; and long before the hour appointed for her Majesty's departure for Guildhall the Park was densely studded by a numerous, respectable, and anxious body of her Majesty's loyal subjects. Nothing could exceed the general good humour which pervaded the whole assembly. Precisely at two o'clock the first carriage in the procession emerged from the triumphal arch, and in due course was followed by the Royal State Carriage, in which sat the Queen, attended by the Mistress of the Robes and the Master of the Horse. Her Majesty wore a splendid pink satin robe, shot with silver, her hair encompassed with a splendid tiara; and looked remarkably well. Her approach was the signal for the most deafening and enthusiastic cheers (which her Majesty acknowledged most graciously), and which continued uninterruptedly during the whole progress of the procession. As the procession passed through the streets in the way to the city, the bells of the churches rang out a merry peal, and when the state carriage approached, the cheering, only partial before, became loud, cordial, and at last enthusiastic. The preparations made to welcome the royal visitor were many and various. The fronts of the houses on each side were hung with bright coloured cloths, with green boughs, and such flowers as the season affords. Devices of all sorts, in

coloured lamps, waiting the approach of evening to be lit up, were also displayed. Rows of national flags and heraldic banners were stretched across the Strand at several points, and busts and portraits of her Majesty were placed in conspicuous positions. Her Majesty, who looked in excellent health and spirits, acknowledged the greetings of her affectionate subjects in the most gracious manner. After the state carriage had passed, but little remained to excite the curiosity of the spectators, except the Duke of Wellington, who was most warmly cheered. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the other prelates who were invited to the banquet were loudly cheered by the King's College youths as they passed; and, with this exception, none of the tenants of the carriages which followed in the Queen's train received any tokens either of favour or disapprobation.

The crowd at Temple-bar had been immense, till about noon, when a strong body of police, and a detachment of life guards, cleared the way for the carriages of the guests. The aldermen, who had been accommodated with a room at Messrs. Child's banking-house, were joined by the lord mayor and sheriffs a little before two, and then they proceeded to mount their chargers, which were waiting for them in the Temple-yard. The horses were brought from the artillery barracks at Woolwich, and each was led by the soldier to which it belonged, in the capacity of groom. A few minutes before three, the approach of the queen was announced. The lord mayor dismounted, and, taking the city sword in his hand, stood on the south side of Temple-bar. As soon as the queen's carriage arrived within the gateway, it stopped; and then, unfortunately, it began to rain. The lord mayor delivered the keys of the city to the queen; which her majesty restored in the most gracious manner. At this time the multitude above, around, and below, from windows, scaffolding, roofs, and parapets, rent the air with acclamations. The lord mayor remounted, and, holding the city sword aloft, took his place immediately before the royal carriage; after which, the aldermen, members of the common council, and civic authorities, formed in procession.

Booths and hustings had been erected in the enclosure surrounding St. Paul's, for the accommodation of members of the different city companies, and the boys of Christ's Hospital. The royal carriage having stopped in the middle of the road opposite the cathedral gate, a platform was wheeled out, on which were Mr. Frederick Gifford Nash, senior scholar of Christ's Hospital, and the head master and treasurer. The scholar, in conformity with an old usage, delivered an address of congratulation to her majesty, concluding with an earnest prayer for her welfare. "God save the Queen" was then sung by the scholars, and a great part of the multitude. From this point nothing worthy of especial remark occurred till her majesty reached the Guildhall, except that the crowd in the streets had been somewhat diminished by the rain, and that the queen's welcome at the termination of her progress was more respectful than enthusiastic.

It was half-past three when the lord mayor assisted her majesty

to alight at the door of the Guild-hall The lady mayoress, who was waiting at the entrance, was presented by her husband; and the queen passed on to the royal reception-room, followed by the duchess of Sutherland and lord Albemarle.

The council chamber had been fitted up for the royal reception-room—

It was hung throughout with crimson fluted cloth, finished with gold mouldings and festoons of red and white flowers. The room was covered with a rich Brussels carpet with white medallions and chintz colouring. Upon the platform stood a chair of state splendidly gilt, and covered with crimson velvet.

From the reception-room the queen went to the retiring-room, attended by the duchess of Kent, the duchess of Gloucester, and the duchess of Cambridge.

It was beautifully decorated with fluting, ornamented with festoons of rope. The floor was covered with a crimson and gold carpet, and the curtains were of striped crimson silk. The cornices were thickly gilt, and the apartment was lighted up with a cut glass chandelier. In the recess was a magnificent toilet table, covered with white satin, embroidered with the initials "V. R.," a crown and wreath in gold, and looped with gold silk rope and tassels.

In about twenty minutes, the queen entered the drawing room, when the chief guests were assembled. Here the address of the city of London was read by the recorder, and a suitable reply given by the queen.

At twenty minutes past five, dinner was announced; and the queen, preceded by the lord mayor and lady mayoress, and conducted by the lord chamberlain "in respectful silence," descended into the hall, where the banquet was prepared.

The hall, usually so dingy and dirty, was converted into a most magnificent banqueting room, brilliantly illuminated; decorated with crimson cloth and silk, with flags, and banners, and armour on the walls. On entering the hall, the first object which attracted attention was the throne.

It was placed upon a raised platform at the east end of the hall. It was surmounted by an entablature with the letters "V. R." supporting the royal crown and cushion. In the front was an external valance of crimson velvet, richly laced and trimmed with tassels. The back fluting was composed of white satin, relieved with the royal arms in gold. The curtains were of crimson velvet, trimmed with lace, and lined with crimson silk. The canopy was composed of crimson velvet, with radiated centre of white satin, enamelled with gold, forming a gold ray, from which the centre of satin diverged. A valance of crimson velvet, laced with gold, depended from the canopy, which was intersected with cornucopiæ, introducing the rose, thistle, and shamrock, in white velvet. Beneath this splendid canopy was placed the state chair, which was richly carved and gilt, and ornamented with the royal arms and crown, including the rose, thistle, and shamrock, in crimson velvet. Its proportions were tastefully and judiciously diminished to a size that should, in some sort, correspond with the slight and elegant figure of the young sove-

reign for whom it was provided. The platform on which the throne stood was covered with ermine and gold carpeting of the richest description; and the steps and passage by which the throne was approached were covered with materials of a scarcely less costly description. In front of the throne was placed the royal table, extending the whole width of the platform. It was thirty-four feet long and eight wide; and was covered with a cloth of the most exquisite damask, trimmed with gold lace and fringe. The sides and front of the platform were decked with a profusion of the rarest plants and shrubs.

The portion of the hall appropriated to the throne and royal table was elevated one foot nine inches above the level of the hall; and a large mirror, twelve feet long and ten feet wide, at each side of the throne, reflected the brilliant and crowded scene at the western termination.

From the bottom of the platform on which the throne and royal table stood, four long tables extended nearly half way down the hall. At these tables sat the lord mayor and lady mayoress, the foreign ambassadors, the nobility, the aldermen, and a few of the members of the court of common council. The royal avenue leading to the throne was in the middle, having two of the tables on each side.

The queen took her seat on the throne amidst the acclamations of the company. The lord mayor and lady mayoress took their station on either side of her majesty, but were almost immediately ordered to be seated. The queen's dress was of pink satin, very richly embroidered with silver; over her left shoulder was the riband of the order of the garter, with the George appended; on her head the queen had a splendid diamond circlet; she also wore diamond ear-rings, and had a stomacher of brilliants. At the royal table, were the dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, the duchesses of Kent, Gloucester, Cambridge, and Sutherland, Prince George of Cambridge, Princess Augusta of Cambridge, and the countess of Mulgrave. There were four other principal tables, at which were seated, without much regard, it would seem, to ordinary precedence, ministers of state and citizens, peers, bishops, and commoners, with now and then a lady.

After dinner, "Non nobis Domine" was sung; and then, preceded by a flourish of trumpets, the common crier advanced to the middle of the hall, and said, "The right honourable the lord mayor gives the health of our most gracious sovereign, queen Victoria." The company simultaneously rose, and drank the toast with enthusiasm. "God save the Queen" was sung; after which her majesty rose and bowed repeatedly, with extreme affability of manner. The common crier then shouted, "Her majesty gives the lord mayor, and prosperity to the city of London." Bishop's "When the wind blows" was then sung. The only other toast was, "The royal family," given by the lord mayor.

At half-past eight, her majesty's carriage was announced. Most of the principal guests left the hall at the same time.

The queen returned by the same route as in the morning, but not in state. In spite of the unpleasant weather, and the unusually dirty condition of the streets, the

crowd was still very great. On arriving at the end of Cheapside, her majesty was greeted with "God save the Queen," sung by many hundred voices, accompanied by a band of wind instruments. This was arranged by the Harmonic Society, who had obtained permission to occupy the galleries which had in the morning been appropriated to the scholars of the city of London schools. Along the entire route, till the royal carriages reached Marlborough House, her majesty was greeted with enthusiastic cheers; and the rain having ceased for a time, the illuminations, which were general along the whole line of her passage, appeared to great advantage.

DECEMBER.

3. MURDER.—Some time back, an old pensioner, of the name of William Bennet, was found murdered near the town of Hertford. Soon after, three men of the names of William Roach, Samuel Fletcher, and James Sams, were apprehended on suspicion of the murder, and committed to Hertford gaol, where they have since severally and voluntarily made the following confession. They have stated, that they knew the deceased man, Bennett, and that being aware that he was in the habit of coming to Hertford on a certain day, to receive his pension, they, with a man named Thomas Taylor, who is not in custody, laid a plan to meet him on his way home, and rob him. On the day of the murder, they ascertained, that he was coming to Hertford to get his money, and they watched him about all day, intending to follow him home at night. About four o'clock, they followed him into the Cold Bath public-house, at Hertford, where Roach entered into conversation with him, and ascertained, that he had got his money. Roach, Sams, and Taylor, then went out on the road they knew the deceased would go on his way home, while Fletcher remained behind in the public-house with the deceased, and waited until he set out on his return to his residence at Tewen, when Fletcher followed him, and joined his companions. The four then dogged him as far as Mr. Thornton's gate at Tewen, when Sams said, that he would not go any further with them, as he was well known in that part, and he was afraid he should be recognised. The others reproached him for being a coward, and pressed him to go on with them, but he refused, and remained behind. Roach, Taylor, and Fletcher, then went on after the deceased, it being at this time, about dusk, and they suddenly came behind him, and tripped him up, and fell upon him. He struggled with them, and succeeded in getting up, and he told them, that he knew them. After this, they again struggled with him, and got him down, and rifled his pockets of his money and his watch, and then Roach and Fletcher left him, and ran away. They were soon joined by Taylor, and they then went back to the place where they left Sams. They then divided the money, and Roach had 18*s*. and the deceased's watch for his share. The prisoners declared, that at this time they had not the least idea, that the man was killed. The prisoners all signed their respective statements.

4. Northern Circuit, York.—William Marshall was charged with the wilful murder of his son, William Marshall, at Ripon on Friday, the 16th of June last. There was also another indictment against the prisoner, for the murder of his infant daughter, Mary Marshall, at the same time.

The prisoner, upon being asked by the clerk, the usual question, "Are you guilty or not guilty?" refused to make any answer, and the trial was in consequence proceeded with, as if he had put in the latter plea.

The first witness, a neighbour of the prisoner, stated, that on the morning of the 10th of June, she saw the prisoner crouched down in the corner of a loft near his house, and that as soon as he perceived her, he rushed down the stairs, apparently in a state of distraction, and exclaimed, that he had murdered two of his children, his dear William, and his bairn. She was so frightened at his conduct, and at what he said, that she immediately ran into her own house, and having procured the assistance of a neighbour, the two went into that occupied by the prisoner, and seeing some marks of water upon the floor, they followed them into an upper room, where they found the deceased boy stripped naked, and laid out upon a bed, and his sister in a crib by his side. They were then both quite dead. The prisoner had always before this been a most kind and indulgent father; and was particularly fond of his children.

It was further stated, that he had formerly been of a very cheerful disposition; but that a great alteration had taken place in his character during the last three months; he became low in spirits and dejected, and appeared to be always musing upon something, and absorbed in thought, so that he scarcely ever spoke, and would not even answer a question when addressed. He had only returned from Oldham, whither he had been to place his eldest son at school, about a fortnight before the day on which the murder was committed, and he was then observed to be in particularly low spirits, and he seemed to have something on his mind which rendered him more desponding than usual. He was so abstracted, that he appeared to be insensible to whatever was passing around him, sometimes talking wildly in an incoherent manner, and at others remaining obstinately silent. Upon his recovery from this fit, he pressed his hands to his temples, and said, that "it all lay in his brain, he had had a very severe attack, and he did not know what would become of him." On the night before the murder, he had been seen nursing his infant child in apparently better spirits than usual, and his apprentice, who was called as a witness, said, that on the very morning on which the fatal act was committed, he had seen nothing remarkable in his manner; but, on the contrary, he went about his work, gave the children their breakfast, and conducted himself in every respect in a rational manner. He had been a good workman, but he seemed to have forgotten himself for the last three months; for, although he had always before cut out his own materials, he had during this period been obliged to send for his mis-

tress to do it for him, and whenever he had attempted to do it himself, he had spoiled whatever he was about.

The Judge, in summing up the evidence, put it to the jury, whether they would not be of opinion, that the fact of the prisoner's being to all appearance perfectly cool and collected, and in his ordinary state of mind before the commission of the murder, did not make rather in his favour than against him, since that very circumstance precluded the idea, that he was then in his right senses. If upon the consideration of all that they had heard, his previous good character, and the absence of all motive that could lead a sane man to the perpetration of such an offence, they came to the conclusion, that he was not in his right senses, they must return a verdict of acquittal; but if the case of his insanity did not seem to be sufficiently made out, they must find the prisoner guilty.

The jury retired for a short time, and upon their return, brought in a verdict of *acquittal.*

The Judge intimated, that the prisoner would be removed to some place, proper for the reception of persons in his condition, and that he should be detained during her Majesty's pleasure.

5. DREADFUL MURDER AND SUICIDE.—Penicuick was on this day, the scene of as awful a domestic tragedy as can well be conceived. It appears, that a person of the name of M'Kay had been paying his addresses to the eldest daughter of Mr. Andrew Laing, joiner, Silverburn, and having been rejected, determined to murder the girl. Accordingly, on the evening of the 5th, about ten o'clock, he proceeded to the house, armed with a loaded gun, and having, through the kitchen window, observed her sitting at the fire, knitting a stocking, he deliberately took aim, and fired at her. The ball shattered one of her arms, and passing through her lungs, lodged in her body. She lingered in great agony, till the forenoon of next day, when she expired. At first, it was not known, who had done the atrocious deed, though suspicion was not long in attaching to M'Kay, who, the girl said, had previously threatened to take her life, if she refused to marry him. Parties were accordingly despatched in all directions, in search of him; but nothing was heard of him till the afternoon, when his lifeless body was found at the back of Sir George Clerk's garden-wall, where he had blown out his brains with the gun with which he had but a few hours before, murdered his unfortunate victim.

Catharine Laing, daughter of Mr. Andrew Laing, the innocent victim in the above occurrence, was a girl remarked by all who knew her for a peculiar sweetness of character and demeanour. It would appear, that she had been for some years an object of devoted attachment to the unhappy youth, M'Kay, whose passion had so fatal an issue both to himself and to her. He had resided about seven years under her father's roof, was her brother's constant friend and companion, and was as much in her society as he could contrive to be. On her refusing his suit, a total change came over the poor young man: at first, his health was seriously affected, but the effect produced on his moral tempera-

ment was more decided and enduring. With a kindliness of feeling, which is, perhaps, one of the strongest proofs of the extreme goodness of her heart, Catherine had even consulted her mother, whether she should not rather give a reluctant consent to be his wife, as she feared her refusal would lead him to hurt himself; she owned she could not love him, but would rather outrage her own feelings, than he should suffer. Her own sufferings were intense from the moment she was wounded till her death (about 12 hours); but her latter end was peace; the last breath being spent in expressing her concern for her murderer, and praying that he might be forgiven. M'Kay seems to have delayed his determination in regard to himself, till he had ascertained the first fatal facts of this insane malice. He would appear to have spent the night on a tree close by a large pond in the Penicuick grounds; while there the narrator passed in search of him, but unfortunately did not observe him. About two o'clock, on Wednesday, however, he came down, armed with a gun and a pistol, both loaded. Meeting two of the gardeners, he asked eagerly, what news there were? On being told, that his victim was dead, he replied, that having taken one life, he must take his own also; and shortly after, applied the muzzle of the gun to his mouth, thereby blowing his head in pieces.

6. Colliery Explosion — Twenty-seven Lives Lost.—This day, a melancholy catastrophe ensued from an explosion of foul air at Springwell Colliery, near Wreckington, four miles from Newcastle. It occurred between nine and ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th inst., when, of twenty-nine men and boys at that part of the Hutton seam of coal where the blast took place, twenty-seven unfortunately perished, viz., fifteen men and twelve boys. Many of the men have left wives and large families.

Temperance Statistics.—We find in the *Statistical Journal* for the present month, an excellent article under the head of "Excise;" it is taken from the parliamentary documents, which, of course, afford the best materials that can be had on such subjects. After giving an exact account of the number of gallons of proof spirits, distinguishing each sort, on which the duty was paid for home consumption in each of the three countries; with the rate of duty per gallon, amount of duty, and the total of gallons, as of duty so returned in the United Kingdom for the year ending the 5th of January, 1837, as returned from the Excise-office in London in May last; upon this return the editor very justly remarks that it is very probable "many persons upon examining the foregoing tables will be struck with the small quantity comparatively of spirits consumed in England." "We know not," he continues, "whether the rum used in the navy and merchant vessels is supplied from the stock in hand, or from that on which duty has been paid; but if the latter, a considerable portion of the quantity set down to England must be deducted; but taking the figures as they stand, England consumes much less spirit, in proportion to its population, than either Scotland or Ireland. To make the

subject more clear, let us look at the amount of population, and the quantity consumed in each country—viz. :

	Population.	Galls. of Spirits.
England ..	13,897,187	12,341,238
Ireland ..	7,767,401	12,293,464
Scotland ..	2,365,114	6,767,715

Thus it appears that the quantity of spirits consumed in England is seven pints and one-ninth per head on the population ; in Scotland twenty-three pints per head ; and in Ireland rather more than thirteen pints per head per annum. Those who are accustomed to refer to the passion for ardent spirits as the fullest source of disorder and crime will, no doubt, be startled to find that in Scotland, where the people are, at least, as industrious and moral as any other part of this empire, the consumption of spirit is carried to a point that is absolutely astonishing.

8. Steam.—The project of steam communication with India through the Red Sea has been successfully accomplished, and is now in operation. The last communication was effected in forty-three days, including the stoppage at Alexandria. The following are the particulars : — "The Atalanta left Bombay on the 2nd of October, and arrived at Suez on the 16th of October, with the mail of September ; and at Alexandria on the 20th of October ; from whence the mail was dispatched by her Majesty's ship Volcano, on the 7th of November, and arrived at Malta on the 11th, and was despatched from Malta to Gibraltar by her Majesty's ship Fire-fly, on the 16th of November, and was due here on Monday, the 4th of December."

Pompeii.—The excavations of Pompeii have lately been prosecuted with much activity. Near the street of the tombs there have been found in the vestibule of a house four mosaic pillars, about fifteen feet high, in very good preservation. This is the first discovery of the kind, and if the interior of the house corresponds with this beginning, something valuable may be expected.

9. A Double Parricide.—On this day, Charles Refray appeared before the Court of Assizes of the department of Sarthe, in France, accused of having attempted to poison his father and mother, and of having, during the night of the 31st of July last, fired a musket at his parents, killing his father, and wounding his mother severely. The countenance of the prisoner is represented to have been calm, but there appeared to be some wildness in his looks. He took his place on the accused bench with apparent confidence, and conversed tranquilly with the gendarmes while the indictment was read. The first witnesses heard were four medical men, to whom the prisoner was known. They agreed in describing him to be subject to frequent epileptic fits, which, they believed, had had the effect of weakening his intelligence, without, however, destroying in him a sense of right and wrong. One of the physicians said, that in epileptic patients, there was a continual tendency to moral degradation ; all generous passions gradually became extinct in them, while they grew irritable and violent to an excessive degree. It appeared that he was scarcely a single night without having one or more attacks. The next wit-

ness called was a small landowner, of the name of Baudry. During the night of the 31st of July he heard a noise; he opened his window, and one of his neighbours said there had been cries of "murder" (*a l'assassin*). His garden joined that of Refray. They took a ladder to look into the courtyard. Immediately afterwards, they heard the report of a musket, followed by stifled cries. Madame Refray then called to them from the window—"If I go down stairs they'll murder me." The gendarmes thereupon arrived, and broke open the door of the kitchen with a ladder. On going up stairs, they found the elder Refray stretched on the ground and bathed in his blood, and his wife, who had been wounded, was walking in the room. They sought the assassin. On going down stairs the servant rushed, half distracted, out of a closet, in which she said the assassin had taken refuge. He was soon taken and disarmed by the gendarmes.

Prisoner: They did not take my gun from me. I gave it up of my own accord. What I have done I would do again. [Movement of horror.]

A multitude of witnesses were heard, without any further facts being elicited. It was evident that the mind of Refray had been weakened by the effects of his constitutional malady, but there was no ground for treating him as an insane person.

The jury after deliberating three quarters of an hour, declared Refray guilty of having killed his father, but admitted the existence of extenuating circumstances. He was in consequence condemned to hard labour for life. He manifested not the slightest emotion on hearing the sentence pronounced.

11. Fiscal Frauds.—A discovery has recently been made, that several large houses in the spirit trade have been for some time carrying on a system of smuggling with the connivance and aid of Custom-house officers. The *Globe* says, that the houses in question "have been in the constant habit of importing the finest brandies and other spirits from the Continent, which have, after gauging, been delivered to them upon the payment of the wine duty of *5s. 6d.*, instead of the proper spirit duty of *22s. 6d.* per gallon. An agent of the party recently received a consignment of six hogsheads of French brandy, which, by the negligence of some of the persons concerned, were landed in the Queen's warehouse on the ground floor of the Custom-house; and through this mistake the whole of the proceedings have been brought to light. On being admitted to entry as wine, one of the hogsheads was seized, having been found to contain brandy, and on closer inspection, a peculiarly constructed tube, of about six inches in diameter, was discovered fixed in the cask, reaching from the bung, and extending the depth of the cask, which tube was filled with wine, the remainder of the cask containing brandy; but the tube, in this instance, having leaked, the wine became mixed with the brandy, this circumstance led to the discovery and seizure by the gauging officer. Many seizures have been made in different parts of the city, and some Custom-house officers have been suspended.

22. Duncombe *v.* Daniel.—

The Court of Queen's Bench was occupied to-day and yesterday, with the trial of an action brought by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, M.P., against Mr. T. S. Daniel, a barrister, for a libel published by Mr. Daniel at the time of the last Finsbury election. Mr. Daniel, in a communication to the tory newspapers, charged Mr. Duncombe with having fraudulently obtained an injunction from the vice-chancellor, by false affidavits. to prevent a creditor from proceeding against him; and with defrauding another person, by a check which he knew would be dishonoured, having himself withdrawn the funds which he had stated would be at the bankers to meet it. The defendant pleaded the general issue, also a justification that the libel was true. Many witnesses were examined for plaintiff and defendant; Sir John Campbell addressed the jury for Mr. Duncombe, and Mr. Daniel was defended by Sir William Follett. Lord Denman charged the jury, to the effect that the accusation of fabricating affidavits was very rashly made, and that the justification on that point entirely failed. With reference to the dishonoured check, Lord Denman remarked, that although Sir John Campbell had made a long statement calculated to impress the minds of the jury, he had offered no evidence whatever on that point; a practice which Lord Denman condemned as most improper, and, as far as his knowledge extended, without precedent. The plea in justification of the defendant was, that the party to whom the check had been given was still a creditor of Mr. Duncombe; but as no proof of the fact had been adduced by the defendant, Mr. Duncombe was entitled to a verdict on that point also. Lord Denman left the question of damages to the jury; observing, that because Mr. Daniel was an elector, he was by no means entitled to libel a candidate; and that the circumstance of his being a chancery barrister, and therefore a person whose assertions would carry weight with them, should have rendered him particularly cautious in his statements. The jury deliberated about an hour, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with 100*l.* damages.

Mr. Duncombe has placed the 100*l.* in the hands of his committee, to be distributed among the charities of the borough of Finsbury.

26. A serious riot has taken place in the neighbourhood of Sheepshead and Loughborough, in Leicestershire. About four hundred men collected at the Sheepshead workhouse on Tuesday week, while Mr. Earp, the relieving-officer was distributing their allowance of bread to the inmates. They attacked the lad who brought the bread from the person who supplied it by contract. He drove off to Belton; the mob followed, and he took refuge in the yard of one of the guardians. They broke his cart in pieces, and threw the loaves into the street. Then they returned to Sheepshead; and their numbers being increased to about a thousand, they smashed the windows, and demolished the furniture of the workhouse. The constables, who interfered, were beaten off with stones. Mr. Dawson, a magistrate, and the persons who aided him in rescuing the relieving-officer, were severely

pelted. The military were sent for from Nottingham, but the rioters dispersed before their arrival. There is at present great distress among the workers in lace and hosiery in Leicestershire: according to the Loughborough paper, a very trying time has been selected for the introduction of the new poor-law into that district.

27. Heavy rain fell in the north of England during the early and middle part of last week. The roads, and many towns and villages were inundated; and some lives were lost, and much property was destroyed. Near Cheadle, three gentlemen belonging to Manchester had the narrowest possible escape for their lives, as a coach which they had hired to carry them home was caught in the great flood of Wednesday. The narrative of the hair-breadth escapes of these persons by "flood and field," appears miraculous. They were overtaken on the road by the heavy rains, and driven into a field, where the water immediately filled the coach. They requested of the driver to loose the horses, and ride to the nearest house for assistance. With the greatest difficulty he succeeded in doing so; but the persons sent to their rescue, although armed with ropes, dared not approach sufficiently near for fear of being themselves carried away. With great difficulty the gentlemen gained a large tree, where they were found some hours after by the driver, who had given them up for lost. The mail, after leaving Preston for Liverpool, was unable to proceed for a considerable time, as the horses could not oppose the violence of the storm. The inside of the coach was filled with water, and the passengers were obliged to get out to avoid drowning. A dog, which had been put into the boot for safety, was drowned. In Yorkshire the rains were equally heavy and alarming. At Bradford, the water in the Beck rose rapidly, and soon overspread the neighbouring banks. The consequence was, that in a short time the cellars, kitchens, and parlours of the houses in the lower part of the town were completely full. There was a large quantity of goods in the various shops destroyed or seriously injured. Several horses were drowned, and many persons narrowly escaped with their lives. In one instance three persons were drowned.

Bradford seems to have suffered more than any other place; but at Leeds the devastation was considerable; and at Manchester and Salford much damage was done to property, but no lives were lost.

28. The most destructive fire which has occurred for some time in the metropolis, broke out about half-past six on Thursday morning, in the premises called Davis's Wharf, on the Thames, nearly opposite the Tower. The flames were not got under until ten o'clock, notwithstanding the copious supply of water, and the exertions of about 1,000 firemen with their engines. Among the property destroyed were three vessels which were fixed in the mud, near the wharf, and could not be got off. The conflagration was caused by the bursting of a cask of oil, which had been set on fire by the candles of the men at work. The extent of the damage has been variously estimated at from 120,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*

29. About 800 persons, of both sexes, from the northern and western parishes of the metropolis, drank tea together in the two great public rooms of the Crown and Anchor tavern, in commemoration of the establishment of the West London Auxiliary Branch of the new British and Foreign Temperance Society. There was a good band of music in the gallery, and alternate festoons of banners and laurels ornamented the rooms. Each "teetotal" district was represented by a table, surrounded with brethren from that locality. The tickets, sold for 1*s.* 6*d.* each, entitled the purchaser to tea and coffee, and bread and butter; and those refreshments were given to every one *ad libitum*.

APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

LIST OF THE QUEEN'S MINISTERS.

Viscount Melbourne	*First Lord of the Treasury.*
Right hon. Thomas Spring Rice ..	*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
Lord Cottenham	*Lord Chancellor.*
Marquess of Lansdowne	*President of the Council.*
Lord Duncannon	*Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Land Revenue.*
Lord John Russell	*Secretary of State for the Home Dept.*
Viscount Palmerston	*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*
Lord Glenelg	*Secretary of State for the Colonies*
Earl of Minto	*First Lord of the Admiralty.*
Rt. hn. Sir John Cam Hobhouse ..	*President of the Board of Control.*
Lord Holland	*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*
Viscount Howick	*Secretary at War.*
Rt. hon. Charles Poulett Thomson	*President of the Board of Trade.*

*** *The above form the* CABINET.

Earl of Lichfield	*Postmaster-General.*
Rt. hn. Sir Richard H. Vivian, bt.	*Master General of the Ordnance.*
Marquess of Conyngham	*Lord Chamberlain.*
Duke of Argyll	*Lord Steward.*
Earl of Albemarle	*Master of the Horse.*
Marquess of Winchester	*Groom of the Stole.*
Lord Morpeth	*Chief Secretary for Ireland.*
Right hon. Sir Henry Parnell, bt.	*Paymaster General.*
Right hon. Henry Labouchere	*Master of the Mint and Vice President of the Board of Trade.*
Sir John Campbell, knt.	*Attorney-General.*
Sir Robert M. Rolfe, knt.	*Solicitor-General.*

IRELAND.

Earl of Mulgrave	*Lord-Lieutenant.*
Lord Plunkett	*Lord Chancellor.*
M. gen. Sir Edw. Blakeney	*Commander of the Forces.*
Stephen Woulfe, Esq.	*Attorney-General.*
Mazier Brady, Esq.	*Solicitor-General.*

GENERAL ELECTION.

STATEMENT of the results of the POLLS at the GENERAL ELECTION in 1837. The Members to whose Names are annexed the Capital Letters L or C (indicating the general tendency of their politics as Liberal or Conservative) are those returned for the respective Places. [*Those marked by an asterisk* (*) *were not in the late Parliament.*]

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Abingdon	T. Duffield		C
Andover	R. Etwall		L
	Sir J. W. Pollen		C
Anglesea	W. O. Stanley		L
Arundel	*Lord Fitzallan	176	L
	Lord D. Stuart	105	
Ashburton	C. Lushington	98	L
	— Browne	87	
Ashton	C. Hindley	234	L
	— Wood	201	
	L. Stephens	19	
Aylesbury	W. Rickford	865	C
	W. M. Praed	657	C
	Lord Nugent	540	
Banbury	H. W. Tancred	181	L
	Tawney	75	
Barnstaple ...	J. P. B. Chichester....	387	L
	*F. Hodgson	356	C
	— Best	348	
Bath	*Lord Powerscourt ..	1118	C
	*L. Bruges	1053	C
	J. A. Roebuck.....	976	
	General Palmer	929	
Beaumaris ...	F. Paget		L
Bedfordshire ..	Lord Alford		C
	Lord C. J. Russell....		L
Bedford	Captain Polhill	467	C
	*R. Stuart	419	C
	S. Crawley	412	
Berkshire	R. Palmer	2554	C
	*Lord Barrington	2359	C
	P. Pusey	2309	C
	C. East	1303	
Berwick	*W. Holmes	352	C
	*R. Hodgson	356	C
	Sir R. Donkin	326	
Beverley	J. W. Hogg	623	C
	*G. L. Fox	582	C
	— Clay	380	
	— Rennie.....	347	
Bewdley	*T. Winnington.....		L
Birmingham ..	T. Attwood	2169	L
	J. Scholefield	2132	L
	A. Stapylton.....	1044	
Blackburn	W. Fielden		C
	W. Turner		L
Bodmin	Major Vivian.....	200	L
	Sir S. Spry	130	C
	— Ellis.....	98	
Bolton.....	P. Ainsworth	616	L
	W. Bolling	607	C
	— Knowles	539	
Boston	J. S. Brownrigg	456	C
	*Sir J. Duke.....	439	L
	B. Handley.....	350	
	— Collett	155	
Bradford	E. C. Lister	640	L
	*W. Busfield senior ..	604	L
	J. Hardy.	444	
	W. Busfield.....	384	
Breconshire ..	Colonel Wood	1217	C
	J. G. Holford	570	
Brecon	C. M. Morgan.....	151	C
	— Lloyd	94	
Bridgnorth ...	T. C. Whitmore.....	429	C
	*H. Tracy.....	371	L
	R. Pigot.....	367	
Bridgewater ..	H. Broadwood.....		C
	*P. Courtenay.....		C
Bridport	H. Warburton.....	283	L
	*S. Jervis	232	L
	— Baillie	212	
Brighton	Captain Pechell	1092	L
	*Sir A. Dalrymple	828	C
	J. N. Wigney	811	
	G. Faithful	215	
Bristol	*P. Miles	3843	C
	*T. H. Berkeley	3206	L
	— Fripp.....	3153	
Bucks.....	Lord Chandos	2999	C
	Sir W. Young	2639	C
	G. V. Harcourt	2708	C
	G. Smith	2085	
Buckingham..	Sir T. Fremantle	235	C
	Sir H. Verney	156	L
	Sir J. Chetwode	138	
Bury	R. Walker.....	248	L
	J. P. Cobbett	106	
	Sergeant Spankie.....	92	
Bury St. Edm.	Earl Jermyn.....	277	C
	Lord C. Fitzroy	289	L
	C. J. Bunbury	275	
	— Calthorpe.....	248	
Calne	*Earl of Shelburne....		L

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Cambridgesh.	R. G. Towneley		L
	E. T. Yorke		C
	R. J. Eaton		C
Cambridge	T. S. Rice	685	L
	G. Pryme	675	L
	J. L. Knight	609	
	C. M. Sutton	595	
Cambridge University	H. Goulburn		C
	C. E. Law		C
Canterbury	Lord A. Conyngham	754	L
	*J. Bradshaw	759	C
	— Gipps	750	
	F. Villiers	692	
Cardiff	J. Nicholl		C
Cardigan	P. Pryse		L
Cardiganshire	Colonel Powell		C
Carlisle	P. Howard		L
	W. Marshall		L
Carmarthensh.	G. R. Trevor	2469	C
	*J. Jones	2155	C
	Sir J. Williams	2076	
Carmarthen	*D. Morris	333	L
	D. Lewis	287	
Carnarvonsh.	*J. O. Gore		C
Carnarvon	*— Hughes	405	C
	— Paget	385	
Chatham	G. S. Byng		L
Cheltenham	C. F. Berkeley	630	L
	J. Peel	299	
Cheshire, North	E. J. Stanley		L
	W. T. Egerton		C
Cheshire, South	Sir P. Egerton	3135	C
	G. Wilbraham	3015	L
	E. Corbett	2646	
Chester	Lord R. Grosvenor	1049	L
	J. Jervis	933	L
	D. Ryder	257	
Chichester	Lord A. Lennox	490	C
	J. A. Smith	387	L
	J. P. Cobbett	252	
Chippenham	J. Neeld		C
	Captain Boldero		C
Christchurch	*Sir G. Rose		C
Cirencester	J. Cripps		C
	*T. W. C. Masters		C
Clitheroe	J. Fort		L
Cockermouth	H. A. Aglionby	165	L
	E. Horsman	122	L
	— Benson	111	
Colchester	R. Sanderson	472	C
	Sir G. Smyth	435	C
	J. R. Todd	306	
Cornwall, West	Sir C. Lemon		C
	E. W. W. Pendarves		L
Cornwall, East	*Lord Eliot	2430	C
	*Sir H. Vivian	2294	L
	Sir W. Trelawney	2252	
Coventry	E. Ellice	1778	L
	W. Williams	1748	L
	M. Thomas	1511	
	— Hill	1393	
	J. Bell	43	
Cricklade	J. Neeld	838	C
	*A. Goddard	736	C
	— Howard	719	
Cumberland, West	E. Stanley		C
	S. Irton		C
Cumberland, East	*F. Aglionby	2294	L
	W. James	2124	L
	Sir J. Graham	1605	
Dartmouth	Colonel Seale		L
Denbigh	W. Jones		C
Denbighshire	Sir W. Wynn		C
	Hon. W. Bagot		C
Derbyshire, North	G. H. Cavendish	2816	L
	*W. B. Evans	2476	L
	G. Arkwright	1983	
Derbyshire, South	Sir G. Crewe		C
	*F. Hurt		C
Derby	E. Strutt	836	L
	Hon. J. B. Ponsonby	791	L
	F. Curzon	525	
	C. Colville	456	
Devizes	T. S. Estcourt		C
	J. W. D. Dundas		L
Devonport	Sir G. Grey		L
	Sir E. Codrington		L
Devonshire, Nth	Lord Ebrington		L
	*Sir T. Acland		C
Devonshire, Sth	Sir J. Buller	4977	C
	E. M. N. Parker	4674	C
	J. C. Bulteel	3740	
Dorchester	Hon. H. A. Cooper		C
	R. Williams		C
Dorsetshire	Lord Ashley		C
	H. C. Sturt		C
	Hon. J. Strangways		L
Dover	Sir J. Reid	829	C
	*E. Rice	845	L
	J. M. Fector	742	
Droitwich	*J. S. Pakington		C
Dudley	T. Hawkes		C
Durham, North	H. Lambton	2357	L
	*Hon. H. Liddell	2324	
	Sir W. Chaytor	2064	
Durham, South	J. Pease		
	J. Bowes		
Durham	Hon. A. Trevor	466	C
	W. C. Harland	373	L
	F. C. Granger	371	
Essex, North	*C. J. Round		C
	Sir J. T. Tyrrell		C
Essex, South	T. W. Bramston	2513	C
	G. Palmer	2263	C
	C. E. Branfil	1550	
Evesham	P. Borthwick		C
	R. Bowles		C
Exeter	Sir W. Follett		C
	E. Divett		L
Eye	Sir E. Kerrison		C
Finsbury	T. Wakley	4957	L
	T. S. Duncombe	4895	L
	S. Perceval	2470	
Flint	*Captain Dundas	591	L
	R. J. Mostyn	393	
Flintshire	S. S. Glynn	941	C
	Hon. E. M. Mostyn	901	
Frome	T. Sheppard	125	C
	Sir C. Boyle	120	
Gateshead	C. Rippon	236	L
	J. Williamson	151	
Glamorgansh	*Lord Adare	2005	C
	C. R. M. Talbot	1793	L
	J. Guest	1593	
Gloucestershire East	C. W. Codrington		C
	Hon. A. H. Moreton		L
Gloucestersh., West	R. B. Hale		C
	Hon. G. C. Berkeley		L
Gloucester	H. T. Hope	720	C
	*J. Phillpotts	709	L
	Capt. M. Berkeley	630	
Grantham	G. E. Welby	398	C
	*Hon. F. Tollemache	308	C
	— Turner	291	
Greenwich	*W. Attwood	1328	C
	E. G. Barnard	1182	L
	Admiral Napier	1147	
Grimsby	E. Heneage		L
Guildford	C. B. Wall	252	C
	*Major Y. Scarlett	188	C
	J. Mangles	159	

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Halifax	C. Wood	268	L
	*E. Prothero	265	L
	J. S. Wortley	182	
Hampshire, North	*Sir W. Heathcote		C
	C. S. Lefevre		L
Hampshire, South	J. W. Fleming	2388	C
	T. Compton	2371	C
	Sir G. Staunton	2080	
	Sir F. Ommaney	1962	
Harwich	J. C. Herries	75	C
	*A. Ellice	75	L
	E. Tower	74	
	F. Bonham	66	
Hastings	*J. Planta	400	C
	*R. Hollond	382	L
	—Brisco	312	
Haverfordwest	*Sir R. B. Phillips	247	L
	W. H. Scourfield	165	
Helston	*Lord Cantelupe	160	C
	J. W. Buller	125	
Herefordshire	K. Hoskins		L
	Sir R. Price		L
	E. T. Foley		C
Hereford	E. B. Clive	439	L
	—*Burr	432	C
	R. Biddulph	417	
Hertfordshire	Lord Grimston		C
	A. Smith		C
	R. Alston		L
Hertford	W. Cowper	378	L
	Lord Mahon	306	C
	— Currie	297	
Honiton	Colonel Baillie		C
	*J. Stewart		L
Horsham	R. H. Hurst	147	L
	T. Broadwood	145	
Huddersfield	*W. Stansfield	323	L
	R. Oastler	301	C
Hull	*W. Wilberforce	1514	C
	*Sir W. James	1505	C
	W. Hutt	1497	
	B. Wood	1430	
Huntingdonshire	*E. Fellowes	1393	C
	*G. Thornhill	1332	C
	J. B. Rooper	989	
Huntingdon	Colonel Peel		C
	Sir F. Pollock		C
Hythe	Lord Melgund	254	L
	Captain Beresford	144	
Ipswich	*J. Gibson	601	C
	*H. Tuffnell	595	L
	R. Wason	593	
	F. Kelly	593	
Kendal	*G. W. Wood		L
Kent, East	Sir E. Knatchbull	3562	C
	J. P. Plumptre	3029	C
	T. Rider	2199	
Kent, West	Sir W. Geary	3578	C
	T. L. Hodges	3329	L
	Sir G. Filmer	3227	
Kidderminster	*R. Godson	198	C
	J. Bagshaw	157	
Knaresborough	*H. Rich		L
	*Hon. C. C. Langdale		L
Lambeth	B. Hawes	2934	L
	C. T. D'Eyncourt	2811	L
	C. Baldwin	1694	
Lancashire, North	Lord Stanley		C
	J. W. Patten		C
Lancashire, South	Lord F. Egerton	7822	C
	Hon. R. B. Wilbraham	7645	C
	E. Stanley	6576	
	C. Towneley	6044	
Lancaster	T. Greene	614	C
	*G. R. Martyn	527	C
	P. M. Stewart	453	
	— Greg	347	
Launceston	Sir H. Hardinge		C
Leeds	E. Baines	2021	L
	Sir W. Molesworth	1873	L
	Sir J. Beckett	1764	
Leicestersh., North	Lord C. Somerset		C
	*G. B. Farnham		C
Leicestershire, South	H. Halford		C
	C. W. Packe		C
Leicester	*S. Duckworth	1812	L
	*J. Easthope	1812	L
	E. Goulburn	1439	
	T. Gladstone	1438	
Leominster	*C. Greenaway	383	L
	Lord Hotham	380	C
	— Wigram	250	
Lewes	Sir R. Blunt	413	L
	Hon. H. Fitzroy	401	C
	T. Brand	398	
	Captain Lyon	343	
Lichfield	Sir G. Anson		L
	*Lord A. Paget		L
Lincolnshire, Lindsey	Lord Worsley		L
	*R. A. Christopher		C
Lincolnshire, Kesteven	G. J. Heathcote		C
	H. Handley		L
Lincoln	Colonel Sibthorpe	540	C
	E. L. Bulwer	435	L
	H. Ellis	390	
	— Churchill	368	
Liskeard	C. Buller	113	L
	S. T. Kekewich	95	
Liverpool	Lord Sandon	4695	C
	*C. Cresswell	4580	C
	W. Ewart	4208	
	H. Elphinstone	4072	
London	M. Wood	6517	L
	W. Crawford	6071	L
	J. Pattison	6070	L
	G. Grote	5879	L
	H. Palmer	5873	
Ludlow	Clive	193	C
	*Colonel Salwey	183	L
	—Alcock	158	
Lyme	W. Pinney	121	L
	—Hampden	87	
Lymington	J. Stewart	161	C
	W. A. Mackinnon	138	C
	—Gregson	97	
Lynn	Lord G. Bentinck	473	C
	Sir S. Canning	389	C
	Major Keppell	367	
Macclesfield	J. Brocklehurst		L
	*T. Grimsditch		C
Maidstone	W. Lewis	782	C
	*B. D'Israeli	688	C
	Colonel Thompson	529	
	E. Perry	35	
Maldon	Q. Dick	420	C
	J. Round	407	C
	J. B. Lennard	395	
Malmesbury	Lord Andover		L
Malton	J. W. Childers		L
	Lord Milton		L
Manchester	C. P. Thomson	4127	L
	M. Philips	3759	L
	T. Gladstone	2324	L
Marlborough	Lord G. A. Bruce		C
	H. B. Baring		C
Marlow	T. P. Williams		C
	Sir W. Clayton		C

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Marylebone ..	B. Hall	3512	L
	Sir S. Whalley	3350	L
	Lord Teignmouth	2952	C
	G. A. Young	764	
	Sir W. Horne	662	
Merionethsh...	R. Richards.....		C
Merthyr Tydvil	J. Guest.....	309	C
	— Bruce	177	
Middlesex	G. Byng	4788	C
	*T. Wood.....	4620	C
	J. Hume	4351	
	W. Pownall.....	4321	
Midhurst	W. S. Poyntz		L
Monmouthsh.	Lord. G. Somerset		C
	W. A. Williams.....		C
Monmouth....	*R. Blewitt.....	441	L
	J. Bailey	386	
Montgomerysh.	C. W. W. Wynne		C
Montgomery ..	Colonel Edwardes	472	L
	P. Corbet.....	443	
Morpeth	*Lord Leveson.....		L
Newark	T. Wilde		L
	W. E. Gladstone.....		C
Newcastle under-line	W. H. Miller	669	C
	— *De Horsey.....	635	C
	R. Badnall	292	
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	W. Ord.....	1792	L
	J. H. Hinde.....	1699	C
	— Bigge	1187	
	— Coulson	1126	
	T. W. Beaumont	290	
Newport	J. H. Hawkins	264	L
	*R. Blake	263	L
	— Martin.....	244	
	— Hamilton	236	
Norfolk, East	— E. Wodehouse	3645	C
	— *Burroughes	3523	C
	W. H. Wyndham	3237	
	R. H. Gurney	2978	
Norfolk, West	*W. Bagge	3152	C
	*— Chute.....	2871	C
	Sir W. B. Folkes	2842	
	Sir J. Astley	2710	
Northallerton	W. B. Wrightson		L
Northampton-shire, North	T. P. Maunsell	1841	C
	*Lord Maidstone	1799	C
	Lord Milton.....	1408	
Northampton-shire, South	W. R. Cartwright		C
	Sir C. Knightley.....		C
Northampton	R. V. Smith	1093	L
	*R. Currie	1031	L
	C. Ross.....	924	
No thumber-land, North	Lord Howick		L
	Lord Ossulston		C
Northumber-land, South	W. Bell.....		C
	*C. Blackett		L
Norwich	Lord Douro.....	1863	C
	R. C. Scarlett	1865	C
	B. Smith	1843	
	— Nurse	1831	
Nottingham-shire, North	T. Houldsworth	1693	C
	H. G. Knight	1572	C
	J. Foljambe	1178	
Nottingham-shire, South	Lord Lincoln		C
	*Colonel Rolleston....		C
Nottingham ..	Sir R. C. Ferguson....	1640	L
	Sir J. Hobhouse	1639	L
	H. Twiss	1147	
	— Plowden	1148	
Oldham	J. Fielden.....		L
	*General Johnson		L
Oxfordshire ..	Lord Norreys	2997	C
	G. G Harcourt	2837	C
	*— Parker	2753	C
	T. Stonor	1455	
Oxford	D. Maclean	1345	C
	*W. H. Erle.....	1242	L
	H. Hughes	903	
Oxford University	Sir R. Inglis		C
	J. G. B. Estcourt.....		C
Pembrokesh.	Sir J. Owen		C
Pembroke	Colonel Owen		C
Penryn	Sir R. M. Rolfe	520	L
	J. W. Freshfield.....	429	C
	Captain Plumridge....	361	
Peterborough	J. N. Fazakerley.....	311	L
	Sir R. Heron	288	L
	— Surtees.....	234	
Petersfield....	*Colonel Joliffe	125	C
	C. J. Hector.....	124	
Plymouth	J. Collier.....		L
	T. B. Bewes		L
Pontefract ...	*R. Milnes	507	C
	*M. Stanley.....	403	L
	— Smith	123	
	— Gompertz	0	
Poole	*C. Ponsonby	272	L
	G. Phillips	257	L
	Sir H. Willoughby....	238	
	Sir J. Walsh	218	
Portsmouth ..	F. T. Baring	642	L
	J. B. Carter.....	641	L
	Sir J. Cockburn	522	
	Lord Fitzharris	442	
Preston	P. H. Fleetwood	2700	L
	*R. T. Parker	1802	C
	J. Crawfurd.....	1578	
Radnorshire ..	W. Wilkins.....		L
Radnor	R. Price		C
Reading	T. N. Talfourd	459	L
	*C. F. Palmer.....	455	L
	C. Russell	436	
Reigate	Lord Eastnor		C
Retford, East	G. H. Vernon.....		C
	A. Duncombe		C
Richmond	A. Speirs		L
	Hon. T. Dundas.....		L
Ripon	T. Pemberton		C
	*Sir E. Sugden		C
Rochdale	J. Fenton	374	L
	— Ramsay	349	
Rochester	R. Bernal.....	491	L
	*T. B. Hobhouse.....	475	L
	Sir C. Douglas	449	
	— Best.....	418	
Rutlandshire..	Sir G. Noel		C
	Sir G. Heathcote.....		C
Rye	*Capt. Moneypenny ..		C
Salford	J. Brotherton	890	L
	J. Garnet	888	
Salisbury	W. W. Brodie.....		
	W. Wyndham.....		
St. Alban's....	Hon. G. H. Grimston..	360	C
	*— Muskett.....	349	L
	B. B. Cabbell	220	
St. Ives	J. Halse.....	272	C
	— Praed	223	
Salop, North	Sir R. Hill		C
	W. O. Gore		C
Salop, South ..	Lord Darlington.....		C
	Hon. R. H. Clive		C
Sandwich	Sir T. Troubridge	412	L
	*Sir J. R. Carnac	399	L
	S. G. Price	374	
	M. Brydges	335	

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Scarborough ..	Sir F. Trench	225	C
	*Sir C. Style	211	L
	Sir J. Johnstone	192	
Shaftesbury ..	J. Poulter.....		L
Sheffield	J. Parker	2233	L
	H. G. Ward.....	2028	L
	— Thornley	667	
Shoreham	H. D. Goring	850	L
	Sir C. Burrell	773	C
	D. Salomons	619	
Shrewsbury ..	*R. Jenkins	700	C
	*R. A. Slaney	697	L
	J. C. Pelham.....	657	
	G. H. Dashwood	537	
Somersetshire, East	W. Miles		C
	Colonel Langton.....		L
Somersetshire, West	T. D. Acland	3852	C
	G. A. Sanford	3547	L
	C. K. Tynte.....	3456	
	— Dickenson	3420	
Southampton..	A. R. Dottin	587	C
	*Lord Duncan.....	564	L
	— Martyn.....	543	
	— Paget	509	
South Shields..	R. Ingham		C
Southwark....	J. Humphery	1929	L
	D. W. Harvey.....	1903	L
	T. Richards.....	1840	
Staffordshire, North	W. B. Baring	4233	C
	E. Buller	3118	L
	Sir O. Mosley	2361	
Staffordshire, South	Colonel Anson.....	3202	L
	Lord Ingestrie	3125	C
	— Dyott	3066	
	Sir J. Wrottesley	3011	
Stafford.....	Captain Chetwynd		L
	B. Farrand		C
Stamford	Colonel Chaplin		C
	Lord Granby.....		C
Stockport	Major Marsland	469	C
	H. Marsland.....	463	L
	T. Cobden	410	
Stoke-upon-Trent	W. T. Copeland	683	C
	J. Davenport	670	C
	W. Bridges	472	
	B. Sheridan	469	
Stroud	G. P. Scrope	698	L
	Lord J. Russell	681	L
	Sergeant Adams	297	
Sudbury,.....	Sir E. Barnes	372	C
	Sir J. Hamilton	342	C
	B. Smith	151	
	— Turton.....	19	
Suffolk, East	Sir C. B. Vere.....		C
	Lord Henniker.....		C
Suffolk, West..	H. Logan	2217	C
	Colonel Rushbrooke ..	2173	C
	Sir H. Bunbury	1566	
	H. Wilson	1505	
Sunderland ...	Alderman Thompson..	688	C
	A. White.....	625	L
	D. Barclay	590	
Surrey, East..	R. Alsager	2159	C
	H. Kemble	2135	C
	Hon. Locke King	1856	
	J. Angerstein	1805	
Surrey, West..	Hon. Captain Percevai	1584	C
	W. J. Denison.....	1581	L
	H. Long	1541	
Sussex, East..	G. Darby	2253	C
	Hon. C. Cavendish....	1793	L
	— Fuller..... ..	1753	
	H. B. Curteis	1618	
Sussex West..	Earl of Surrey		L
	Lord J. G. Lennox		C
Swansea	J. H. Vivian.....		L
Tamworth....	Sir R. Peel	389	C
	*W. A'Court	249	C
	J. Townshend	185	
Taunton.....	H. Labouchere	469	L
	G. T. Bainbridge	414	L
	— Lee	409	
Tavistock	Lord Russell		L
	J. Rundle.....		L
Tewkesbury ..	Dowdeswell.....	219	C
	*J. Martin	192	L
	Joseph Peel	169	
Thetford.....	Earl of Euston.....		L
	F. Baring.....		C
Thirsk	S. Crompton		L
Tiverton	J. Heathcoat	323	L
	Lord Palmerston.....	246	L
	— Dickenson	180	L
Totnes	Lord Seymour.....		L
	J. Parrott.....		L
Tower Hamlets	Dr. Lushington		L
	W. Clay		L
Truro.....	*E. Turner	393	L
	J. E. Vivian	254	C
	W. Tooke.....	225	
Tynemouth ..	G. F. Young	259	L
	Sir C. Grey	242	
Wakefield	*Hon. W. S. Lascelles	307	C
	D. Gaskell	281	
Wallingford ..	W. S. Blackstone	159	C
	— Teed.....	118	
Walsall	*F. Finch.....	316	L
	C. S. Forster	296	
Wareham	J. H. Calcraft.....	170	C
	W. E. Drax	155	
Warrington ..	J. J. Blackburne.....	278	C
	E. D. Davenport.....	254	
Warwickshire, North	W. S. Dugdale.....	3326	C
	Sir E. Wilmot.....	2678	C
	Sir G. Skipwith	2292	
	— Bracebridge	1787	
Warwickshire, South	Sir J. Mordaunt		C
	E. Shirley.....		C
Warwick.....	W. Collins.....	498	L
	*Sir C. Douglas.....	468	C
	E. B. King	439	
Wells	*W. G. Hayter.....		L
	*R. Blakemore		C
Wenlock .,....	Hon. G. C. Forester ...		C
	J. M. Gaskell		C
Westbury	*J. I. Brisco.....		L
Westminster..	*J. T. Leader	3813	L
	Colonel Evans.....	3740	L
	Sir G. Murray	2619	
Westmoreland	Lord Lowther.....		C
	Colonel Lowther		C
Weymouth....	*Lord Villiers.....	289	C
	*G. W. Hope	266	C
	T. F. Buxton	214	
	— Stephen	159	
Whitby	A. Chapman.....		C
Whitehaven....	M. Attwood.....		C
Wigan	*C. Standish.....	248	L
	R. Potter	245	L
	J. H. Kearsley.....	228	
	— Greenall.....	210	
Wight, Isle of	W. A'Court Holmes ..	628	C
	Hon. Captain Pelham .	560	
Wilton	*Colonel Baker		C
Wiltshire, N...	Sir Francis Burdett ..	2365	C
	W. Long	2197	C
	P. Methuen	1876	
Wiltshire, S...	Hon. S. Herbert.....		C
	J. Bennett.....		L
Winchester....	J. B. East.....	259	C
	P. St. John Mildmay..	242	L
	B. Escott	213	

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Windsor	J. Ramsbottom	326	L
	R. Gordon	292	L
	Sir J. De Beauvoir	181	
	— Bulkeley	140	
Wolverhampt.	C. P. Villiers	1067	L
	T. Thornley	1052	L
	Captain Brenton	613	
	— Benbow	605	
Woodstock	*H. Peyton	126	C
	Lord C. Churchill	117	
Worcestershire East	*H. St. Paul	2320	C
	*J. Barneby	2261	C
	E. Holland	1949	
	J. H. Foley	1933	
Worcestershire West	General Lygon		C
	Captain Winnington		L
Worcester	J. Bailey		C
	*Colonel Davies		L
Wycombe	Hon. R. J. Smith		L
	*G. H. Dashwood		L
Yarmouth	*C. E. Rumbold	789	L
	*W. Wilshire	779	L
	T. Baring	697	
	— Gambier	684	
Yorkshire, W.	Hon. W. Duncombe		C
	E. S. Cayley		L
Yorkshire, E.	R. Bethell	3612	C
	*H. Broadley	3280	C
	P. B. Thompson	2986	
Yorkshire, W.	Lord Morpeth	12,576	L
	Sir G. Strickland	11,892	L
	Hon. J. S. Wortley	11,489	
York	J. H. Lowther	1467	C
	Hon. J. C. Dundas	1292	L
	Sergeant Atcherley	1185	

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen	A. Bannerman		L
Aberdeenshire	Captain Gordon	1175	C
	Sir T. Burnett	707	
Argyleshire	Campbell of Islay	712	L
	Campbell of Monzie	462	
Ayrshire	J. Dunlop	1559	L
	Lord Kelburne	1370	
Ayr Burghs	Lord James Stuart	368	L
	A. Johnstone	351	
Banffshire	*J. Duff	292	L
	Captain Fergusson	214	
Berwickshire	Sir H. B. Campbell		C
Buteshire	Sir W. Rae		C
Clackmannan & Kinross	Admiral Adam		L
Dumbartonsh.	*Sir J. Colquhoun	453	L
	A. Smollett	411	
Dumfriesshire.	J. H. Johnstone		C
Dumfries	General Sharpe		L
Dundee	Sir H. Parnell	663	L
	J. Gladstone	381	
Edinburgh	Sir J. Campbell		L
	J. J. Abercromby		L
Edinburghsh	*W. G. Craig	703	L
	Sir G. Clerk	601	
Elgin & Nairn.	Colonel Grant		C
Elgin Burghs	Sir A. Leith Hay		L
Falkirk	W. D. Gillon		L
Fifeshire	Captain Wemyss	886	L
	J. Bruce	401	
Forfarshire	Lord D. Hallyburton		L
Glasgow	Lord W. Bentinck	2768	L
	J. Dennistoun	273	L
	— Campbell	2098	
	R. Monteith	2062	
Greenock	R. Wallace	401	L
	— Smith	202	
Haddingtonsh.	*Lord Ramsay	299	C
	R. Ferguson	205	L
Hadd. Burghs.	R. Steuart		L
Invernesshire	A. W. Chisholm	254	C
	— Grant	200	
Inverness	*R. Macleod		L
Kilmarnock	J. C. Colquhoun	509	C
	Dr. Bowring	438	
Kincardinesh.	General Arbuthnot		C
Kirkaldy	R. Ferguson		L
Kirkcudbrights	C. Fergusson		L
Lanarkshire	*M. Lockhart	1486	C
	Hon. C. A. Murray	1485	
Leith	J. A. Murray		L
Montrose	P. Chalmers		L
Orkney	*F. Dundas		L
Paisley	A. Hastie		L
Peeblesshire	*— Mackenzie	251	C
	— Carmichael	246	
Perth	*Hon. A. Kinnaird	355	L
	Sir P. M. Thriepland	188	
Perthshire	Lord Stormont	1464	C
	Hon. Fox Maule	1379	
Renfrewshire	Captain Houston	821	C
	Captain H. Stewart	764	
Ross and Cromarty	T. Mackenzie		C
Roxburghshire	*Hon. J. E. Elliot	803	L
	Hon. F. Scott	759	
Selkirkshire	A. Pringle	230	C
	R. Pringle	196	
St. Andrew's	*E. Ellice, junior	290	L
	T. Mackgill	261	
Stirlingshire	W. Forbes	859	C
	Colonel Abercromby	858	
Stirling Burghs	Lord Dalmeny		L
Sutherlandsh.	*Hon. W. Howard		C
Wick Burghs	J. Loch		L
Wigtonshire	*G. Blair	362	C
	— Murray	314	
Wigton Burghs	J. Mactaggart		L

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Linlithgowsh...	Hon. Capt. Hope.....	262	C
	Hon. Fulke Greville ..	130	
Caithness-shire	Sir G. Sinclair		C
	G. Traill		

IRELAND.

Antrim	General O'Neill		C
	*J. Irvine		C
Armagh Co. ..	Lord Acheson		L
	Colonel Verner		C
Armagh.	*W. Currie	116	L
	J. Kidd	114	
Athlone.....	John O'Connell		L
Bandon	J. D. Jackson		C
Belfast	*J. P. Gibson	941	L
	Lord Belfast	922	L
	Emmerson Tennent ..	901	
	G. Dunbar.....	869	
Carlow County	N. Vigors.....	730	L
	*Ashton Yates.....	730	L
	Colonel Bruen	643	
	— Banbury	643	
Carlow	*W. H. Maule	180	L
	F. Bruen	156	
Carrickfergus .	P. Kirk	446	C
	D. Rennie.....	418	
Cashel.....	S. Woulfe		L
Cavan.....	H. Maxwell.....		C
	J. Young		C
Clare	Major Macnamara		L
	C. O'Brien		L
Clonmel	N. Ball		L
Coleraine	*E. Litton	129	C
	A. Leslie	77	
Cork	*F. Beamish.....	1852	L
	R. Callaghan	1838	L
	J. Leycester	1384	
	J. C. Chatterton	1369	
Cork County..	Barry		L
	*Roche		L
Donegal.....	Sir E. Hayes		C
	Colonel Conolly.....		C
Downshire....	Lord Castlereagh		C
	Lord Hillsborough		C
Downpatrick .	Ker	190	C
	Keown	189	
	White	131	
Drogheda	*Sir W. Somerville ..		L
Dublin County.	*Lord Brabazon		L
	G. Evans		L
Dublin	D. O'Connell	3556	L
	*R. Hutton	3542	L
	G. Hamilton	3467	
	J. B. West	3461	
Dublin Univ..	F. Shaw	852	C
	Dr. Lefroy	839	C
	D. Stock	186	
Dundalk	*— Reddington		L
Dungannon ..	Lord Northland		C
Dungarvan ..	*C. O'Callaghan		L
Ennis	H. Bridgman		L
Enniskillen ..	A. H. Cole		C
Fermanagh ..	Lord Cole		C
	Captain Archdall.....		C
Galway County	T. Martin.....		L
	J. Bodkin		L
Galway	A. H. Lynch.....	448	L
	J. Blake.....	376	L
	Daly	262	
	Burke	3	
Kerry	M. J. O'Connell	697	L
	*— Blennerhasset	546	C
	F. B. Mullins	498	
	J. Hickson	112	
Kildare	R. M. O'Ferrall.....	686	L
	*R. Archbold	655	L
	— Burke	219	
	— Ruthven	2	
	— Lefroy	1	
Kilkenny Co...	Colonel Butler.....		L
	*Major O'Bryan		L
Kilkenny	J. Hume	57	L
	D. O'Connell	50	
	W. Ewart	3	
King's County .	N. Fitzsimon		L
	Hon. J. Westenra		L
Kinsale	*P. Mahony.....	102	L
	Colonel Thomas	97	
Leitrim	Lord Clements		L
	S. White		L
Limerick Co...	Colonel Fitzgibbon....	858	L
	W. S. O'Brien	853	L
	A. S. O'Brien	14	
Limerick	W. Roche	845	L
	D. Roche	828	L
	— Mansell	392	
	— Wilson.....	150	
Lisburn	Captain Meynell		C
Londonderry	Sir R. Bateson.....		C
County.	Captain Jones		C
Londonderry ..	Sir R. A. Ferguson ..	214	C
	G. R. Dawson.....	135	
Longford	White		L
	White		L
Louth	*H. Chester		L
	R. M. Bellew		L
Mallow	C. D. O. Jephson		L
Mayo	Sir W. Brabazon		L
	R. D. Browne.....		L
Meath.....	Morgan O'Connell		L
	H. Grattan		L
Monaghan....	E. Lucas		C
	Hon. H. Westenra		L
Newry.....	*— Ellis	338	C
	D. C. Brady.....	305	
Portarlington.	Colonel Damer		C
Queen's County	Sir C. Coote	1198	C
	*T. Fitzpatrick	909	L
	Hon. T. Vesey.....	871	
Roscommon ..	The O'Connor Don....		L
	F. French.....		L
Ros	J. H. Talbot.....		L
Sligo County ..	Colonel Perceval.....		C
	E. J. Cooper.....		C

RESULTS OF THE POLLS AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Sligo	*J. P. Somers	178	L
	J. Martin	170	
Tipperary	R. L. Sheil	1557	L
	R. O. Cave	1544	L
	— Barker	642	
	— Moore	633	
Tralee	*J. Bateman		C
	Maurice O'Connell		
Tyrone	Lord Alexander		C
	Hon. H. Corry		C
Waterford Co.	W. V. Stuart		L
	J. Power		L
Waterford....	T. Wyse	616	L
	H. W. Barron.....	585	L
	— Beresford.....	426	
	— O'Reilly	347	
Westmeath ..	M. L. Chapman	743	L
	Sir R. Nagle.....	734	L
	— Handcock	373	
	— Levinge	365	
Wexford Co...	Maher		L
	Power		L
Wexford	C. A. Walker.....		L
Wicklow	J. Grattan.....	697	L
	R. Howard	696	L
	Colonel Acton.....	623	
	— Humphreys.....	6	
Youghall.....	*— Howard.....	158	C
	— Nicol	150	

NOTE.—In the assignment of the letters indicative of the supposed inclinations of the opinions of the members, we have been guided chiefly by a print (*The Spectator*) which is understood to take a neutral position independent of both parties. But we are aware that considerable uncertainty necessarily attends any such distribution, and that our list will, in many instances, be open to the charge of inaccuracy.

SHERIFFS FOR THE YEAR 1836—7.

Bedfordshire	W. H. Whitbread, of Southill, Esq.
Berkshire	Wheble, of Woodley Lodge, Esq.
Bucks	J. N. Hibbert, of Chalfont St. Peter, Esq.
Cambridge and Huntingdonshires	John Dobede, of Soham.
Cheshire	— Shakerley, of Somerford, Esq.
Cornwall	J. Basset, of Tehidy Park, Esq.
Cumberland	Sir E. F. Vane, of Armathwaite, Bart.
Derbyshire	G. Moore, of Appleby-hall, Esq.
Devonshire	W. R. Ilbert, of Horswell, Esq.
Dorsetshire	J. C. Fyler, of Heffleton-lodge, Esq.
Durham	A. Wilkinson, of Coxhoe-hall, Esq.
Essex	J. Bullock, of Faulkbourne-hall, Esq.
Gloucestershire	H. N. Trye, of Leckhampton Court, Esq.
Herefordshire	T. Monnington, Sarnesfield, Esq.
Hertfordshire	G. Proctor, of Bennington, Esq.
Kent	F. Bradley, of Gore-court, Esq.
Lancashire	T. B. Crosse, of Shaw-hill, Esq.
Leicestershire	Sir A. G. Hazlerigg, of Noseley-hall, Bart.
Lincolnshire	Sir T. Whichcote, of Aswardby, Bart.
Monmouthshire	P. Jones, of Lanarth-court, Esq.
Norfolk	Jack Petre, of Westwick-hall, Esq.
Northamptonshire	William Willes, of Astropp-house, Esq.
Northumberland	W. J. Charlton, of Hesley-side, Esq.
Nottinghamshire	R. Ramsden, of Carlton in Lindrick, Esq.
Oxfordshire	P. T. H. Wykeham, of Tythrop-house, Esq.
Rutlandshire	J. Stokes, of Caldecot, Esq.
Shropshire	T. H. Hope, of Netley-hall, Esq.
Somersetshire	A. Adair, Heatherton-park, Esq.
Staffordshire	G. T. Whitgreave, of Moseley-court, Esq.
Southampton County	The hon. W. H. A. A'Court Holmes, of Westover.
Suffolk	Sir H. Parker, of Long Melford, Bt.
Surrey	T. Alcock, of Kingswood-warren, Esq.
Sussex	G. Palmer, of Tunbridge Wells, Esq.
Warwickshire	H. C. Adams, of Ansty, Esq.
Wiltshire	Sir F. H. H. Bathurst, of Clarendon-park, Bart.
Worcestershire	W. A. Roberts, Bewdley, Esq.
Yorkshire	M. Milbank, of Thorpe Perrow, Esq.

SOUTH-WALES.

Breconshire	C. Bailey, of Beaufort, Esq.
Cardiganshire	J. Hughes, of Alltlwyd, Esq.
Carmarthenshire	W. H. Wilson, Penycoed, Esq.
Glamorganshire	H. Gwyn, of Alltween, Esq.
Pembrokeshire	J. Adams, of Holyland, Esq.
Radnorshire	Hans Busk, of Nantmel, Esq.

NORTH-WALES.

Anglesey	Hugh Beaven, of Glyn Garth, Esq,
Carnarvonshire	Hon. T. P. Lloyd, of Plashen.
Denbighshire	J. Heaton, of Plas Heaton, Esq.
Flintshire	Sir E. Mostyn, of Talacre, Bart.
Merionethshire	Sir R. W. Vaughan, of Nannan, Bart.
Montgomeryshire	R. Phillips, of Hiros, Esq.

BIRTHS.

1837.

JANUARY.

2. At Connaught-place, the hon. Mrs. Trotter, of a daughter.

— At Runneymede, the hon. Mrs. Nevile Reid, of twins.

7. At the Vicarage, West Tarring, Sussex, the lady of the rev. John Wood Warter, of a daughter.

— At Rousham, the lady of Charles Cottrell Dormer, esq., of a daughter.

9. At Coalstoun, lady Susan Ramsay, of a daughter.

10. At Woodhall-park, Herts, the lady of Abel Smith, esq., M.P., of a son.

14. At Canaan-lodge, near Edinburgh, the lady of Æneas Ranaldson Macdonell, esq., of Glengarry and Clanranald, of a daughter.

— At Paris, the lady of major-gen. Sir Neil Douglas, C.B., K.C.H., of a daughter.

15. At Dalkeith-palace, the duchess of Buccleugh, of a son.

17. At Brighton, the lady of sir John Hall, bart., of Dunglass, of a son.

24. In Great Cumberland-street, the countess de Palatiano, of a daughter.

— At Dundee, the lady of col. Chalmers, of Glenericht, K.H., of a daughter.

28. At Bowness, Westmorland, the lady of sir Thos. Sabine Pasley, bart., of a son.

FEBRUARY.

1. At Leamington, the lady Mary Gage, of a son.

— At Bramham Biggin, Yorkshire, the hon. Mrs. Henry Ramsden, of a son.

7. The lady Howard, of a son and heir.

12. At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Keith, of a son.

— At Shelswell, Oxon, the lady Louisa Slater Harrison, of a daughter.

— At Holbrooke-farm, Horsham, the hon. Mrs. Witshed, of a son.

13. In Regent-st., the countess de Salis, of a son.

— At Chirk-castle, Denbighshire, the lady of R. Myddleton Biddulph, esq., of a son and heir.

14. The lady of the rev. Henry Wm. Wilberforce, of a daughter.

15. At Bicester, the Viscountess Chetwynd, of a daughter.

19. At the Hendre, Monmouthshire, the lady of John E. W. Rolls, esq., of a son and heir.

— The lady of Henry Foley, esq., of Telworth-hall, Huntingdonshire, of a daughter.

20. At Exmouth, Devon, the hon. Mrs. Osborne, of a daughter.

— At Rathmines, near Dublin, lady Elizabeth Thackeray, of a son.

21. At Brighton, the lady of Sir Hamilton Seymour, his majesty's envoy in Belgium, of a daughter.

23. At Thornham, Suffolk, the hon. lady Augustus Henniker, of a son.

24. In South Audley-st., the lady Georgiana Mitford, of a son.

25. At Plymouth, the lady of sir Henry Blackwood, bart., of a daughter.

27. In Bruton-st., the rt. hon. lady Cottenham, of a daughter.

MARCH.

2. At Bonehill, Staffordshire, the lady Jane Peel, of a daughter.

— In Park-lane, the lady of Wm. Villiers Stuart, esq., M.P., of a son.

5. At Duddingston-house, N. B., lady Harriet Baillie Hamilton, of a son.

7. At Wrackleford-house, Dorset, the hon. Mrs. Henry Ashley, of a daughter.

9. At Pentrepant, Shropshire, the lady of R. M. Bonnor Maurice, esq., of a son and heir.

— At Florence, the hon. Mrs. Irby, of a son.

11. At Kensington, the Lady de L'Isle and Dudley, of a daughter.

12. At Bath, the right hon. lady Charles Spencer Churchill, of a daughter.

17. At Brighton, the lady of sir Richard D. King, Bart, of a daughter.

21. In Curson-st., lady Emily Ponsonby, of a son.

22. At Stockholm, the hon. Mrs. Bligh, of a daughter.

26. In Berkley-square, the lady of P. Thornhill, jun., esq. of a son.

29. In Upper Brook-st., Grosvenor-square, the lady of lieut.-col. sir John M. Burgoyne, bart., grenadier-guards, of a daughter.

30. In Wilton-crescent, the lady Charlotte Egerton, of a daughter.

BIRTHS.

APRIL.

5. The lady of lieut.-col. Codrington, Coldstream-guards, of a daughter.

—At Richmond, the lady Muncaster, of a daughter.

6. The lady of Wm. Taylor Copeland, esq., M.P., and Alderman, of Lincoln's-inn-fields, of a son.

7. At Clapham-common, the lady of John Humphery, esq., M.P., of a son.

9. In Belgrave-square, the lady of Charles Tracy Leigh, esq., of a son.

10. At Burghley, the marchioness of Exeter, of a daughter.

12. In Grosvenor-square, the rt. hon. lady Poltimore, of a son and heir.

14. At Hawkstone, the lady of sir Rowland Hill, bart., M.P, of a son.

15. Lady Charles Russell, of a daughter.

16. At Gilston-park, the lady of H. G. Ward, Esq., M.P., of a son.

18. At Ramsgate, the lady of sir James Lake, bart., of a daughter.

21. In Grosvenor-place, lady Culling Smith, of a son.

— At Betross, the lady of Charles O'Connell, esq., and daughter of D. O'Connell, esq., M.P., of a son and heir.

— In Dover-street, the hon. Mrs. Neave, of a daughter.

24. The lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, of a daughter.

28. At Earl's Croom-court, Worcestershire, the hon. Mrs. W. Coventry, of a son.

— At Carne-house, Dorsetshire, the lady of H. C. Singleton, esq., of Aclare, County Meath, of a son and heir.

30. At Blyth-hall, Warwick, the lady of Wm. Stratford Dugdale, esq., M.P. of a son.

MAY.

1: At the house of her father, T. F. Buxton, Esq. M.P., the lady of Andrew Johnston, esq., M.P., of a daughter.

2. At Holmwood, Berks, the countess of Antrim, of a daughter.

3. At Baldwan-house, the lady Jane Ogilvy, of a son.

5. At the duke of Bedford's, Belgrave-square, the lady Wriothesley Russell, of a daughter.

6. At Castle-Craig, lady Kinloch, of Gilmerton, of a daughter.

8. In Great Cumberland-place, the viscountess Holmesdale, of a daughter.

9. In Manchester-square, the lady of Winthrop M. Praed, esq., M.P., of a daughter.

10. In Torrington-square, the wife of sir Harris Nicholas, K.C., M.G., of a daughter.

13. In Cavendish-square, lady George Hill, of a son.

14. In York-place, Portman-square, the lady H. Searle, of a son.

— At Dunicken-house, Forfarshire, the lady of James Witshed Hawkins, esq., of a daughter.

— At Carlisle, the lady of major Berkley St. John, of a daughter.

17. At Schoolbrook-lodge, lady Chas. Fitzroy, of a son.

— At Frankfort, the hon. Mrs. Massey Dawson, of a daughter.

18. At Tunbridge Wells, the lady Sarah Taylor, of a son.

— At Ashfield-lodge, the lady of Francis Fitzroy, esq., of a daughter.

19. The countess of Hardwicke, of a daughter.

— In Portland-place, lady Blackett, of a daughter.

23. At Mersham Hatch, lady Knatchbull, of a son.

24. The right hon. the lady Mary Hoare, of a daughter.

26. At Richmond, the lady of capt. sir Henry L. Baker, bart., R.N. of a daughter.

29. In Chapel-st., Grosvenor-place, the lady of Edward Divet, esq., M.P., of a son.

JUNE.

6. In Park-crescent, the lady of sir John Kennaway, bart., of a son.

— At Edinburgh, lady Seton, of Pitmedden, of a son.

— At Balmakewan, Scotland, the lady of col. Fraser, of a son.

— At Gormanstoun-castle, Ireland, the lady of the hon. Mr. Preston, of a son and heir.

9. The lady of Edward Buller, esq., M.P. of a son.

10 In Upper-Brook-st., the lady of Edward J. Dawkins, esq,, of a daughter.

11. The lady of sir Henry Lambert, of a daughter.

— At Easton-lodge, the hon. Mrs. Capel, of a son.

13. At Brighton, the lady Jane Lawrence Peel, of a daughter.

BIRTHS.

13. At Florence, the lady Emilia Pennefather, of Darling-hall, Tipperary, of a son and heir.

— At Adelstrop, Gloucestershire, the hon. Mrs. Twisleton, of a daughter.

14. At Ballindean-house, N.B., the hon. Mrs. Trotter, of a daughter.

16. In Woburn-square, Mrs. Peyton Phelps, of a daughter.

17. At Nice, the lady of sir James Fitzgerald, bart., of a son.

18. At Harewood-house, Hanover-sq., lady Louisa Cavendish, of a daughter.

23. In Park-st., Westminster, lady Emily Pusey, of a daughter.

30. At Leonard's on Sea, the lady of the hon. and rev. Grantham York, of a daughter.

— In Portugal, lady Howard de Walden, of a daughter.

JULY.

4. In Wilton Crescent, lady Frances Gordon, of a daughter.

— At Canterbury-barracks, the lady of lieut.-col. C. C. Taylor, of a daughter.

6. In Lower Grosvenor-st., lady Sandon, of a daughter.

7. In Grafton-st., the countess of Dunmore, of a daughter.

8. At Brighton, the countess of Munster, of a son.

— At Flower-grove, Dublin, viscountess Mountmorres, of a daughter.

9. At Mertoun, the hon. Mrs. Scott, of a daughter.

11. At Pengelly-house, Cheshunt, Herts, the lady of the hon. Charles Lennox Butler, of a daughter.

14. At Taplow-court, the countess of Orkney, of a daughter.

15. At East Sutton-place, Kent, the lady of sir Edmund Filmer, bart., of a daughter.

— In Connaught-place, West, the lady of sir Henry Freeling, of a daughter.

— In Hill-st., the lady of J. Wilson Patten, esq., M.P., of a daughter.

16. In Portman-st., the lady of lieut.-col. Knollys, Scots Fusileer-guards, of a son.

18. In Lower Grosvenor-st., the marchioness of Hastings, baroness Grey de Ruthyn, of a daughter.

21. In St. James's-square, the countess of Lichfield, of a daughter.

25. In New-st., Spring-gardens, the lady Stratheden, of a daughter.

28. In Hill-st., Berkeley-sq., the lady Sophia Tower, of a daughter.

30. In Mansfield-st., the marchioness of Sligo, of a daughter.

31. At the Rectory, Reniston, Somerset, the hon. Mrs. Maurice, of a son.

— The lady of archdeacon Hollingsworth, of a son.

— In Moray-place, Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Coulson, of a son.

AUGUST.

1. In Harley-st., the lady of Edward St. John Mildmay, esq., of a daughter.

2. In Connaught-place, viscountess Bernard, of a daughter.

— At Ickworth, the seat of the marquess of Bristol, lady Katherine Jermyn, of a son.

— The reigning princess Lichtenstein, of a princess.

— At Howth, Dublin, the lady of the right hon. Justice Perrin, of a daughter.

4. The lady of sir Edmund Antrobus, bart., of a son.

7. At Ileden, Barham-downs, the lady of Sir Richard Plaskett, of a son.

— At Hampton-lodge, near Farnham, the lady Catherine Long, of a son and heir.

8. At Montpelier-parade, near King's-town, Ireland, the lady of G. Morant, esq., late of the Grenadier-guards, of a son and heir.

9. At Singleton, near Swansea, the lady of J. H. Vivian, esq., M.P., of a daughter.

11. At Richmond, the marchioness of Lothian, of a son.

— At Hewell, the lady Harriet Clive, of a son.

14. At Elvetham, lady Charlotte Calthorpe, of a daughter.

— At Goldsborough, Yorkshire, the lady Louisa Lascelles, of a daughter.

18. In Arlington-st., lady Mary Stephenson, of a daughter.

19. In Curson-st., the lady of James Stewart, esq., M.P., of a son.

— The lady of sir James Boswell, of Auchinlech, bart., of a daughter.

20. The hon. Mrs. Kenyon, of a daughter.

21. In Lower Brook-st., the hon. Mrs. Arthur Duncombe, of a daughter.

25. At Edinburgh, the lady Anne Cruikshank, of a son.

BIRTHS.

27. At Warham-rectory, Norfolk, the lady of the hon. and rev. Thomas Keppel, of a son.

29. At Woburn-park, Surrey, the hon. Mrs. Locke King, of a daughter.

SEPTEMBER.

2. At Sandwell, Staffordshire, the countess of Dartmouth, of a son.

— At Glasgow, the wife of sergeant Hutton, 9th Lancers, of a son and two daughters.

— At the Secretary's lodge, Phœnix-park, Dublin, the lady of lieut.-colonel, the hon. C. Phipps, of a daughter.

— At Southend, near Darlington, the lady of Joseph Pease, esq., M.P., of a son.

— At Worlingham-hall, Suffolk, viscountess Acheson, of a daughter.

— Her serene highness, the reigning duchess of Anhalt Dessau, of a princess.

7. Lady Henrietta Allen, of Errol, of a son.

10. At Berlin, the lady of the rev. R. W. Jelff, of a son.

11. At Parkanour, the lady Caroline Burgess, of a son.

15. At Formosa-cottage, the lady of Sir George Young, bart., of a son and heir.

17. At Tunbridge Wells, the hon. Mrs. B. N. Garnier, of a son.

22. At Great Henny rectory, the lady of the hon. and rev. Charles Dundas, of a daughter.

— At Radford, near Leamington, the lady of the right hon. sir Stratford Canning, of a daughter.

23. In Upper Brook-st., the lady Ashley, of a daughter.

— At Milborne Port, the lady of sir W. C. Medlycot, bart., of a son.

30. At the Ray, Maidenhead, lady Phillimore, of a daughter.

— The hon. Mrs. Stanley, lady of E. J. Stanley, esq., secretary of the treasury, of a son.

OCTOBER.

4. In Eaton-place, lady Augusta Baring, of a daughter.

5. At Clonbrock, the lady Clonbrock, of a daughter.

— At Fineham-rectory, Mrs. Arthur Loften, of a daughter.

— The hon. Mrs. Gray, wife of the rev. H. Gray, of Almondsbury, of a daughter.

11. In Hill-st., Berkeley-square, the baroness de Cetto, of a son.

12. At Worlington-hall, Suffolk, lady Mary Hewett, of a son.

13. At Dupplin-castle, Perthshire, the countess of Kinnoul, of a daughter.

15. At Islanmore, Limerick, lady Lucy Maxwell, a son and heir.

17. At Logie Elphinstone, Mrs. Elphinston Dalrymple, of a son.

18. At Manor-place, lady Hamilton, of a son.

23. At Percy's Cross, the hon. Mrs. Liddell, of a daughter.

— In Portugal-st., Grosvenor-square, the lady of sir M. H. Hicks Beach, bart., of Williamstrip-park, Gloucestershire, of a son and heir.

— At Sodington, Worcester, the lady of sir Edward Blount, bart., of a son.

24. The wife of T. P. Williams, esq., M.P., of a daughter.

26. At Mayple Hayes, Staffordshire, the countess of Uxbridge, of a daughter.

— At Ashfield-lodge, Suffolk, the right hon. lady Thurlow, of a son and heir.

— At Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire, the right hon. lady Bateman, of a daughter.

28. At the Vicarage, Barking, the hon. Mrs. Robert Liddell, of a son.

30. At Brussells, the lady of Daniel Tighe, esq., of Rossana, county Wicklow, of a son.

31. At More Hill, Yorkshire, the hon. Mrs. A. Lascelles, of a son.

NOVEMBER.

3. At Moor-place, Hertfordshire, the lady of sir Seymour Blane, bart., of a son.

4. At Grove-park, Warwick, lady Dormer, of a son.

6. The lady of the rev. Henry Stebbing, of a son.

— At Fintry-house, the hon. lady Forbes, of Craigievar, of a son.

7. At Becca-hall, the lady of colonel Markham, of a son.

— In Belgrave-st., the countess of Pomfret, of a son.

11. At King's Newton-hall, Derbyshire, the lady of G. Vandeleur, esq., of a daughter.

BIRTHS.

11. In Carlton-house terrace, lady H. Cholmondeley, of a daughter.

— In Duncan-st., Edinburgh, the lady of sir John Hay, bart., of a son.

13, At Floors, the duchess of Roxburghe, of a daughter.

17. At Southampton, viscountess Corry, of a daughter.

— At Lilburne-tower, Northumberland, the lady of H. J. W. Collingwood, esq., of a son.

23. At Norton, Suffolk, the lady of Peter Huddleston, esq., of a son.

25. In Whitehall-place, lady Rennie, of a son.

27. At Rushbrook-park, Bury St. Edmond's, the wife of lieut.-col. Eyres, Grenadier-guards, of a daughter.

29. At Netherseale-hall, Leicester, the lady of the rev. Sir W. Nigel Gresley, bart., of a daughter.

— Mrs. Darby Doyle, of the Moor of Meath, of two daughters and a son, all well. This lady has not had a birth for thirty-five years.

Lately, at Bath, the wife of William Henry Peel, esq., of Aylesmore-house, Gloucestershire, of a son.

— At Cheltenham, the wife of major-gen. Podmore, of a son.

DECEMBER.

— In York-place, Portman-sq., the lady Mary Elizabeth Haworth, of a daughter.

7. At Mount Stone, Stonehouse, Plymouth, the lady of captain C. Bulkeley, of a son and heir.

— At Douglas's-hotel, Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Butler Johnstone, of Corehead, of a son and heir.

— At Orelton, Pembrokeshire, lady Owen, of a daughter.

12. At Blythe, Lancashire, the hon. Mrs. Bootle Wilbraham, of a son.

13. At the palace of Gibraltar, the lady of lieut.-col. the hon. A. F. Ellis, 2nd battalion 60th Rifles, of a son.

14. At Weston lodge, Derbyshire, the wife of the hon. and rev. Alfred Curzon, of a daughter.

15. Viscountess Encombe, of a daughter.

18. At Leamington, lady Townshend Farquhar, of a son.

— At Stratford-on-Avon, lady Chas. Paulet, of a son.

18. At Walthams ow, the hon. Mrs. George Massey, of a son.

— In Upper Wimpole-street, lady Parry, of a daughter.

— In New Granada, the lady of col. T. Manby, of a son.

21. At East Horsley, Surrey, the wife of the hon. and rev. A. P. Perceval, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

1837.

JANUARY.

5. At Rooss, Yorkshire, the rev. Chas, Hotham, fellow of University College. Oxford, to Lucy Elizabeth, widow of the hon. and rev. Henry Drummond, and daughter of the rev. Christopher Sykes.

12. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Thomas Brand, eldest son of the hon. general Trevor, to Susan, eldest daughter of the hon. C. C. Cavendish.

18. At St. George's, Hanover-square, lieut.-colonel E. H. Bridgeman, only son of the late hon. and rev. G. Bridgeman, to Harriet Elizabeth Frances, sister to the late H. Hervey Aston, esq.

23. At Brighton, Henry Shirley, esq. of Peppingford Lodge, Sussex, to Isabella Martha, second daughter of the late sir Harry Verelst Darell, bart.

24. At Richmond, sir W. Palk Carew, bart. of Halcombe, Devonshire, to Anne Frances, daughter of col. Taylor, of Ogwell House, in the same county, groom of the bedchamber to his Majesty.

27. At Steeple Ashton Church, the rev. Edward Fitzmaurice Boyle, to Elizabeth Margaret Colquhoun, daughter of the late Archibald Colquhoun, lord register of Scotland.

31. At the parish church of Dean, Lancashire, the rev. H. Montagu Villiers, fourth son of the late hon. George Villiers, to Amelia Maria, eldest daughter of William Hulton, esq. of Hulton Park.

MARRIAGES.

FEBRUARY.

2. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Christopher Turner, esq. of Stoke Rochford, and Panton House, Lincoln, to the lady Caroline Finch Hatton, only daughter of the earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

— At the Cathedral, Salisbury, the rev. Thos. Prothero, eldest son of Thos. Prothero, esq. of the Friars, Monmouth, to Georgiana Mary, only daughter of the rev. M. Marsh, canon residentiary of Salisbury.

— At Ashton, rear-admiral the hon. William Le Poer Trench, of St. Clevan's, Galway, to Margaret, relict of the late A. Handcock, esq. of Belfast.

7. In Burlington-gardens, Wm. Bernard Harcourt, esq. of St. Leonard's, Berks. to Elizabeth Georgiana Harriet, eldest daughter of the hon. colonel Cavendish.

7. G. E. Knight, esq. to the countess Nelson.

8. At Powerscourt Church, Wm. B. Smythe, esq. of Barbavilla House, Westmeath, to lady Elizabeth Monck, daughter of the earl of Rathdowne.

14. At Hanley-castle, Samuel Wall, esq. of Worthy-park, Hants. to Eliza Anne, second daughter of sir Anthony Lechmere, bart. of the Rhyd, Worcester.

15. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the earl of Winchilsea, to Emily, daughter of sir Charles Bagot.

27. At Barwell, Leicestershire, Geo. William Key, esq., 15th hussars, to Jane Frances Matilda, second daughter of John Pearson, esq. of Tettenhall Wood, Staffordshire, and advocate-general of Bengal.

MARCH.

1. At Ardbraccon-church, capt. H. Phillpotts, 29th regiment, second son of the lord bishop of Exeter, to Anne E. Wallis, youngest daughter of the late John Young, esq. of Philpot's (Townhouse), county of Meath.

4. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. James Hope, M.P. for Linlithgow-county, second son of the late earl of Hopetoun, to lady Mary Frances Nugent, youngest daughter of the late earl, and sister to the present marquis of Westmeath.

6. At Anthony, Cornwall, the hon. John Arthur Lysaght, eldest son of the right hon. lord Lisle, to Henrietta Ann, fifth daughter of the late John Church, esq., of Bedford-place, Russell-square, London.

8. At Dunmore-house, Argyleshire, William Fraser, esq. of Hillside, Fifeshire, to Helen Colquhoun, eldest daughter of the late James Campbell, esq. of Dunmore.

9. At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, the rev. Robert Borthby Heathcote, to Charlotte Sotheby, second daughter of the late admiral Sotheby.

— At Benenden-church, Edw. Barrett Curteis, esq. of Windmill-hill, Sussex, to Charlotte Lydia, youngest daughter of Thomas Law Hodges, esq. M.P. of Hempstead, Kent.

16. At Twickenham, Walter Fredk. Campbell, of Islay, esq. M.P. for the county of Argyle, to Catherine Isabella, daughter of the late Stephen J. Cole, of Twickenham, Middlesex, and of Stoke Lyme, Oxon.

16. At Lambeth-palace, Wm. Kingsmill, esq. of Sydmonton, Hants. to Anne Jane, daughter of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury.

18. At Dorking, J. Gurney Hoare, esq. son of Samuel Hoare, esq. of Hampstead, to Caroline, eldest daughter of Charles Barclay, esq. M.P. of Bury-hill, Surrey.

24. In Great King-street, Edinburgh, capt. Chas. Dundas, eldest son of capt. Deans Dundas, M.P. of Barton Court, Berks. to Janet Lindsay, daughter of J. Jardine, esq. sheriff of Ross and Cromarty.

28. At St. James's-church, Edward Strutt, esq. M.P. to Emily, youngest daughter of the right rev. Wm. Otter, D.D. bishop of Chichester.

28. At Richmond, John G. Musters, esq. eldest son of John Chaworth Musters, esq. of Colwick, Nottinghamshire, to Emily, youngest daughter of the late Philip Hammond, esq. of West-acre, Norfolk.

28. At Creswell-hall, Staffordshire, John Ayshford Wise, esq. eldest son of Ayshford Wise, esq. of Ford-house, Devon. to Mary Lovatt, only daughter and heiress of the late Hugh Booth, esq. of Clayton-hall, Staffordshire.

— At Trinity-church, Marylebone, John Collyer, esq. of Lincoln's-inn, barrister, to Georgiana Frances Amy, eldest daughter of Sir William Johnston, bart. of Hiltown, Aberdeenshire.

31. At Kenilworth, John, second son of John Russel, esq. of the Woodlands,

MARRIAGES.

to Elizabeth, second daughter of Wm. Collins, esq. M.P. for Warwick.

APRIL.

3. At Milan, Charlotte Leopoldina, second daughter of the late sir Richard Strachan, bart. G.C.B. to count Emanuel de Gichy, chamberlain to the emperor, and major of the Hungarian guard.

4. At St. Mark's, Kennington, Edward, son of deputy commissary-general De St. Remy, to Caroline, fourth daughter of lieut.-colonel Dixon, military superintendent, Fort Pitt, Chatham.

5. At Walcot-church, Bath, William L. Colquhoun, esq. of Clatheik, son of the late right hon. A. Colquhoun, lord register of Scotland, to Louisa, fourth daughter of the late Wadham Locke, esq. M.P. of Rowdeford-house, Wilts.

11. At St. Mary's-church, Cheltenham, John, eldest son of Isaac Cookson, esq. of Meldon park, Northumberland, to Sarah, eldest daughter of the late sir Matthew White Ridley, bart. of Blagden, Northumberland.

12. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the right. hon. lord Arthur M. C. Hill, second brother of the marquis of Downshire, to Louisa, youngest daughter of Joseph Blake, esq. of Gloucester-place, Portman-square, and of South Carolina.

17. At Maidstone-church, Peter R. Hoare, esq. eldest son of Peter R. Hoare, esq. of Clayton-hall, Lancashire, to the lady Sophia Marsham, eldest daughter of the earl of Romney.

18. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry Hall, esq. of Langham-place, and Holbrook-hall, Somerset, to the hon. Catherine Louisa Hood, daughter of the right hon. lord Bridport.

20. In the chapel of Wroxhall-abbey, Warwick, Chandos, second son of sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. of Harewood, Herefordshire, to Theodosia Ann Martha, daughter of the late Christopher R. Wren, esq. of Wroxall-abbey.

20. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the rev. Augustus Morgan, chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, third son of sir Charles Morgan, bart. of Tredegar, to Frances, second daughter of Rowley Lascelles, esq. of Upper Grosvenor-street.

MAY.

Captain Goldie Taubman, Scots fusileer guards, eldest son of lieut.-colonel Goldie, of The Nunnery, Isle of Man, to Ellen, youngest daughter of Humphrey Senhouse, esq. of Nether-hall, Cumberland.

11. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the earl Bruce, eldest son of the marquess of Ailesbury, to Mary Caroline, third daughter of the late earl of Pembroke.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Baron S. C. de Pfeil, secretary to the Wirtemburg embassy, to Francisca, daughter of the late colonel E. Copson, and niece to the countess of Plymouth.

— At Brighton, W. J. Sawrey Moritt, esq. to Ellen, daughter of sir R. Wilmot, bart. of Chaddesden, Derbyshire.

18. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Mr. Smyth, son of lady Elizabeth Smyth, and nephew to the duke of Grafton, to the hon. Miss Macdonald, sister of lord Macdonald.

— At the Hague, the rev. W. B. Otter, eldest son of the lord bishop of Chichester, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Melville, esq. his Britannic Majesty's consul at Amsterdam.

19. At Kew, John Hubbard, jun. esq. of Stratford, to the hon. Margaret Napier, daughter of the late lord Napier.

20. At Kilnasalagh, the hon. and rev. Chas. Amgard Harris, youngest son of the earl of Malmesbury, to Katherine Lucia, youngest daughter of the late sir Edward O'Brien, bart. of Dromoland, county of Clare.

— Edward Conroy, esq. eldest son of sir John Conroy, to lady Alicia Parsons, daughter of the earl of Rosse.

31. At Titchfield, John Buchan Hepburn, esq. second son of the late sir J. B. Hepburn, of Smeaton, bart. to Margaret Sophia, daughter of A. F. W. Swinton, esq. of Warsash, Hants.

JUNE.

1. At Castleknock, Dublin, Frances, fifth daughter of the late Hans Hamilton, esq. of Sheep-hill, M.P. for Dublin, to Richard, fourth son of the late sir H. Brooke, bart, of Colebrooke, Fermanagh.

— The Archdeacon of Lismore, to Sarah, daughter of the late J. Thacker, esq. of Ballymellish, Queen's County.

5. T. M. Williams, esq. of Penbedw-hall, Denbighshire, to Annabella, daughter and co-heiress of the rev. Philip Puleston, D.D. of Pickhill-hall, in the same county.

MARRIAGES.

5. At Cortachy, the hon. the Master of Arbuthnott, eldest son of the right hon. the viscount of Arbuthnott, to lady Jane Graham Ogilvie, eldest daughter of the right hon. the earl of Airlee.

— At Old Connell, county Kildare, the hon. Berkley Wodehouse, capt. of the 8th hussars, to Fanny, only daughter of Alexander Holmes, esq. of Curragh, Kildare.

— At Kilmurry-church, near Limerick, the rev. G. E. Massy, vicar of Brurree, son of the hon. George Massy, to Elizabeth, daughter of M. O'Brien, esq. of Newcastle.

14. At St. George's, Hanover-square, E. Vansittart Neale, esq. only son of the rev. E. Neale, of Aldesly-park, Warwick, and rector of Taplow, Bucks, to Frances Sarah, daughter of J. W. Farrer, esq. of Ingleborough, Yorkshire, and one of the masters of his Majesty's high court of Chancery.

17. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Molyneux Cecil John Betham, esq. eldest son of sir William Betham, Ulster king of arms, to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late sir Richard Ford.

— At Southampton, Villiers Dent, esq. son of the late John Dent, esq. M.P. to Susan J. T. second daughter of lieut.-gen. Order, and grand-daughter of Wm. Beckford, esq.

20. At Melbury, Edward St. Vincent Digby, esq. eldest son of vice-admiral sir H. Digby, K.C.B. and viscountess Andover, to the lady Theresa Strangeways, daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

— At Lowick, Northampton, William Bruce Stopford, esq. of the Foreign-office, to Caroline Harriet, daughter of the late hon. George Jermain.

22. At St. George's, Hanover-square, George T. Lushington, esq. of the civil service, Bengal, second son of the right hon. S. R. Lushington, M.P. to Marianne, youngest daughter of the late Hesse Gordon, esq.

23. At St. George's-church, W. B. Simpson, esq. to Lady Frances, third daughter of earl Fitzwilliam.

26. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry Cooper Marshall. esq. fourth son of John Marshall, esq. of Halesteads Cumberland, to Catherine Ann Lucy, second daughter of the right hon. Thomas Spring Rice, of Mount Trenchard-Limerick.

27. At St. John's, Paddington, viscount Hood, to Mary Isabella, daughter of the hon. Mrs. Stopford.

29. At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, the rev. J. C. Wynter, rector of Gatton, Surrey, to Elizabeth, daughter of James S. Broadwood, esq. of Lyne, Surrey.

JULY.

1. At Chiswick-church, the hon. John Fred. Howard, to lady Fanny Cavendish.

4. At the cathedral church of Elphin, the rev. Nicolas Toke, eldest son of the rev. William Toke, of Godinton, Kent, and Bramston-hall, Essex, to Emma Leslie, second daughter of the lord bishop of Elphin.

6. At Marylebone-church, the rev. Charles Kindleside, vicar of Poling, Sussex, to Elizabeth Jemima Charlotte, eldest daughter of sir John Brydges, of Wootton-court, near Canterbury.

— At Marylebone-church, the rev. William Maxwell Du Pre, M.A. vicar of Woburn, son of James Du Pre, esq. of Wilton-park, Bucks, to Emily, daughter of sir Thomas Baring, bart.

— At Brighton, at the house of sir Robert Wilmot, bart. Ralph Howard, esq. M.P. to lady Fraser.

11. At Twickenham-church, the rev. Richard Burgess, rector of Upper Chelsea, to Sophia, daughter of the late Samuel Greathead, esq. of Landford-lodge, Wilts.

15. At Marylebone-church, Norman Mac Leod, of Mac Leod, to the hon. Louisa Barbara St. John, only sister of lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

18. Lord Waterpark, to Miss Eliza Anson, daughter of the viscountess Anson.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, the rev. lord Chas. Thynne, to Harriet, daughter of the bishop of Oxford.

— At Carisbrook, Isle of Wight, the rev. Jervis Trigge Giffard, vicar of Willow, Hants. to Elizabeth, daughter of major-general Evelyn.

— At Gilling, Yorkshire, the rev. James A. Barnes, rector of Gilling, to Lavinia, daughter of Charles Gregory Fairfax, esq. of Gilling-castle.

19. At Madras, John Sims Freshfield, esq. 1st light cavalry, son of J. W. Freshfield, esq. M.P. to Elizabeth, daughter of James Scott, esq. Forfar.

20. At Broadwater-church, Joseph, second son of Jos. Blake, esq. of Gloucester-place, Portman-square, to Elizabeth Mary Ann, daughter of major-gen. sir Evan Murray Macgregor, bart.

MARRIAGES.

20. William, eldest son of Jos. Berens, esq. of Kevington, Kent, to Louisa Maria, second daughter of col. Rolleston, of Watnall-hall, Notts.

26. At All-Souls, Langham-place, Charles Magra, esq., late of the 21st Fusileers, to the hon. Charlotte Henley Ongley, youngest daughter of lord Ongley.

— At Madras, John G. Turnbull, esq., accountant-general, to Caroline, second daughter of sir Peregrine Maitland, commander-in-chief of the forces at that presidency.

AUGUST.

1. At Arbuthnot-house, Kincardineshire, William J. Lumsden, esq., of Balmedie, and of East India Company's civil service, to Margaret, second daughter of the rt. hon. viscount Arbuthnot.

2. At Dundas Castle, the hon. Henry A. Coventry, second son of the earl of Coventry, to Caroline, second daughter of James Dundas, esq., of Dundas.

3. At Bray, the hon. William E. Fitzmaurice, of the 2d Life Guards, youngest son of the late viscount Kirkwall, to Esther, daughter of the late Henry Harford, esq. of Down-place, Berks.

5. At the Bristish Embassy, Paris, the rt. hon. lord Lyndhurst, to Georgiana, daughter of Louis Goldsmith, esq.

10. At Ospringe, the rev. James Hugh Hallett, to Mary Frances, daughter of lieut-gen. sir Thomas G. Montresor, of Ospringe-house, Kent.

12. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry, youngest son of the hon. Charles Tollemache, to Emilia, eldest daughter of sir George Sinclair, bart. M.P.

15. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. Augustus H. Moreton, M.P., son of the earl of Ducie, to Miss Macdonald, eldest daughter of the late sir Charles Macdonald Lockhart, bart. of Lee and Caenwath, Lanarkshire.

— At Marylebone church, major Bucknall Estcourt, 42d Light Infantry, second son of sir T. G. B. Estcourt, bart. to Caroline, daughter of the late rt. hon. Reginald Pole Carew, of Antony, Cornwall.

18. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. R. A. Arundell, youngest son of the late lord Arundell, of Wardour Castle, Wilts, to Elizabeth Louisa, eldest daughter of the rev. J. Jones, of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutlandshire.

22. At Trinity church, the rev. Chas. Leslie, eldest son of the lord bishop of Elphin, to Louisa Mary, second daughter of major-gen. the hon. sir Henry King, K.C.B.

23. At Newdigate, Surrey, Harry T. Lee, esq. of Dynas Powis, Glamorganshire, to Catherine Frances, daughter of J. S. Broadwood, esq. of Lyne, Surrey.

24. At Marylebone church, J. Lodge, esq., to the rt. hon. Lady Harriet Manners Sutton.

29. At St. John's, Paddington, major, the hon. Arthur Charles Legge, second son of the late earl of Dartmouth, to Caroline, fourth daughter of the late J. C. P. Bouwens, esq. and granddaughter to the late sir Richard Rycroft.

— At Munich, James H. Callandar, esq. of Craigforth, to the hon. Jane Erskine, youngest daughter of the rt. hon. lord Erskine, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Bavaria.

SEPTEMBER.

2. At Highgate, Harry, youngest son of sir Robert Chester, to Anna Maria, only child of the late Robert Isherwood, esq.

4. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles W. M. Balders, esq. of West Barham, Norfolk, captain in the 3d Light Dragoons, to the lady Katharine Ann Hare, daughter of the late viscount Ennismore, and sister of the earl of Listowel.

5. At Swinburne, Northumberland, the marchese Teodoro Carlo Strozzi, of Lavacchio, in Tuscany, and of Florence, to Georgiana, daughter of the late George Strickland, esq. of Newton and Chesnut Grove, York.

14. At Tottenham, Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., to Emily Sarah, second daughter of William Robinson, esq. LL.D. of Tottenham.

— At Dover, H. Gritton, esq. of Woolwich, to Anne, viscountess Lake, widow of Francis Gerard, lord Lake, and daughter of the late Admiral sir Richard Onslow, bart. G.C.B.

— At Roundhay church, James William, son of sir William A. Scarlett, late chief justice of Jamaica, to Anne Rhodes Williams, youngest daughter of James Brown, esq. of Harehills Grove, Yorkshire.

17. At the private chapel of the rt. rev. the bishop Griffiths, Caroline Shir-

MARRIAGES.

ley, only daughter of Robert Sewallie Shirley, viscount Tamworth, to Don Lorenzo Sforza, Duca Sforza, only son of the late Don Francisco Sforza Duca Sforza, of Rome.

21. At St. John's, Margate, Charles Gwinnell, esq. of Doctors' Commons, to Cecilia, youngest, and only surviving daughter of sir Christopher Goodge, of Goodge-hall, Leicester, bart.

25. At Hampton Court, col. sir James Henry of Reynett, K.C.H., aid-de-camp to the queen, and equerry to the duke of Cambridge, to Eliza, eldest daughter of James Campbell, esq. of Hampton Court.

— At Whittinghame-house, Henry A. Herbert, esq. of Muckross Abbey, Killarney, to Mary, eldest daughter of James Balfour, esq. of Whittinghame.

26. At Trinity church, Marylebone, the rev. Charles Twisleton, rector of Ashow and Whitnash, Warwick, second son of the late hon. and rev. T. J. Twisleton, to Caroline, eldest daughter of the late Ralph Carr, esq. of Park Crescent, and of Stannington, Northumberland.

— At Oxford, the rev. Charles Hewett, third son of the right hon. general sir George Hewett, bart. G.C.B. of Freemantle, Hants, to Frances Sophia, fourth daughter of the late Charles W. Cater, esq. of Guildford-street, London.

28. At Cossington, Somersetshire, Edward Barrett Lennard, esq., son of of sir T. B. Lennard, bart. of Belhus Park, Essex, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Robert Graham, esq. of Harley-street.

OCTOBER.

3. At Navan Church, John Tisdall, esq. of Charlesfort, county Meath, to Isabella, only daughter of the late rt. hon. George Knox.

— At Wootton, Kent, Ponsonby Peacocke, esq. of the 25th Regiment, to Isabella, daughter of sir John Brydges, of Wootton Court, Kent.

14. At Darmstadt, Benjamin Workman, esq. of Bengeworth, Worcestershire, to Katherinchen, countess Schwalbach.

17. At Bromyard, Lechmere, William Whitmore, esq. fourth son of gen. sir George Whitmore, K C.B., to Sarah Patience, daughter and sole heiress of the late Richard Mee, esq. of the Tiled House, Staffordshire.

18. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, John Measure, barrister, Lincoln's Inn, to Charlotte de Ferrers, youngest daughter of the late major-gen. sir Sigismund Smith, K.C.H., of Austey-house, Hants.

— At Holcombe Burnell, Devon, Benjamin Cherry, of Northan, Herts, to Charlotte Cassander, third daughter of the lord bishop of Exeter.

19. At St. Pancras, New Church, Charles Norris, eldest son of Edward Archer Wilde, of College Hill, esq. to Emily, C. T., only daughter of Mr. Sergeant Wilde, M.P.

— At Nettlecombe Court, the rev. Bryan Faussett, lady Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford, to Helena, daughter of sir John Trevelyan, bart.

— At Brighton, viscount Valencia, only son of earl Mountnorris, to Frances, only daughter of the late C. J. Sims, esq. of Jamaica.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanston-square, Robert Bayley, esq. nephew of William Bayley, esq. of Moreland's House, Kilkenny, to lady Juliana Annesley, youngest daughter of the late earl of Mountnorris.

26. At St. James Church, the hon. and rev. Lowther John Barrington, brother to viscount Barrington, to lady Catharine Georgiana Pelham, sister to the earl of Chichester.

28. At Kilnasala Church, the rev. Arthur Martineau, M.A., to Ann, second daughter of the late sir Edward O'Brien, bart. of Dromerland, county of Clare.

NOVEMBER.

7. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Joseph Jekyll, esq. to Anna Louisa, only daughter of the late sir Charles William Flint.

— At Euston Church, the hon. and rev. Augustus Phipps, to the lady Mary E. Fitzroy, eldest daughter of the earl of Euston.

— At Lockinge, Berks, the rev. George May, eldest son of G. May, esq. of Strode House, Herne, Kent, to Catharine Eliz., only daughter of sir W. Martin, bart.

11. At Barwell, Leicestershire, Thomas Hooke Pearson, captain 16th Lancers, eldest son of John Pearson, esq. of Tettenhallwood, Stafford, and advocate-general, Calcutta, to Frances E. A. eldest daughter of the rev. G. Mettam, of Barwell.

13. At Walthamstow, the rev. Wil-

MARRIAGES.

liam Pitt, son of the late sir Robert Wigram, bart. to Sophia, daughter of the late George Smith, esq. of Selsdon, Surry.

14. At Sunbury Church, the hon. Sidney Robert Curzon, son of the rt. hon. lord Bingham, to Frances, youngest daughter of Richardson Purves, esq. of Sunbury-place, Middlesex.

— At Thorpe, near Norwich, captain Sutton, eldest son of the late rear-admiral Sutton, to Julia, eldest daughter of col. sir Robert Harvey, K.C.B. of Moushold-house.

20. At St. James's Church, colonel Francis Vernon Harcourt, to lady Catherine Jenkinson, eldest daughter of the earl of Liverpool.

21. At Sandhurst Church, Berks, William Blundell Fortescue, of Fullapitts, Devon, to Harriet Maria, second daughter of col. Taylor, of Ogwell-house, same county, lieut.-governor of the royal military college.

23. At Halton Chapel, the rt. hon. the lord Brabazon, M.P., eldest son of the earl of Meath, to Harriet, second daughter of sir Richard Brooker, of Norton Priory, Cheshire, bart.

— At Hambledon, Bucks, Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. youngest son of general sir George Nugent, bart. K.C.B. of Westhorpe-house, Bucks, to Louisa Douglas, daughter of the late sir Rose Price, bart. of Trengwainton, Cornwall.

27. At Hanmer, county Flint, Richard Baker Wingfield, esq. of the Middle Temple, nephew of earl Digby, to Margaret Maria, second daughter of the late col. Hanmer, of Bettesfield Park.

28. At St. George's, Hanover-square, sir Walter Rockliffe Farquhar, bart., to the lady Mary Octavia Somerset, youngest daughter of the late duke of Beaufort.

— At Marylebone Church, the rev. Douglas Macdonald, eldest son of archdeacon Macdonald, to Flora, daughter of P. Hadow, esq. of Upper Harley-street.

Lately. At Agohill, county Down, the rev. Robert Alexander, of Portglenone, eldest son of the bishop of Meath, to Hester, daughter of the late colonel M'Manus, of Mount Davis, Antrim.

DECEMBER.

6. At Genoa, in the house of the British minister, sir A. Foster, Eyre Evans, junior, esq. of Ash-hill, county Limerick, to the hon. Sophia Crofton, sister of lord Crofton.

7. At Lockinge, Bucks, the rev. George May, eldest son of George May, esq. of Strode-house, Herne, Kent, to Catherine Elizabeth, only daughter of sir Henry William Martin, bart.

14. At Great Cunford, Dorsetshire, the rt. hon. George, lord Kinnaird, to Frances Ann Georgiana, only daughter of the hon. W. F. S. Ponsonby.

19. At St. James' Church, William Scott Kerr, esq. of Chatto, Roxburgh, to Hannah Charlotte, lady Scott Douglas, of Belford.

— At Durrow Abbey, King's county, J. Vandeleur Stewart, Esq. of Rockhill, Donegal, to lady Helen Toler, third daughter of the earl of Norbury.

— At the registrar's office, Plymouth, sir Christopher Sydney Smith, bart. of Gardistown, Worcestershire, to Harriet, widow of the late —— Murphy, esq.

— At Fredericton, New Brunswick, captain Tyson, 43d Light Infantry, of Bulwick Park, Northamptonshire, to Elizabeth, only daughter of major.-gen. sir John Harvey, lieutenant-governor of that province.

20. At Lifford, the hon. and rev. Arthur Pomeroy, to Frances Letitia Knox, daughter of the late bishop of Derry.

23. At Marylebone Church, Ramon de Bertenado Lopez, esq. to Henrietta, the eldest daughter of James Pattison, esq., M.P.

26. In the Catholic Chapel of the Assumption, and in the chapel of the British Embassy at Paris, William Shee, esq. of Lincoln's Inn, barrister, to Mary, second daughter of sir James Gordon, bart. of Gordonston and Letterfourie, Banffshire.

27. The hon. David Plunkett, third son of Lord Plunkett, to Louisa Aldridge, eldest daughter of the late Robert Aldridge Busby, esq.

28. At Sunning Hill, the rev. William Sinclair, son of the late rt. hon. sir J. Sinclair, of Ulster, bart., to Helen, daughter of the late W. Ellice, Esq.

PROMOTIONS.

1836.

DECEMBER.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

21. Charles Knight Murray, esq. barrister-at-law, to be treasurer to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.

17. Major-Gen. H. S. Keating to be K.C.B.

1837.

JANUARY.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

9. Knighted, Thomas Baucutt Mash, esq., of St. James's Palace.

16. Sir James Colquhoun, of Luss, bart., to be lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Dumbarton.

17. Gen. the hon. Sir Edward Paget, G.C.B. to be governor of Chelsea Hospital.

21. Kenneth — Alexander baron Howard of Effingham, G.C.B. created Earl of Effingham, co. Surrey; Thomas lord Ducie created earl of Ducie and baron Moreton of Tortworth; Charles lord Yarborough created earl of Yarborough, and baron Worsley of Apuldurcombe in the Isle of Wight; Edward Berkeley Portman, esq., created baron Portman of Orchard Portman, co. Somerset; Thomas Alexander Fraser, esq., created baron Lovat, of Lovat, co. Inverness; and William Hanbury, esq., created baron Bateman, of Shobden, co. Hereford.

23. The right hon. G. B. Abercromby to be lieutenant and sheriff-principal of the shire of Stirling.

28. Right hon. Michael O'Loghlin, to be keeper or master of the Rolls and Records of the Court of Chancery of Ireland.

30. George Lloyd Hodges, esq., to be Consul in Servia.

CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

15. Major-General Sir H. Wheatley to be receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, and Thomas Tolle, esq., deputy.

— Rev. George Peacock to be Lowndsian professor of Astronomy at Cambridge.

— Rev. J. A. Giles to be head master, and the rev. R. P. Edkins, second master of the City of London School.

— J. G. T. Sinclair, esq., to be page of honour to the Queen.

FEBRUARY.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

2. Rt. hon. Francis William, earl of Charlemont, to be a baron of the United Kingdom, by the title of baron Charlemont, of Charlemont, co. Armagh; with remainder to his brother, the hon. Henry Caulfield.

6. Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, to be G.C.B.— Major-general Sir John Wilson to be a K.C.B.

9. John Cunningham, esq., to be one of the lords of Session in Scotland; and Andrew Rutherfurd, esq., to be solicitor-general for Scotland.

10. James Kennedy, esq., barrister-at-law, to be his Majesty's Judge in the mixed British and Spanish Court of Justice at the Havannah.

— Brevet, lieutenant-colonel W. Wylde to have the local rank of colonel, and major J. N. Colquhoun, of lieutenant-colonel, while employed on a special service in Spain.

— Royal military college; major-general Sir G. Scovell, K.C.B. to be governor; colonel J. W. Taylor to be lieutenant-governor.

15. Robert Ferguson, of Raith, esq., to be lieutenant, and sheriff-principal of the county of Fife.

17. Garrison, major-general, Charles Murray, Lord Greenock to be governor of Edinburgh Castle. Brevet, Captain Richard Hancock to be major in the army.

— Theodore Lord John Hay to be a C.B.

-- To be privy councillors for Ireland; lord Talbot de Malahide; Villiers Stuart, esq., lieutenant of Waterford; John Richards, attorney-general; Anthony Richard Blake, chief remembrancer.

24. Admiral Sir L. W. Halsted to be G.C.B.

PROMOTIONS.

28. Vice-admiral Ross Donelly, and rear-admirals, Francis William Austen, and George Mundy, to be K.C.B.

Members returned to Parliament.

Buckinghamshire. — George Simon Harcourt, esq.
East Cumberland. — Wiliam James, esq.
Carlow, Co.—N. A. Vigors, esq.
Renfrewshire. — George Houstoun, jun., esq.
Stafford.—John Farrand, esq.
Cashel.—Stephen Woulfe, esq.
Morpeth.—Lord Leveson.
Dungarvon.—John Power, esq.
Warwick.—Hon. J. C. Canning.
Calne.—Hon. J. G. C. Fox Strangways.
Evesham.—G. R. Bowles, esq.
Malton.—Lord Viscount Milton.
Sheffield.—John Parker, esq.

Civil Preferments.

— N. Kymetz, B. A. to be second master of Hertford grammar school. Rev. A. Ramsay, to be master of the endowed school at Martock, Somerset.

— Rev. R. Wilson to be head master of St. Peter's grammar school, Eaton square.

MARCH.

Gazette Promotions.

1. Viscount Falkland, to be of the privy council. — Knighted, Woodbine Parish, esq., late consul-general at Buenos Ayres; lieutenant-general Robt. Barton; major-general Thomas Hawker; Edward Chetham, esq., captain R. N.; Thomas Mansell, esq., capt. R. N.; Thomas Coltman, esq., justice of the court of common pleas; Adam Drummond, esq., vice-admiral of the blue; and lieutenant-general Augustus De Butts, roy. Eng. K.H.

8. Knighted, lieut.-gen. Alexander Halkett, K.C.H. and lieut.-col. Hen. Geo. Macleod, lieut.-governor of St. Christopher's.

— Knighted, at Dublin, Dr. Francis W. Smith, and Thomas Finlay, esq., late high sheriff of co. Cavan.

10. Lieut.-gen. Sir John Doveton, and major-gen. Sir John W. Adams, E.I.C. to be G.C.B.—Major-generals William Casement, Sir Joseph O'Halloran, Knt., Alex. Caldwell, Sir Robert Houstoun, bt., R. Stevenson, James L. Caldwell, James L. Lushington, James Russell, Charles Deacon, and David Leighton, all of E.I. co's service, to be K.C.B.

— H. R. Plaw, esq., to be consul at Dantzic; and Joseph Egan, esq., at the Cape Verde Islands.

13. Harrison Gordon Codd, esq., of Kensington, (lately appointed one of the police magistrates at Worship-street) to be equerry to the duke of Sussex.

14. John Rice Crowe, esq., to be consul for the province of Finmarken, in Norway; and Henry Sarell Ongley, esq., to be consul in the Island of Candia.

17. Col. J. Cassidy, to be lieut.-col. of the 80th regiment.—Captain John Macphail, to be major in the army.

19. The earl of Carlisle to be K.G.; the bishop of Oxford to be chancellor of the Garter.

— Major-general Sir John Harvey, K.C.H. to be lieut.-governor of New Brunswick.—Charles Augustus Fitzroy, esq., to be lieut.-governor of Prince Edward's Island.

23. Lieut.-col. Richard Doherty to be governor-in-chief of the colony of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies.

28. Hon. Geo. Edgecumbe to be secretary to his majesty's legation to the Swiss Cantons, and Chas. Foley Wilmot, esq., to be secretary to his majesty's legation at Florence.

29. James Alex. Stewart Mackenzie, esq., to be governor and commander-in-chief of Ceylon.—Col. F. Cockburn, to be lieut.-governor of the Bahama Islands.

31. Knighted, lieut.-col. Wm. M. G. Colebrooke, R.A.

Members returned to Parliament.

Anglesea.—Wm. Owen Stanley, esq.
Downshire.—Earl of Hillsborough.
Stafford.—Robert Farrand, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. Edward Denison, M.A. to be bishop of Salisbury.

PROMOTIONS.

Civil Preferments.

Stephen Woulfe, esq., to be attorney-general of Ireland.

Recorders.—Bath, D. Jardine, esq.; Gloucester, G. Chilton, esq.; Hereford, J. G. Smith, esq.; Hull, M. T. Baines, esq.; Leeds, R. B. Armstrong, esq.; Rye, Sir Fred. Pollock.

M. Herman Merivale, M.A. to be professor of political economy in the University of Oxford.

APRIL.

Gazette Promotions.

1. Thos. Verner, of Churchill, co. Armagh, esq., to be one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber.

— Major-general Sir James Douglas, to be lieut.-governor of the Island of Guernsey.

5. Rt. hon. James Alex. Stewart Mackenzie, sworn of his majesty's privy council.—J. G. C. Disbrowe, esq., to be page of honor to the Queen.

11. Knighted, Francis Forbes, esq., chief justice of New South Wales, and James Duke, esq., sheriff of London and Middlesex.

— Thos. Wathen Waller, esq., to be secretary of legation at Brussels.

12. Thos. Geo. Walsh, esq., to be one of his majesty's honourable corps of gentlemen-at-arms.

— Macvey Napier, esq , to be one of the ordinary clerks of session in Scotland.

19. The duke of Somerset to be K.G. —Henry, earl of Ilchester, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Somerset.

26. Knighted, col. E. Stannus, lieut.-col. Chas. Hopkinson, and Chas. Gordon Drimum, esq., secretary to the Highland agricultural society of Scotland.

27. Knighted, major-general James Macdonnell. — major-general Sir W. Gomm, to be one of the equerries to the duke of Cambridge.

Members returned to Parliament.

Lewes.—Hon. Henry Fitzroy.
Rochdale.—John Fenton, esq.
Warwick.—William Collins, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. E. Stanley, D.D. to be bishop of Norwich.

Rev. T. Musgrave, to be dean of Bristol.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. C. J. Belin, to be head master of Guilford grammar school.

Rev. J. Hogg, head master of Limerick diocesan school.

Rev. J. Carter, head master of Wakefield free grammar school.

MAY

Gazette Promotions.

3. Knighted, John Wentworth Loring, esq., rear-admiral of the white.

5. Brevet, lieut.-col. Rich. Doherty, governor of Sierra Leone, to have the local rank of colonel on the western coast of Africa.

10. Knighted, gen. John Gustavus Crosbie.

18. Thomas Jas. Tatham, of Bedford-place, gent. to be an assistant-commissioner of tithes.

22. Sir Francis Bond Head, knt. to be a bart.

26. H. D. Fraser, esq., to be sec. to his majesty's legation at Buenos Ayres.

30. Lieut.-gen. the rt. hon. Sir R. H. Vivian, bart. K.C.B. to be G.C.B.

Members returned to Parliament.

Bridgewater. — Henry Broadwood, esq.

Huddersfield.—Edward Ellice, jun., esq.

Hythe.—Lord viscount Melgund.

Longford County.—Charles Fox, esq,

Ross and Cromarty.—Thomas Mackenzie, esq.

Westminster.—Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. C. F. Childe, to be head master to the grammar school of Wallsall.

T. W. H. Gurney, to the second ma-

PROMOTIONS.

thematical mastership of Christ's Hospital, London.

W. A. Osborne, head master of the free grammar school, Macclesfield.

Mr. Wm. Archer Butler to be (the first) professor of moral philosophy in the University of London.

Wm. Wilkins, esq., to be professor of architecture in the royal academy.

JUNE.

Gazette Promotions.

1. Knighted, Chas. Aug. Fitzroy, esq., lieut.-governor of prince Edward Island.

2. Major-gen. W. Johnston, to be K.C.B.

— Chelsea Hospital, lieut.-gen. Sir G. T. Walker, rt . to be lieut.-gov.

5. Knighted, by patent, Simon Heward, esq., chief of the medical staff during the Burmese war.

9. Hospital staff, Donald Macleod, M.D. to be Inspector-general of hospitals — James Arthur, M.D., to be deputy Inspector-general of hospitals.

13. John Bassett, esq., to be major-commandant of the Cornwall Yeomanry.

14. Henry J. Cockburn, esq., to be one of the lords justiciary in Scotland, *vice* Adam Gillies, esq., resigned, who is nominated to perform the duties of the last remaining baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, now deceased.

24. Robert Blackmore, esq., to be one of her majesty's hon. corps of gentlemen-at-arms.

26. Sir John Conroy, of Llanbrynmair, co. Montgomery, knt., created a bart.

27. Albert William Woods, gent. to be Fitz-Allan pursuivant of arms extraordinary.—Thomas Maitland, esq., capt. R.N., to wear the supernumary cross of the order of Charles III.

Member returned to Parliament.

Glasgow.—John Dennistoun, esq.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. W. A. Osborne, to be head master of the free grammar school, Macclesfield.

H. N. Burrows, esq., B.A. to be principal, and G. F. Simpson, esq., B.A. second master of the new college at Hull.

JULY.

Gazette Promotions.

10. W. F. Lapidge, esq., capt. R.N. to accept the cross of a commander of the Spanish order of Isabella the Catholic.

12. Lord Foley to be lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Worcestershire; Prince Esterhazy invested with the insignia of an honorary G.C.B.

14. Charles William Frederick Emicon, Prince of Leinengen (her Majesty's half brother) invested a K.G.

19. Henry Charles, earl of Surrey, sworn a privy councillor; Knighted, John Bickerton Williams, of Shrewsbury, esq., LL.D. and F.S.A.; Watkin Owen Pell, esq. capt. R.N.; John Jacob Hansler, of Tavistock-sq., esq. deputy-lieut. for Essex; Richard Westmacott, esq. R.A.; Augustus Wall Callcott, of Kensington Gravel-pits, esq. R.A.; William John Newton, esq. miniature painter in ordinary to the queen dowager; James Spittal, esq. lord provost of Edinburgh; Dr. David Davies, K.C.H., physician in ordinary to the queen dowager; col. George Arthur, K.C.H.

21. James Henry Robert, duke of Roxburgh, created a peer of the United Kingdom as earl of Innes; Thomas William Coke, esq., created viscount Coke, and earl of Leicester of Holkham, co. Norfolk; capt. M. F. F. Berkeley to be a lord of the admiralty, *vice* hon. George Elliott.

24. D. Dundas to be lieut.-col.; sir George Gipps, knt. to be governor of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

25. Col. De Lacy Evans, lieut.-gen. in the service of her Catholic Majesty, and G.C. St.F. to wear the insignia of a grand cross of Charles 3rd for his important services, especially at the assault of Irun and capture of Fontarabia.

26. The duke of Sussex to be capt. gen. and col. of the Artillery Company.

27. Gen. sir Frederick Augustus Wetherall, G.C.H., to be extra groom in waiting to her Majesty.

PROMOTIONS.

Civil Preferments.

Sir Frederick Madden to be principal keeper of the manuscripts at the British Museum in the room of the rev. Mr. Forshall, who has been appointed secretary.

—A. Panizzi, esq., to be keeper of the printed books, *vice* Baber resigned.

—Rev. Dr. Lee, to be the principal of the united colleges of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, in the university of St Andrews.

—Rev. J. Hill, to be second master of the Derry Diocesan School.

Rev. A. Philipps to be master of the Free Grammar School, Crewkerne, Somerset.

AUGUST.

Gazette Promotions.

7. Knighted by patent, William Henry Rough, esq., serjeant-at-law, chief justice of the supreme court at Ceylon.

8. Physicians in ordinary to the Queen, James Clark, M.D.; sir Henry Halford, bart. M.D. G.C.H.; William Fred. Chambers, M.D. K.C.H.; serjeant surgeons, sir Astley P. Cooper, bart. G.C.H.; sir Benjamin C. Brodie, bart.; Robt. Keate, esq.; physician to the household, James Clark, M.D.; surgeon to the household J. Phillips, esq; apothecary to the person, John Nussey, esq. and Edward Duke Moore, esq., jointly; apothecary to the household, John Nussey, esq. and Charles Craddock, esq. jointly; sir James M'Grigor, bart. M.D.; Henry Holland, M.D.; Peter Mere Latham, M.D.; Richard Bright, M.D.; and Neil Arnott, M.D. physicians extraordinary to her Majesty; Benjamin Travers, esq.; Thos. Copeland, esq.; Wm. Lawrence, esq.; Henry Earle, esq.; and Richard Blagden, esq. surgeons extraordinary to her Majesty. Messrs. Merriman, of Kensington, apothecaries extraordinary to her Majesty. Charles Dumergue, esq., surg. dentist to her Majesty; Louis Durlacher, esq. surgeon chiropodist to her Majesty; Mr. Squire, chemist and druggist to her Majesty.

25. Lord Southwell to be K.P.; capt. hon. George Liddell, to be barrack-master at Blackburn.

29. Letters patent have passed the great seal, re-appointing all the members of the late king's ministry to their respective offices. The marquess of Conyngham is re-appointed Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, vice-chamberlain of the royal household; the duke of Argyll is re-appointed lord steward, and the earl of Surrey, treasurer, *vice* the hon. G. S. Byng; Sir F. B. Watson is re-appointed master of the household; the marquesses of Headfort and Queensberry, viscounts Falkland and Torrington, and lords Byron, Gardiner, Lilford, and Templemore, are re-appointed lords in waiting; sir William Lumley, and sir Robert Otway, colonel Thomas Armstrong, the hon. C. Murray, hon. William Cowper, sir Henry Seton, sir F. Stovin, and H. Rich, esq. grooms in waiting; colonel the hon. H. F. C. Cavendish, to be chief equerry and clerk marshall; lieut-col., the hon. C. Grey, lieut.-col. E. Buckley, lord Alfred Paget, and col. W. Wemyss, to be equerries in ordinary; lord Kilmarnock, C. Ellice, esq., J. C. M. Cowell, esq. and G. H. Cavendish, esq. to be pages of honour in ordinary.

29. In her Majesty's household, mistress of the robes, the duchess of Sutherland; principal lady of the chamber, the marchioness of Lansdowne; ladies of the bedchamber, the marchioness of Tavistock, the countess of Charlemont, the countess of Mulgrave, the lady Portman, the lady Lyttelton, the lady Barham, and the countess of Durham; maids of honour, the hon. Harriet Pitt, the hon. Margaret Dillon, the hon. Caroline Cocks, the hon. Miss Cavendish, the hon. Matilda Paget, Miss Murray, Miss Lister, and Miss Spring Rice; bedchamber women, the lady Caroline Barrington, the lady Harriet Clive, the lady Charlotte Copley, the viscountess Forbes, the hon. Mrs. Brand, the lady Gardiner, the hon. Mrs. G. Campbell; resident woman of the bedchamber, Miss Davys.

Naval Preferments.

Rear-admiral C. H. Ross, C.B. to be commander-in-chief on the South American station, to hoist his flag in the President, 52; capt. James Scott will command her; capts. W. W. Henderson K.H. to the Edinburgh; F. W. Beechey, African; commander Decimus Hastings, Edinburgh.

PROMOTIONS.

The king of Hanover has nominated the following Englishmen to be knights of the Guelphic order. Sir Joseph Planta, as grand cross; capt. George Gosling, R.N.; lieut. Gordon, R.N.; and capt. Stephens, aid-de-camp to the duke of Cambridge.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

T. Musgrave, D.D. to be bishop of Hereford.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. J. Worsley, to be master of Downing college, Cambridge.

Rev. W. Cureton to be assistant keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum.

SEPTEMBER.

Gazette Preferments.

5. Nassau William Senior, esq., Sam. Jones Loyd, esq., Wm. Edw. Hickson, esq., and John Leslie, esq., to be commissioners for inquiring into the condition of the unemployed hand-loom weavers of the United Kingdom.

11. Capt. William F. Beatson, 54th Bengal, N.I. and late lieut.-col. in the service of the queen of Spain, to accept the cross of the first class of San Fernando.

15. 13th Light Dragoons, capt. T. P. Lang to be major; 56th Foot, brevet, major P. S. Norman to be major; Andrew Smith, M.D. to be surgeon to the Forces.

19. Angela Georgiana Burdett, of Stratton-street, Piccadilly, youngest dau. of sir Francis Burdett, bart,, and of dame Sophia his wife, formerly Sophia Coutts, (in compliance with the will of the duchess of St. Albans) to take the surname and bear the arms of Coutts, in addition to those of Burdett; the very rev. John Merewether, D.D. dean of Hereford; the very rev. George Davys, D.D. dean of Chester; and the rev. Thomas Vowler Short, rector of Saint George's Bloomsbury, to be deputy clerks of the closet to her Majesty.

The sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland returned to serve in the new Parliament; The marquess of Tweeddale, earl of Morton, earl of Home, earl of Elgin, earl of Airlie, earl of Leven and Melville, earl of Selkirk, earl of Orkney, the viscount Arbuthnot, the viscount Strathallan, lord Forbes, lord Saltoun, lord Gray, lord Sinclair, lord Colville of Culross, lord Reay.

22. James Bunce Curling, esq. to be one of her Majesty's corps of gentlemen-at-arms.

25. Joseph Townsend of Woodend, Bucks, to be an assistant commissioner under the act for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales; sir John de Vealle to be bailiff of the island of Jersey.

Naval Preferments.

2. The President, 52, has been commissioned at Portsmouth, by capt. J. Scott, for the flag of rear admiral Chas. Ross, C.B. who is to command in the Pacific; the Melville, 74, is re-commissioned by the hon. capt. R. S. Dundas, for the flag of rear-admiral G. Elliott, C.B. who is to command on the cape and coast of Africa station.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. Dr. Corbett, to be archdeacon of York.

OCTOBER.

Gazette Preferments.

4. Major-gen. Geo. Thomas Napier, C.B. to be governor of the cape of Good Hope.

11. The earl of Uxbridge to be one of the lords in waiting to her Majesty.

18. Joseph Cade, esq., to be consul at Panama, T. S. Willimott, esq., at Puerto Cabello, and J. F. Close, esq. at Charente.

20. James Mercier, esq. to be one of her Majesty's gentlemen-at-arms.

30. James Clark, esq. M.D. of George street, Hanover square, first physician

PROMOTIONS.

in ordinary to her Majesty, created a baronet.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. G. T. Spencer, to be bishop of Madras.

Rev. D. Moir, and rev. M. Russell to be Episcopal bishops in Scotland

Civil Preferments.

Sir H. Halford to be president of the Royal College of Physicians; and Drs. Monro, Latham, Watson, and Roupell, to be censors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Addison to be physician to Guy's Hospital, and Dr. Babington assistant physician.

Rev. W. Bird to the mastership of the Ashburton Free Grammar School.

Rev. C. Green to the mastership of Midhurst Grammar School.

Rev. H. Hill to be sub-librarian of the Bodleian library at Oxford.

NOVEMBER.

Gazette Preferments.

3. His royal highness prince George of Cambridge to be colonel in the army by brevet.

9. The right hon. John Cowan, lord mayor of London, created a baronet; George Carroll, esq. and Moses Montefiore, esq. sheriffs of London and Middlesex, knighted by her Majesty at Guildhall.

11. Matthew Wood of Hatherley Ho. county Glocester, esq. alderman of London, created a baronet.

16. Lord Vernon, in compliance with the will of Elizabeth Harriet viscountess Bulkeley, to take the name and arms of Warren only, instead of Venables Vernon.

29- Earl of Rothes to be lieut.-colonel of Fifeshire Yeomanry cavalry.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. C. R. Dicken, to be head master of the Grammar School at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Rev. C. H. Maturin, to be classical master in the Birmingham and Edgebaston proprietary school.

Thomas Harrison, esq. M.D. professor of anatomy to Trinity college, Dublin.

James Manning, esq. to be recorder of Oxford and of Banbury; R. Wildman esq. of Nottingham; and F. Dwarris, esq. of Newcastle upon Tyne.

South Australia.—The following appointments have been made; sir J. W. Jeffcott, knt. judge of the province; Robert Gouger, esq. secretary; Charles Mann, esq. advocate general and crown solicitor; J. H. Fisher, esq. registrar; Geo. Stevenson, esq. clerk of the council; rev. C. B. Howard colonial chaplain; Thomas Lipsau comm. R.N. naval officer and harbour master; Jn. Brown, esq. emigration agent; Thomas Gilbert, esq. colonial storekeeper; Osmond Gilles, esq. colonial treasurer and collector of revenue.

DECEMBER.

Gazette Promotions.

11. The earl of Fingal to be one of her Majesty's lords in waiting.

13. John marquess of Queensberry to be lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Dumfries, *vice* his father the late marquess.

15. His royal highness the duke of Sussex, to be first and principal knight grand cross, and acting great master of the order of the Bath.

22. Colonel sir G. Arthur, K.C.H. to be lieut. governor of the province of Upper Canada, and to have the local rank of major-gen. in Upper Canada only.

Naval Preferments.

Commander W. H. Crauford to the Racehorse, 18; comm. W. Preston to the Electra 18; commanders H. O. Love, sir J. E. Home, and the hon. H. Keppel to be captains; lieut. Bird Allen to be commander.

Members returned to Parliament.

Midhurst.—Hon. Fred. Spencer.

Sunbury.—Joseph Bailey, jun. esq.

DEATHS.—Oct. 1836.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. Dr. Sadlier to be provost of Trinity college Dublin; sir Henry Meredyth to be a member of the Irish ecclesiastical board, *vice* Sadlier; Dr. Stock to be judge of the admiralty court in Ireland, *vice* Meredyth.

Robert E. Grant, M.D. F.R.S. (professor of comparative anatomy in the London University college) to the professorship of physiology in the Royal Institution founded by the late John Fuller, esq.

Rev. J. S. Reid, D.D. (author of the History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland) to be professor of ecclesiastical history in the Belfast Royal Institution.

J. J. Sylvester, esq. (second wrangler at Cambridge in Jan. 1837) to be professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the London University col.

Rev. W. Hey to be first master of the York proprietary school.

Rev. T. F. Layng to be head master of Bristol college school.

Rev. O. J. Tancock to be master of Truro Grammar School.

DEATHS.

1836.

Oct. 6. At Edge-grove, Aldenham, Herts. in his 82nd year, William Marsden, esq. D.C.L. Fellow of the Royal Society, and Member of the Antiquarian, Asiatic, and other learned Societies. Dr. Marsden was born in Ireland, and went to India at an early age. Soon after his return to this country he published the "History of the Island of Sumatra," in 4to., 1782. In 1781 he communicated to the Royal Society, "an account of a phenomenon observed in the island of Sumatra," and in the same year, to the Society of Antiquaries, through Sir Joseph Banks, "Remarks on the Sumatran Language;" and in 1785, "Observations on the language of the people commonly called Gypsies." In 1788 he communicated to the Royal Society a dissertation on the æra of the Mahometans, called the Hejira; and in 1790, a paper on the Chronology of the Hindoos. About 1795 he was appointed second Secretary to the Admiralty, by Lord Spencer. After his retirement from public life, in 1807, he resumed the studies of his youth, and has left behind him a number of publications which are well known to the Orientalist. His History of Sumatra was reprinted in 1812; in which year he also published a Dictionary of the Malayan Language, 4to; and a Grammar of the same, to the latter of which is prefixed an interesting discourse on the history, religion, and antiquities of the Oriental islands. He had previously compiled "A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets," in two parts." This was not printed for publication; and he also printed privately a catalogue of his own valuable Oriental library. In 1818 he published, in another quarto volume, "The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century; being a description of remarkable places and things in the Eastern part of the world, with notes:" and subsequently, in two quarto volumes, "Numismata Orientalia Illustrata: the Oriental Coins, ancient and modern, of his collection, described and historically illustrated," 1823, 1825, including fifty-seven plates engraved, with "scrupulous fidelity," by Mr. John Swaine. In 1830, the Oriental Translation Committee published Mr. Marsden's Translation of the "Memoirs of a Malayan Family," in 8vo.; and in the same year he communicated to the Asiatic Society, a "Notice respecting the natives of New Guinea." Mr. Marsden very liberally presented his collection of coins to the British Museum; it includes the original coins collected by sir Robert Ainslie, formerly British ambassador at Constantinople; and by the Abbé Beauchamp, titular bishop of Bagdad, who died of the plague at that place, in 1779 or 1780. He recently presented his extensive and valuable library to King's college, London. Mr. Marsden some time ago exhibited a not very common instance of patriotism, in voluntarily resigning a pension of 1,500*l.* a-year, which had been bestowed on him as the reward of his public services. Since the death of lord Stowell he has been the senior member of the club which was founded by the great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, and sir Joshua Reynolds, and known by the honorary designation of "The Club."

Mr. Marsden married a daughter of the late sir Charles Wilkins, K.H., D.C.L., F.R.S.

DEATHS.—Oct.

9. At Ibstock, Leicestershire, aged 78, the rev. Spencer Madan, D.D. for upwards of 50 years rector of that parish, prebendary and chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough. Dr. Madan was the eldest son of the rt. rev. Spencer Madan, D.D. lord bishop of Peterborough, and the lady Charlotte, sister of the first marquis Cornwallis. He was educated at Westminster, and elected from the foundation of that school in 1776 to Trinity College, Cambridge. He obtained in 1782 the Seatonian prize for his classical and spirited lines entitled, "The Call of the Gentiles." As a preparatory exercise for holy orders, Mr. Madan undertook a translation of Grotius's treatise on the truth of the Christian religion. Of this work he published a second edition in 1814, with the two supplementary books of Mr. Le Clerc, and the annotations and testimonies. Having served the curacy of Wrotham, in Kent, about a year, of which living Dr. Tarrant, dean of Peterborough, was incumbent, Mr. Madan became in 1783 rector of Bradley Magna, in Suffolk, which he resigned, after holding it three years, having succeeded to the prebend and vicarage of Tachbrook, Warwickshire, given him by his uncle, the bishop of Lichfield, the former of which he exchanged for Ibstock in 1786, and in the following year resigned the latter on his presentation by the bishop to the rectory of St. Philip's, Birmingham, with the treasurership and prebend of Sawley, in the church of Lichfield annexed. In 1794, he was collated by his father to the chancellorship of the diocese of Peterborough, and in 1800 to a prebendal stall in that cathedral. The most arduous portion of his professional life embraced that eventful period of disaffection and dissent, which preceded and produced the riots at Birmingham in 1791; during which critical juncture the rector of St. Philip's laboured ably and successfully to repress the dangerous spirit of innovation in our civil and religious polity, which, at that time, actuated a revolutionary faction in this kingdom. Many of his local publications and addresses from the pulpit, especially "The principal Claims of the Dissenters considered," in a sermon preached on the 14th of February in that year, and "a Letter to Dr. Priestley," occasioned by his strictures on the sermon, attracted general attention, and were circulated with good effect through the immense population of that town and neighbourhood.

13. In his 87th year, the rev. David Williams, perpetual curate of Heytesbury and Knook, in the county of Wilts.

20. At Dawley Lodge, Middlesex, aged 65, Jerome Count de Salis, a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate for that county.

27. At Davenport, in his 50th year, George Harris, esq., a post captain, R.N. and C.B., formerly M.P. for Grimsby.

31. At Southampton, aged 70, Matthew Henry Scott, esq., vice-admiral of the Red.

Lately.—At Woburn-place, Mrs. Anne Margaret Forster. She has bequeathed 1000*l.* to the Westminster, and 1000*l.* to the Charing-Cross Hospitals, after the death of Mr. William Forster, now 70 years of age.

NOVEMBER.

1. The rev. James Brown, D.C.L. late professor of natural philosophy, in the University of Glasgow.

4. At Edinburgh, Capt. Gilbert M'Donald Milton, late of the royals. He was the last surviving nephew of the celebrated Flora M'Donald, who rescued the pretender.

5. In St. James's Place, Dugdale Stratford Dugdale, esq., of Merivale Hall, Warwickshire, formerly M.P. for that county.

6. In York-street, Portman-sq. major-general Sir Thomas Bligh St. George, C.B. K.C.H.

7. At Little Berkampstead, Hertfordshire, aged 70, Cholmeley Dering, esq., great uncle to Sir Edward Cholmeley Dering, of Surrenden Dering, bart.

9. At York, on his 87th birth-day, W. Blanchard, esq., proprietor of the *York Chronicle* for nearly sixty years.

— At North-place, Marylebone, aged 64, John Rutherford, esq., of Morpeth, late claimant of the Scottish peerage of Rutherford, in which claim he is succeeded by his eldest son, John Rutherford, esq.

11. At Dunmore Park, Stirlingshire, aged 74, the right hon. George Murray, fifth earl of Dunmore, brother-in-law to the duke of Hamilton, and the late duchess of Somerset, uncle to Sir Augustus, and Mademoiselle d'Este, &c.

DEATHS—Nov.

13. At Cambridge, aged 77, the rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. senior Fellow of King's-college, and rector of Trinity Church in that town. Mr. Simeon was born at Reading, Sept. 24, 1759; and was brother to the late sir John Simeon, master in Chancery, recorder of Reading, and M.P. for that borough. He was educated at Eton, and entered at King's College, Cambridge, Jan. 29, 1776. It was there he received, very soon after his admission, what may be termed his first lasting religious impressions. From this time his attention was turned towards entering the sacred ministry. It was his earnest desire to have, if possible, a church in Cambridge, and his particular wish was, to hold that very church which was afterwards given to him. He was presented by the same bishop of Ely who had ordained him deacon to the church of Trinity parish, in that town, when he was only twenty-three and-a-half years old, and before he had actually entered into priest's orders. The reason of such a presentation being possible was, that Trinity Church was then considered only a curacy, and was holden under sequestration by the bishop. It was on January 4, 1783, that he preached his first sermon in that church, from whence he never afterwards removed; and where he preached his last sermon in September 1836. So that his ministrations in that parish have been extended to a period of more than fifty-three years and a half. From the time he felt himself established as a minister of a parish in Cambridge, and therefore in a situation that could reasonably command some respect, and give him authority to speak to young men in the university upon religious subjects; he directed the whole energy of his active and persevering mind to do them good; feeling, as he justly did, that in making one student truly religious, and sending him into the church, he procured a blessing for multitudes. A still more important engine for the advancement of his peculiar views, was his society for the purchase of advowsons, and thereby planting, in many populous districts, ministers devoted to his opinions. The number of advowsons so purchased amounts to at least forty-three; several having been added from those put up for sale in pursuance of the Municipal Reform Act. The press was, of course, actively employed in the diffusion of Mr. Simeon's sentiments. In 1832 Mr. Simeon's entire works were published in twenty-one large and closely compressed 8vo. volumes of 600 or 700 pages each. These works consist of 2536 sermons and skeletons of sermons, which form a commentary upon every book of the Old and New Testament, with Claude's Essay prefixed. Mr. Simeon received from Mr. Cadell, the publisher, the sum of 5,000*l.* for copyright, of which he appropriated 1,000*l.* to the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, 1,000*l.* to the London Clerical Education Society, and 1,000*l.* to the Church Missionary Society. In addition to the 5,000*l.* for the copyright, Mr. Simeon had twenty copies appropriated to him, out of a few which were printed upon royal paper. These he had handsomely bound, at an expense of 200 guineas, and presented as follows:—To his Majesty King William the Fourth, and his successors on the British throne; to Sir Richard Simeon and his heirs; to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors; to the Archbishop of York and his successors; to the University Library at Cambridge; to the Library at King's College, Cambridge; to the Bodleian Library at Oxford; to the Library at Eton College; to the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh; and to the Public Libraries at Paris, Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Leyden, Upsala, Copenhagen, Munich, Philadelphia, and New York. Mr. Simeon's funeral took place on the 19th November, and it is supposed, that nearly 700 members of the University assembled to join in the solemnity. The whole town throughout the day partook of the general feeling; the shops were closed, and a silent awe pervaded the streets.

14. At his cottage, in Horsemonger-lane, Southwark, aged 70, Mr. John Richardson, the itinerant dramatic showman. Mr. Richardson's first recollection of himself, was that of a poor little urchin in the workhouse at Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, the place of his birth. After filling several menial situations in that town, he started for the metropolis, in order to better his fortune; and gained employment, for some time, in the cow-house of Mr. Rhodes, at Islington, at one shilling per day. Soon after, he acquired some taste for theatricals. In the year 1782, he first joined Mrs. Penley, who was then performing in a club-room at the Paviours' Arms, in Shadwell; but after going from town to town with little suc-

cess, he left the stage for a short period, and commenced in a small way as a broker in London. By industry he accumulated money enough to take, in 1796, the Harlequin public house, near the stage-door of Drury-lane theatre, and frequented by theatrical people. In the same year, Mr. Richardson first made his appearance in the character of a showman at Bartholomew fair, where he had to contend with the old favourites of the public; old Jobson, the great puppet-showman, in One-yard; Jonas and Penley (the families of which have both distinguished themselves in the history of the stage), in the George-yard; the celebrated Mrs. Baker, at the Greyhound, in a room up one pair of stairs; and O'Brien, the Irish giant, at the King's Head; Richardson and his company also exhibited from a first story: his platform was built out of the windows, forming an arch over the gingerbread stalls, with a long pair of steps leading down into the fair. *Twenty-one times* in the day were the performers called on to act. Mr. Richardson now commenced the regular tour of most of the large fairs in the kingdom —at Edmonton he appeared with Tom Jefferies, a clown from Astley's, who, in his line, had no competitor; he was allowed by the best judges of *fools* to be without a rival. Shortly after, Mrs. Carey, and her two sons, Edmund and Henry, were engaged by Richardson. Edmund (since the celebrated Kean) made his first appearance in *Tom Thumb*, his mother acting Queen Dollalolla. At Windsor fair, Edmund again performed *Tom Thumb*; but to the great astonishment of Mr. Richardson, he received a note from the Castle, commanding Master Carey to recite several passages from different plays before his Majesty at the Palace. Subsequently, he engaged Oxberry from a private theatre in Queen Anne-street, and he could also boast, that his humble booth had been the stepping-stone to several actors afterwards stars in the lesser hemispheres. After getting over his difficulties, Richardson began to realise money very fast, and for several years past he put by large sums. He had no family, was rather abstemious in his mode of living, and very plain in his manners and dress. But he was a charitable, feeling man, to all intents and purposes; and numbers have been assisted in the hour of need by his libeality. At St. Alban's some years since, at the time of the fair, a dreadful fire occurred; Richardson and his company did their utmost to extinguish it, and their services were considered valuable. Some time afterwards a subscription was raised for the uninsured sufferers; a plain-looking man, in a rusty black coat, red waistcoat, corduroy breeches, and worsted stockings, entered the committee-room and gave in his subscription, 100*l*. "What name shall we say, sir?" asked the astonished clerk. "Richardson, the penny showman," was the proud reply. His mode of discourse and language, owing to his want of education, was peculiar and coarse. He was a shrewd, calculating man, and well knew how to "measure" the public. He employed the first-rate scene painters, Messrs. Grieve and the late John Greenwood; his dresses were equal, if not superior in costliness, to the Theatres Royal. The front of his booth alone cost 600*l*. A few years since the scenery, dresses, and decorations of Richardson's theatre were exposed for auction by Mr. George Robins, and 2,000*l*. were bid for them. They were bought in; the "old man," as he was technically denominated, considering them to be worth at least 3,000*l*. Although he had erected a handsome cottage, which was splendidly furnished, he never occupied it, preferring to live in his van, which he had built purposely to travel to the different fairs. He is said to have left behind him upwards of 20,000*l*. His property, after various legacies to the itinerant company which had attended him for many years, descends to two nephews and a niece; and he desires by his will to be buried in Marlow churchyard, in the same grave as his favourite "spotted boy," a lad who about twenty years since was exhibited by him, and attracted great notice, in consequence of the extraordinary manner in which he was marked on various parts of his body. He has left the two Mr. Reeds, his musicians, 1,000*l*. each; to their mother, his cottage and furniture for life; and to Mr. Cartlitch, of the Mazeppa public-house, Parish-street, Horselydown, 1,000*l*. This person Richardson always declared he would remember, because he was "such a *bould speaker*, and might be heard from one end of the *fear* to the other when the trumpets were going."

— At Noel-house, Kensington Gore, the residence of his aunt, the dowager marchioness of Hastings, in his 52nd

year, the hon. George-John Forbes, commonly called lord viscount Forbes, a major-general in the army, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Longford, colonel of the Longford militia, and one of the knights in parliament for that shire. He was an early and intimate friend of the poet Moore, who addressed to him one of his American epistles:

"Thou, gently lull'd in dreams of classic thought,
By bards illumined and by sages taught," &c.

19. At East Moulsey, in his 70th year, sir George Harnage, bart.

21. In his 65th year, the rev. Samuel Burder, D.D., lecturer of Christ's Church, Newgate-street. He was the author of the following works.—The Moral Law considered as a Rule of Life toBelievers. A concise Dictionary. Oriental Customs. The Scripture Expositor, and some other professional works.

26. At Great Bedwin, aged 20, Ellen Cordelia, eldest daughter of Mr. William Bartlett, surgeon; and on the 29th, Henry, his youngest son, aged 18; and Miss Susan Bartlett, his sister, aged 51. The circumstances attending the deaths of the two latter, were most awful. They left Mr. Bartlett's house for Marlborough, to order mourning, accompanied, in Mr. Bartlett's phaeton, by his youngest daughter. As they were proceeding down Knowle-hill, the wind uprooted a large beech at the moment that the carriage was passing; one limb fell upon the horse, and two branches diagonally upon the carriage. One of these fell upon master Henry Bartlett, who was driving, and the other upon miss Susan Bartlett, who was sitting in the seat behind, and their deaths must have been instantaneous. Miss Elizabeth Bartlett, who was sitting next her brother, escaped miraculously between the two branches, but was unable to extricate herself on account of a small branch lying over her. In this situation they remained for nearly an hour, till they were discovered by some woodmen who were going to work.

— At Devizes, Mr. John Ballinger. He left directions for the discovery of property which he had secreted in his house; and under the ash-hole of the brewhouse and the hearth, was found the sum of 130 sovereigns, which the careful eccentric had bequeathed to the Bible and Missionary Society.

27. At Camberwell, in his 92nd year, Richard Boyman, esq., a veteran captain of the port of London.

DECEMBER.

Dec. 2. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, aged 56, the hon. sir Charles John Greville, K.C.B., a major-general in the army, and colonel of the 98th foot, only surviving brother of the earl of Warwick and Brooke. He was one of the members for the borough of Warwick from the year 1812 to 1831.

4. Richard Westall, esq. R.A. Mr. Westall commenced his career as an artist, in 1779, as an apprentice to Mr. John Thompson, of 44, Gutter-lane, Cheapside, an engraver of heraldry on silver, &c. In this humble department of the arts, Mr. Westall's genius raised him above his fellows; he became about this time acquainted with Mr. Alefounder, an eminent miniature painter, who perceived his superior talents, and kindly fostered and encouraged them. In the last year of Mr. Westall's apprenticeship, Mr. Thompson permitted him to draw at the Royal Academy, in the evenings. In 1786, Mr. Westall was emancipated from, to his genius, a painful thraldom, and immediately commenced his splendid career. He early formed a friendly intercourse with Mr. afterwards sir Thomas Lawrence, which was never broken but by the hand of death. Mr. Westall acquired distinction by making finished pictures of historical and poetical subjects in water-colours; a branch of art peculiarly English, and in which he attained to a brilliance and vigour before unknown. His highly finished pictures of "Sappho in the Lesbian Shades, chaunting the Hymn of Love;" "Tubal, the First Voice of the Lyre;" "The Boar that killed Adonis brought to Venus;" "The Storm in Harvest;" "The Marriage Procession (from the Shield of Achilles);" and many others, were much admired. These were followed by a complete series of designs, made for Alderman Boydell, to illustrate the works of Milton. His pencil was likewise put in requisition to embellish the Shakespeare Gallery and Bowyer's History of England. Several fine pictures came at that time from his hand, giving promise, that, had encouragement and

demand for such works continued, he might have attained to a high standard of excellence in the historical department of the art. But, unhappily, as is well known, our best artists were compelled to pursue, in a more hasty and superficial style, the production of a multiplicity of designs for booksellers and publishers; and Westall was, perhaps, second only to Stothard in the abundance and popularity of his productions. Mr. Westall chiefly excelled in drawings; his oil pictures, though possessing force and beauty, generally skilfully composed and brilliant in colour, will not stand the test of comparison with works containing the true principles of art. In 1808, Mr. Westall published a volume of poems, in 8vo, entitled, "A Day in Spring, and other Poems, by R. Westall, R.A., embellished with four plates, engraved by James Heath, A.E.R.A., and Charles Heath, from designs by R. Westall. The poems, which are of considerable merit, form another evidence of his elegant and accomplished mind. By his professional exertions, Mr. Westall attained a handsome competence; which, unfortunately, was subsequently absorbed in an unsuccessful speculation in foreign pictures, and some improvident partnership engagements. His last occupation was to give lessons in drawing and painting to the Princess Victoria.

7. At Park Corner, aged 51, Sir John Lloyd Dukinfield, the sixth bart.

9. In Killarney, Mrs. Catherine Riordan, widow, aged 108, her faculties remained unimpaired to the last moment.

12-13. J. Davidson, esq., murdered by the El Hareb tribe, near the southern confines of the district of Egueda in Africa.

This intrepid traveller was the son of Mr. Davidson, tailor, in Cork-street, who, by his great industry and perseverance, acquired a large fortune. His son was educated at the well-known establishment of Dr. Greenlaw, of Brentford, where he obtained a good classical education. In the year 1814, he was bound apprentice, for five years, as a chemist and druggist, in the firm of Messrs. Savory and Moore. He afterwards entered as a partner into that eminent firm in the year 1819; but, from his great desire to travel, and other circumstances, he quitted it in 1826; and thence, up to the time of his death, he has travelled, in common parlance, nearly all over the world. He visited North and South America, India, Egypt, (as far as the second Cataract), Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, and Germany. His activity was incessant, and he brought away with him information and knowledge from every quarter. Few other travellers could boast of having measured the pyramids in the great plains of Mexico, as well as those which were "the proud work of Memphian kings." The interesting lectures which Mr. Davidson gave at the Royal Institution, upon Egypt and the Holy Land, will long be remembered; and the artists of the celebrated panoramas of modern Jerusalem, and of Thebes with its wondrous remains, were indebted in no slight degree to his valuable assistance. His name must now be added to the list of those of our intrepid countrymen who have found their grave in Africa, whilst vainly attempting to reach the great object of European curiosity—the far-famed city of Timbuctoo. He had proceeded about half the distance from Wadnoon, and was about twenty-five days' journey from the object of his travels.

12. At Cheltenham, aged 59, Major Richard Pritchie Brooke, brother to the late Sir Henry Brooke, bart. of Colebrooke, co., Fermanagh, and to major-gen. Sir Arthur Brooke, K.C.B.

— Aged 73, Sir Robert Greenhill Russell, of Chequers court, co. Buckingham, bart., barrister-at-law, a faculty student of Christ-church, Oxford, and M.A.

17. At West Cowes, aged 29, lady Jemima Isabella, wife of Charles Wykeham Martin, esq., of Leeds Castle, Kent, and last surviving child of earl Cornwallis.

— Aged 85, the rev. Dr. Rippon, who, for the long space of sixty-three years, had been the pastor of the Baptist church, in New Park-street.

19. At Edinburgh, aged 48, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, the sixth bart. of Blackhall, co. Renfrew (1667), and Knight in the present Parliament for that county, a deputy-lieutenant for the counties of Renfrew and Lanark.

20. At Stoke Newington, aged 75, Mary, relict of Adam Clarke, LL.D.

— At Dover, aged 78, Joseph Herbert, esq., late President of the island of Montserrat.

21. At Aberystwith, the right hon.

Maria viscountess Bolingbroke, &c She was the third daughter of Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, was married in 1812 to Henry, present viscount Bolingbroke, and has left issue four daughters and one son.

24. Aged 82, Mrs. Elizabeth Cuthbertson, of Haltwhistle, Northumberland. She was the representative of an ancient family, and her property in the vicinity of Haltwhistle, has been estimated as worth 2000*l.* per annum; but she neglected, and even refused, to receive much of it; and had remained for many years locked up in her house in great seclusion and dirtiness.

At Narbonne, aged 55, Don Francisco Esposy Mina, the distinguished Spanish constitutional general.

He was a native of Navarre, having been born of a respectable family, at Ydocin, about two miles from Pampeluna. During the war against the French, his nephew, Don Xavier Mina, then a student at the University of Saragossa, raised a guerilla corps, with which he performed several spirited exploits, but being taken prisoner, in March 1810, the command of the corps was transferred to Francisco, who soon rendered his name the terror of the French. Brave, active, indefatigable, full of resources, and possessed of an admirable presence of mind, be incessantly harassed and wore down the strength of the enemy. The losses of the French were incalculable; while his were trifling, as the accuracy of the intelligence which he received, prevented him from being surprised, and when he was far outnumbered, his troops disbanded by signal, and reassembled again in a few hours. It was in vain, that, resolving to exterminate his division, Napoleon poured 25,000 men into Navarre. Mina not only stood his ground, but eventually remained master of the province. In 1811, the regency gave him the rank of Colonel, in 1812, that of Brigadier-general, and soon after that of general. His force in 1813, consisted of 11,000 infantry, and 2500 cavalry, and with this he co-operated in the blockade of Pampeluna, and recovered Saragossa, and several other places.

On the conclusion of peace, he went to Madrid, and had the mortification to find, that he had been labouring only for the re-establishment of Absolutism. Disgusted with the policy of king Ferdinand, and having fruitlessly remonstrated with him, Mina endeavoured to persuade his brother officers to make an effort in the cause of freedom; though his plans were powerfully counteracted by the influence of the priesthood, he proceeded to Navarre, and gained over the garrison of Pampeluna; but in this attempt, he met with no efficient co-operation.

He had then no resource, but to seek an asylum in France, and he reached Paris in safety; but, whilst resident in the French capital, he was arrested by a commissary of police, employed by the Spanish ambassador, the count de Casa Flores. On this occasion, Louis behaved in a manner which was highly honourable to him. He turned the commissary out of his place, insisted upon the ambassador being recalled, and not only released Mina, but granted him a pension of 1000 francs. The Spanish general was not ungrateful. He refused to have any intercourse whatever with Napoleon, quitted France, joined the king at Ghent, and returned with him to Paris.

Until the army of Cadiz raised the standard of freedom, in 1822, by proclaiming the constitution of 1812, Mina continued to live very privately in France; but, as soon as that event took place, he hurried back to Navarre, collected a few hundreds of his followers, and was advancing against Pampeluna, when a deputation was sent to him by the inhabitants, informing him, that the king had accepted the constitution. Shortly after, he was appointed captain-general of the three armies of Navarre, Catalonia, and Arragon; and was employed in suppressing a formidable insurrection in Catalonia, raised by the ultra-royalist party. He remained in arms, until the intervention of France, in the summer of 1823, again restored the absolute monarchy, and enabled Ferdinand to discard his professed adherence to the constitution. After this reverse, Mina, with many other distinguished liberal leaders, took refuge in this country. He landed at Plymouth, on the 30th Nov. 1823.

Since the last change in affairs, and the accession of Christina, Mina has been again raised to prosperity and distinction, and employed in the field, against Don Carlos. He has not, however, added to his former laurels; but, rather, tarnished them by his cruelty

and sanguinary measures. For the last few months, he has remained inactive from disease. His body was interred on the 27th December, at Barcelona, with all the honours due to his rank and fame. By a royal decree, his widow is elevated to the rank of a countess, with the grade of the nobility of Castile, and the title of countess of Espoz y Mina. The Cortes have decreed a pension to her, amounting to the pay of a lieut.-gen. of the Spanish army, and another to the mother of the deceased soldier, now in her ninetieth year, and who, it is said, was wholly dependent on her son.

26. At his seat, Pitfirran, near Dunfermline, aged 71, sir Charles Halkett, the fifth baronet of that place.

— At his seat, Selsdon, near Croydon, aged 75, George Smith, esq., of the Banking firms of Smith, Payne, and Smith, of London, and Samuel Smith, Brothers and Co., of Hull, a Commissioner of the Lieutenancy for London, and a younger brother of lord Carrington.

29. At Richmond, Surrey, John Chas. Ramsden, esq., M.P. for Malton.

— At the Adelphi Terrace, lady Bankes, widow of sir E. Bankes, the eminent contractor.

30. At his house in Grosvenor-square, in his 82nd year, the most noble James Graham, third duke of Montrose., K.G.; a privy councillor, Lord Justice General of Scotland, lord-lieutenant of the county of Stirling, hereditary sheriff of Dunbartonshire, chancellor of the university of Glasgow, a general of the Royal Archers of Scotland, D.C.L., &c. His grace was born on the 8th Sept., 1755, the only surviving son of William the secondd uke, by the lady Lucy Manners, youngest daughter of John second duke of Rutland, K.G. He was educated at Trinity College Cambridge, where he was created M.A. He was returned to parliament for the borough of Richmond at the general election of the same year, and for Great Bedwin at those of 1784 and 1790, in which latter year he succeeded to the peerage. In 1783 he zealously opposed Mr. Fox's India Bill; and at the formation of the Pitt administration at the close of that year, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury on the 27th Dec. On the 6th of August following he was himself appointed, jointly with Lord Mulgrave, Paymaster-general of his Majesty's Land Forces, in which office he continued until 1791; and two days after he was sworn a Member of the Privy Council. In 1790, he succeeded his father in the dukedom; whereupon his grace became as active a member of the house of peers, in support of the administration of Mr. Pitt, as he had previously been of the House of Commons. In November, 1790, his grace was appointed Master of the Horse to his Majesty, which office he then enjoyed until March, 1795. On the 12th May, 1791, he was nominated one of the commissioners for controlling the affairs of India; and by several renewed commissions he was continued a member of that board until the year 1802. In 1803 he was reappointed, and finally retired in 1805. In 1804 his grace was appointed President of the Board of Trade, and Joint Post-master-general. From these two offices he was removed on the change of the administration in 1806; but, on his friends returning to power, the office of Master of the Horse was again conferred upon him, and he now retained it until Dec. 1821, when he succeeded the marquis of Hertford as Lord Chamberlain. This last office he resigned in 1827. The Highlanders were indebted to his grace for the restoration of their ancient dress, which had been long prohibited by law. The duke of Montrose was twice married. He was first united to lady Jemima-Elizabeth Ashburnham, who died on the 17th September, 1786, aged 25. His grace married secondly, lady Caroline Maria Montague, eldest daughter of George duke of Manchester, by whom he had issue four daughters and two sons.

31. At Dublin, the right hon. Isabella, dowager lady Powerscourt.

— At Glanworth, county Cork, Mrs. Brinkley, relict of the lord bishop of Cloyne.

JANUARY.

1837.

1. At his apartments at Chelsea Hospital, aged 90, the right hon. sir Samuel Hulse, G.C.H., a privy councillor and field-marshal, governor of that establishment, colonel of the 62nd foot, and ranger of Windsor home park.

He was uncle to the present sir Charles Hulse, of Bremore in Hampshire, bart., being the second son of sir Edward the second baronet. This gallant veteran had been upwards of three-quarters of a century in the military service of his country, having entered the 1st foot-guards as an ensign in Dec. 1761. He embarked in 1793 in command of the 1st battalion of his regiment, and landed in Holland, where he served during that campaign, including the siege of Valenciennes and the memorable action of Lincelles, under the late gallant general lord Lake, in which the guards were the only troops engaged, and in which they highly distinguished themselves. The subject of our memoir returned to England, with the rank of major-general, in November of the same year. In Jan. 1798 he received the rank of lieutenant-general, and was a short time in Ireland during the eventful period of the rebellion. In 1799 he was appointed to command in the expedition to the Helder, and was present at all the engagements from September to November, when he returned with the expedition, and was appointed to the command of the southern district, in which situation he continued until the peace of 1802. His last appointment was that of governor of Chelsea hospital, in 1820. In 1830, he was with the late sir Alured Clark, promoted to the rank of field-marshal. Sir Samuel Hulse was appointed by king George the third as one of the earliest servants on the establishment of the prince of Wales. He was for many years his royal highness's treasurer and receiver-general; at his accession to the throne he was appointed treasurer to the household, and received in 1821 the honour of knighthood; and finally he was appointed vice-chamberlain, in May, 1827; and retained the last appointment until his majesty's death. He was sworn a member of the privy council the same month. Sir Samuel Hulse was never married.

— In Duke-st., St. James's, aged 58, Colonel Millar Clifford, C.B. and K.H., late of the 58th regiment.

— At Kensington, aged 55, captain W. Maxfield, of the Indian navy, late deputy surveyor-general of the coasts in India, formerly member of parliament for Great Grimsby, and a magistrate for the county of Middlesex.

3. At Farmhill, near Stroud, aged 54, sir John Byerly, F.R.S., &c., the patentee of Oleagine, a composition of much value to the manufacturers of woollen cloths.

4. In London, aged 68, John Gamaliel Lloyd, esq. of Welcombe-house, county of Warwick, and Much Hadham, Herts, a bencher of the Middle Temple, where he was called to the bar in 1794.

— At Leamington, in her 80th year, Mrs. Lefanu, only surviving sister of the late right hon. R. B. Sheridan.

— Aged 77, John de Grenier Fonblanque, esq., the senior king's counsel, and senior bencher of the hon. society of the Middle Temple. Mr. Fonblanque was descended from an ancient family of Languedoc, and inherited the title of marquis, although he never assumed it in England. He obtained permission to use the surname of De Grenier before that of Fonblanque in May, 1828. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, Jan. 24, 1783. In 1790 he distinguished himself as leading counsel at the bar of the House of Commons, on behalf of the merchants of London, in opposition to the Quebec bill. In 1793-4, he published "A Treatise on Equity," in two volumes 8vo. which has proceeded to several editions. At the general election in 1802 he was returned to parliament, under the patronage of the duke of Bedford, for the borough of Camelford; and he sat during the whole of that parliament until its dissolution in 1806. He was an able advocate of the whig party, and a personal friend of the prince of Wales, for whom he now is supposed to have written the celebrated letters to the king, on the subject of his royal highness's exclusion from the army, which were generally attributed to Lord Moira. On the 28th April, 1804, he received the rank of king's counsel, with a patent of precedency. It is said, that at that time, he was regarded as the future whig lord chancellor. In 1810, Mr. Fonblanque published "Doubts on the Expediency of adopting the Recommendation of the Bullion Committee."

5. Sir Robert Burnett, the seventh baronet of Leys, county of Aberdeen, (1626.)

6. At his seat, Sejincourt, Gloucestershire, aged nearly 82, sir Charles Cockerell, bart., M.P. for Evesham.

— At Darrynane Abbey, aged 75, John Charles O'Connell, esq., brother

to general sir Maurice O'Connell, and the immediate cousin of Daniel O'Connell, esq., M. P.

8. In the prime of life, Mr. Henry Storer, artist, author of the beautiful views of King's college chapel, Cambridge, illustrations of Trinity college, &c. &c.

9. At Bath, Philadelphia, widow of lieut.-gen. Munro, of Ensham-house, Dorset.

— In Warwick gaol, at the extraordinary age of 104, Mr. Thomas Gubbins, of Pailton, who was imprisoned for the costs of a suit between Trinity college, Cambridge, and the parishioners of Pailton.

— Aged 85, William Duke of Bavaria. He was the representative of the younger branch of the family of Deux Ponts, now the royal house of Bavaria, and which branch formerly bore the title of Palatine of Deux Ponts Birkenfeld. He was a general of infantry in the Bavarian army, and married in 1780 a sister of the present king, viz. Maria-Anna, daughter of Frederic prince of Deux Ponts; by whom he had issue a daughter, married to Alexander prince of Wagram, and a prince, Pius Augustus, born in 1786.

10. At Sutton, near Hounslow, lieut.-gen. Charles Neville, late of the Royal Artillery.

11. At the vicarage. Dunchurch, Frances Catherine Sandford, relict of the rt. rev. bishop Sandford, of Edinburgh.

Lately. At Swansea, where he resided 70years, Rees Williams, shoemaker, aged 103. He preserved his faculties to the last, and could see to read without the use of glasses, and was apparently well the day before his death.

11. At Paris, aged 66, M. Francois Gérard, one of the most distinguished painters of the French school. M. Gérard and the late M. M. Girodet and Gros, were the most eminent pupils of David.

12. Near Basingstoke, aged 53, the hon. sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby, K.C.B., a major-general in the army, colonel of the Royal Dragoons; knight grand cross of the Ionian order of St. Michael and St. George, knight commander of the Hanoverian Guelphic order, knight of the tower and sword of Portugal, and of Maria Teresa of Austria. This highly distinguished officer was born on the 6th of July 1783, the second son of Frederick third and present earl of Besborough, by Lady Henrietta-Frances Spencer, second daughter of John first earl Spencer, and aunt to the present earl. At the battle of Talavera, major Ponsonby was present with this regiment, by the extraordinary charge of which, although eventually destroyed in the effort, the whole attack of the French upon the left flank of the British completely failed. At the close of the battle of Barossa, in March 1811, major Ponsonby made a brilliant and well-timed attack with two squadrons of the German Legion upon the French cavalry, as they were covering the retreat of the infantry, in which he succeeded in capturing two guns, and increased the disorder of their defeat as much as could possibly be done by so small a force as that under his direction. On the 11th of April 1812 he highly distinguished himself in an action with general Peyreymont, near Llerena, which was one of the most brilliant cavalry affairs of the war. On the 20th July in the same year, during the parallel movement of the two armies, previous to the battle of Salamanca, colonel Ponsonby repeatedly charged the heads of the enemy's columns which attempted to press upon the line of march of the British, and always with decided effect. At the close of the day, after the glorious struggle of the 22nd, he gallantly led a squadron of his regiment against about 450 French infantry, who were overthrown by him after some desperate attacks. On this occasion his sword was broken close to the hilt, and his horse bore the marks of several bayonet wounds. During the whole of the retrograde movement of the army from the Douro, until the battle of Salamanca, colonel Ponsonby was constantly with the outposts, and seldom a day passed without his being more or less engaged with the enemy's advance. So great was the vigilance he inculcated into the officers and men of the 12th, that, during the whole war, the French never surprised either post of picquet of that distinguished regiment. On the retreat from Burgos, he received a wound, on the 13th of October, which, for some time, deprived the army of his services. At the battle of Vittoria, June 21, 1813, the latest effort made for a stand by the rear-guard of the French

cavalry was overthrown by colonel Ponsonby, who, choosing a favourable moment, charged them so effectually with a squadron of the 12th and 16th light dragoons, that he drove them in confusion upon their retreating infantry. His services at Tolosa and at the storming of St. Sebastian were also very conspicuous. Sir Frederick Ponsonby's splendid career was crowned by his remarkable exertions and still more memorable sufferings on the field of Waterloo. His resolution of charging the French column, was no hasty impulse, though suddenly acted upon in the absence of his commanding officer, general Vandeleur, who had a few minutes before led forward the 16th light dragoons. There was not an instant to lose; col. Ponsonby rapidly counted the French column, at which he had a peculiar facility, and rating them at about one thousand, exclaimed, "They must not be allowed to come further," and with his well-known, "Come on, 12th!" dashed down the field, followed by his men. The French column had reached the small valley which lay between the two armies, and the 12th had to descend the slope, which rendered them a conspicuous and almost inevitable mark. They rushed boldly, however, into the column, which they totally dispersed, and drove back into the enemy's lines, together with their cavalry. Nothing could exceed the confusion of the *melée*, and col. Ponsonby became anxious to withdraw his regiment, and spare his men, who were fighting at fearful odds. At that moment he received a cut on his right arm, which caused his sword to drop, and immediately afterwards he received another on his left, which he raised to protect his head. By the latter he lost the command of his horse, which galloped forward, and col. Ponsonby, unable to defend himself, received a blow from a sword on his head, which brought him senseless to the ground. After being wantonly pierced through the back by a lancer, plundered by a French tirailleur, rode over by two squadrons of Russian cavalry, two deep, again plundered by a Prussian soldier, and encumbered for some hours by a dying soldier lying across his legs, he was at length accosted about an hour before midnight by an English soldier, whom he persuaded to stay by him until morning, when a cart conveyed him to the village of Waterloo. He had received seven wounds; but, by constant attention, and excessive bleeding, was at length recovered. Sir Frederick Ponsonby married, March 16, 1825, lady-Emily-Charlotte Bathurst, second daughter of Henry third earl Bathurst, and sister to the present earl.

— At Livelands, Stirlingshire, in his 82d year, William Bain, esq., formerly lieut-col. of the 97th foot, and inspecting field officer of volunteer corps, and one of his majesty's justices for the county of Stirling.

— At Little Stoneham, Suffolk, aged 79, the rev. William Farish, B.D. Jacksonian professor of natural philosophy in the university of Cambridge, and vicar of St. Giles's in that town.

13. At Dublin, aged 60, the rt.hon. sir William M'Mahon, bart., a privy councillor, and master of the rolls in Ireland; half brother to the late rt. hon. sir John M'Mahon, and elder brother to the present lieut.-gen. sir Thomas M'Mahon, bart., K.C.B.

14. At Sunbury, aged 38, Dr. Arthur Jackson Drury. He was the son of the rev. Mark Drury, for many years one of the masters of Harrow.

— At her seat, Hintlesham-hall, Suffolk, aged 77, Miss Lloyd.

— Aged nearly 54, the right hon George John Thicknesse Touchet, seventeenth baron Audley, of Heleigh county, Stafford.

15. At his rectory-house, in his 80th year, the rev. George Avery Hatch, rector of St. Matthew's, Friday-street, London; he was distinguished by a zealous discharge of his duty, and by the sanctity and charities of his life.

— At Bromley-hill, the right hon. Amelia lady Farnborough. She was the elder dau. of sir Abraham Hume, bart., by Amelia Egerton, sister to the two last earls of Bridgewater.

16. At New-house, Watford, aged 54, Peter Clutterbuck, esq., a very active magistrate; also, *Jan.* 20, aged 62, Thomas Clutterbuck, esq., of Bushey-house, Herts, and Nottingham-place, a distinguished patron of the fine arts They were both brothers to the late Robert Clutterbuck, esq., F.S.A., the historian of Hertfordshire.

— At Shanks-house, aged 40, the right hon. Thomas Thynne, visc. Weymouth, eldest son of the marquess of Bath.

16. At Fareham, aged 96, captain Charles Patton, on the list of retired captains, R.N. Captain Patton was the author of "An attempt to establish the basis of Freedom on simple and unerring principles," 8vo.; and of "The effects of Property upon society and government."

17. In Privy-gardens, Whitehall, the most hon. Eliz.-Anne, duchess dowager of Hamilton and Brandon, and march. dowager of Exeter. She was the fourth dau. of Peter Burrell, esq. (father of the 1st lord Gwydyr); her two sisters were married to the late duke of Northumberland and his brother the earl of Beverley. She was married first in 1798 to Douglas 8th duke of Hamilton and Brandon, who died in 1799; and in 1800 she became the third wife of Henry 10th earl and first marquess of Exeter, who left her his widow in 1804. She had no children by either husband. She used the title of dowager marchioness of Exeter.

— At Glasgow, aged 35, D. Robert Macneish, author of the "Philosophy of Sleep," and "Anatomy of Drunkenness," which have gone through several editions, and of papers under the signature of "the Modern Pythagorean," in Blackwood's and Frazer's Magazines.

— At Dublin, the right hon. Clara dowager lady Ventry.

— At Salisbury, aged 72, the rev. Herbert Hawes, D.D., prebendary of Sarum, rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, and of Mellis, co. Suffolk. He was the only son of the rev. John Hawes, M.A. of Salisbury, and, with the exception of a female cousin, was the last surviving descendant of the worthy old angler Isaak Walton. Dr. Hawes has by his will bequeathed to the library of the cathedral of Salisbury an extensive collection of books in the learned languages, and a valuable series of works of Divinity, embracing the writings of the most eminent British divines. He has left to the National Gallery the original portrait (by Housman) of his ancestor, Isaak Walton, the celebrated piscator; and has bequeathed legacies to various charitable and benevolent institutions. The doctor's executor, animated by a like spirit of liberality, has presented to Mr. Pickering, the publisher of the splendid edition of Isaak Walton's works (which was dedicated to Dr. Hawes), the identical prayer-book used by that amiable and illustrious Piscator; and to the rev. W. L. Bowles, the author of the Life of Bishop Ken (also dedicated to the deceased), the same gentleman has presented a scarcely less valuable gift, being the watch worn by that excellent prelate.

18. At the house of her brother, lord Hatherton, in Grosvenor-place, Charlotte Anne, wife of the rev. George Chetwode, rector of Ashton-under-line, and son of sir John Chetwode, bart.

— At Dysart-house, Fifeshire, aged 75, the right hon. James St. Clair Erskine, second earl of Rosslyn, G.C.B. a privy councillor, a general in the army, colonel of the 9th Lancers, a member of the consolidated board of general officers, and commissioner of the Royal Military College and Royal Military Asylum; director of the Scotch Chancery; lord-lieutenant of Fifeshire, &c. &c. He was the eldest son of lieu.-gen. sir Henry Erskine, of Alva, bart., by Janet, dau. of Peter Wedderburne, esq. and sister to Alexander first earl of Rosslyn, and lord chancellor. He succeeded his father as a baronet in 1763. Sir James Erskine was a member of the House of Commons for twenty-three years before his accession to the peerage. He made himself conspicuous as one of the managers of the trial of Mr. Hastings, and generally voted in opposition to Mr. Pitt. On the 3rd Jan. 1805, he succeeded his uncle the ex-chancellor, as earl of Rosslyn. In 1807 he voted in favour of the Catholic claims, which he subsequently supported: but he voted with the Tories against the act for the reform of parliament. In June 1829, the earl of Rosslyn was appointed keeper of the privy seal, and sworn a member of the privy council; and in Dec. 1834, he was lord president of the council in sir Robert Peel's last brief administration. His lordship took the name of St. Clair before his own in July 1789. The earl of Rosslyn was one of the most intimate friends of the duke of Wellington; and, with the exception perhaps of Mr. Holmes, was the most useful agent of the conservative party, being what is sometimes called the 'whipper in' of the tories in the House of Peers. He married, in 1790, Harriet-Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late hon. Edward Bouverie, great-uncle to the present earl of Radnor; and by that lady, who died on the 8th Aug. 1810, he had issue three sons and one daughter.

— At St. Andrew's, aged 90, the rev.

John Hunter, LL.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh, principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard in that university. He was a native of Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire. He was one of the most learned men of his day, and is known throughout the world for his editions of Virgil, Livy, Horace, and other Latin authors.

— At St. Petersburg, aged 71, his excellency vice-adm. sir Thomas Candler, of the Imperial Russian navy, knight of the orders of St. Anne, St. George, and St. Voldemar.

19. At Achurch rectory, aged 58, Mary, wife of the rev. Frederick Powys, sister to the late lord Grey de Ruthyn, and aunt to the marchioness of Hastings.

At Naples, aged 66, William Dickinson, esq., of Kingweston, Somerset, barrister-at-law, formerly M.P. for that county, and lord of the admiralty.

— In Half-moon-street, the rev. Alexander Charles Louis D'Arblay, fellow of Christ-college, Camb., and Minister of Ely chapel. He was the only child of the late lieut.-gen. count Piochard D'Arblay, formerly of the royal Artillery of France, and of madame D'Arblay, the authoress of Evelina, &c., and daughter of Charles Burney, Mus. D., author of the History of Music.

— In Grosvenor-street, London, aged 72, the right hon. and rev. Andrews Windsor, seventh earl of Plymouth. His lordship was formerly rector of Rochford, Essex, and vicar of Rhaiadar, co., Glamorgan. He was unmarried, and is succeeded by his brother Henry, the only surviving male in remainder to the peerage.

— In Chesterfield-st., aged 77, the hon. Charlotte Johanna Grimston, youngest child of James, second viscount Grimston.

20. At his seat, Arran Lodge, Bognor, Sussex, in his 76th year, the right hon. Arthur Saunders Gore, third earl of Arran.

— At his seat, Borris-house, co. Carlow, aged 69, Thomas Kavanagh, esq., M.P. for that county; brother-in-law to the marquess of Ormonde, and son-in-law to the earl of Clancarty.

He was the son and heir of Thomas Kavanagh, esq., by Susan, sister to John, 17th earl of Ormonde. His family was, that of the native kings of Leinster, a fact acknowledged in the reign of queen Mary, who created the Kavanagh of that day, baron Ballyane, styling him in the patent, "Princeps suæ nationis."

He entered at an early period of life into the Austrian service, (in which several of his relatives, including his uncle, field marshal O'Kavanagh, governor of Prague, had been highly distinguished), and served throughout the war. On the death of his father, he became one of the largest landed proprietors in Ireland, inheriting extensive and valuable estates spread over the counties of Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny.

Mr. Kavanagh was first returned to Parliament for the county of Carlow in 1826, and he continued to represent the county, in conjunction with his son-in-law, colonel Bruen, until at the election of 1831, he was defeated by the papistical faction under the patronage of O'Connell. At the election of 1832, Mr. Kavanagh and colonel Bruen were again unsuccessful; in 1835, they were returned, but their election determined to be void. At the re-election, occurred the memorable contest with Mr. Vigors, and ex-sheriff Raphael; memorable for the 1000*l.* paid by the latter to O'Connell, and for the long-protracted contest before another committee of the House. The retirement of the sitting members at length restored Mr. Kavanagh and colonel Bruen to their seats.

Mr. Kavanagh was twice married; first, to his cousin-german lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of John, 17th earl of Ormond, second, to lady Harriet-Margaret Le Poer-Trench, second daughter of Richard, second and present earl of Clancarty. He has left a son and heir, yet a minor. On the 7th February, his body was conveyed from Borris-house to the family vault at St. Mullins. There were twenty-one clergymen of the established church in attendance, and on arriving at the burial ground, there could not be less than 10,000 persons present.

— At his house in Lincoln's-inn Fields, aged 84, sir John Soane, R.A. F.R.S. & S.A. Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, Member of the Academies of Parma and Florence, &c. &c. formerly one of the architects attached to the Board of Works, architect to the Bank of England and College of Surgeons, and Grand Superintendent of Works of the United Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. This eminent architect was a native of Reading, where

he was born on the 10th Sept. 1752. His father was a bricklayer, in humble circumstances:—young Soane was educated at a school kept at Reading by Mr. William Baker, father of the learned printer of that name, the author of "Peregrinations of the Mind." Mr. Soane showed an early predilection for architecture, and at fifteen years of age was placed as a pupil under the late Mr. Dance. Afterwards, with his approval, Soane was placed in Mr. Holland's office to acquire practical experience. In 1772, being a student of the Royal Academy, he was awarded the silver medal for the best drawing of the Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Four years afterwards he obtained the gold medal for the best design for a triumphal bridge. He was soon afterwards introduced to King George 3rd, by sir William Chambers, and was sent to pursue his studies at Rome with the Academy pension. Here he continued until the summer of 1780. On the death of sir Robert Taylor, in 1788, he was appointed architect and surveyor to the Bank of England, after severe competition, in which there were thirteen competitors. In 1784, he married Elizabeth Smith, niece of Mr. George Wyatt, with whom he had eventually a considerable fortune. In 1791, he was appointed Clerk of the Works at St. James's-palace, the Parliament Houses, and other public buildings. This office he resigned, after having held it for some years. In 1795, he was appointed Architect to the Royal Woods and Forests, &c. which he likewise held for several years. In 1794, a Committee of the House of Lords directed him to consider what alterations could properly be made to render the House, offices, &c. more convenient and commodious. He accordingly made all the requisite surveys, and a variety of designs for that purpose, in which was first introduced the noble idea of enriching the Hall of Rufus, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, with paintings and sculpture, to commemorate great public actions and distinguished talent, to which the King gave his decided approval; and it was expected that he would have had the execution of the work; but by one of those Court intrigues which are always doing mischief to real merit, Mr. Soane was jockeyed out of the employment, in favour of the late James Wyatt. In 1800, and the few subsequent years, he was engaged in enlarging the Bank of England, and giving it, so far as the situation would admit, a symmetrical and architectural unity of character In 1806, he was elected Professor of Architecture to the Royal Academy. His predecessor, Mr. Dance, having held the appointment a long while, but never having delivered any lectures for many years, Mr. Soane determined to fulfil its duties in a more useful manner. He gave his first lecture in 1809, when it was very favourably received, as were those that followed in succession; until the fourth, in which there were some just and proper remarks made on the bad taste of some modern works recently finished. The public and the profession generally were greatly pleased with those observations; but it was complained of to the Academy by one of the members, and it remains on record, not to the honour of the men of that day who composed the Council, "that no comments on the works of living artists should be introduced into the lectures of the Royal Academy." In 1807, Mr. Soane was appointed Clerk of the Works to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, where he soon after erected the new Infirmary and other buildings connected with that establishment. In 1808, he was applied to for the purpose of furnishing a plan, &c. for the Academical Institution, Belfast. Mr. Soane furnished the Committee with the plan and drawings for the work, as it is now executed, declining at the same time to accept any fees for them. About this time he was employed both at Cambridge and Oxford to make alterations and improvements in some of the Colleges, particularly Brazenose. The Dulwich Gallery, and Mausoleum of Mr. and Mrs. Desenfans, and sir F. Bourgeois, are likewise his work. In 1826, he built the new Masonic Hall, adjoining the Freemasons' Hall, in Queen-street, and gave 500*l.* towards the expense of its erection. In 1818, he planned the National Debt Redemption Office in the Old Jewry. In 1820, he was directed by the Lords of the Treasury to propose plans for the new Law Courts adjoining Westminster-hall, being seven in number; this, from the peculiarly confined nature of the site prescribed, was a task of much difficulty, and great allowance must be made for that circumstance, when naming the inconveniences now experienced in some of the courts. In 1821, he made designs

for a new Palace, to be constructed on Constitution-hill; the design was magnificent, and would have been, if carried into effect, a palace worthy of a British monarch. In 1822 and 1823, Mr. Soane was employed in improving the King's entrance to the House of Lords, in erecting the Scala Regia, Royal Gallery, &c. &c. In the same period he was engaged to erect a building to accommodate the offices of the Board of Trade and Privy Council, at Whitehall. In 1827, he gave a subscription of 1,000*l.* to the Committee for erecting the monument to his royal highness the Duke of York, and brought out another volume of his architectural works—a copy of the entire work being presented to the Emperor Nicholas, who sent a diamond ring and a letter of thanks in return. In September 1831, he received the honour of knighthood, and in 1833, he completed the new State Paper Office, in St. James's Park. This was the last of his professional works; and on the 16th Oct. in the same year, borne down by domestic calamities, his sight much impaired, and having passed his 80th year, he retired from a profession in which he had been engaged for more than sixty years. Sir John Soane then set seriously about the magnificent idea he had long formed, of bequeathing his large and valuable collection of works of ancient and modern art, (valued at upwards of 50,000*l.*) in perpetuity to the nation, for the benefit of students in the arts, and especially for the advancement of architectural knowledge, and to improve the public taste generally. This noble purpose, which places him high in the class of benefactors to his country, he lived to see completed by Act of Parliament. In March 1835, the architects of Great Britain having had a splendid medal struck, presented it to him in token of their approbation of his conduct and talents. In June 1835, he gave 750*l.* to the Institute of British Architects, and 250*l.* to the Architectural Society. The remains of sir John Soane were deposited, on the 30th Jan. in the monumental tomb he had erected in the year 1816, (on the demise of Mrs. Soane) in the burial ground of St. Giles' in the Fields, at St. Pancras.

— At Cheltenham, aged 73, Mary, widow of sir Francis Ford, bart., aunt to the earl of Lichfield.

20. At Bath, colonel Patrick Doherty, C.B. and K.C.H.

— In Cold-bath-fields' prison, aged 52, Underwood, a notorious begging-letter impostor. For some years he used to travel through the country in a fashionable gig, and with an excellent horse, collecting subscriptions as a disinterested individual, for persons alleged to be in distress. By this means he not only contrived to live as a gentleman while travelling, but also, it is said, to make from 700*l.* to 800*l.* per annum. He had been committed to prison as a rogue and vagabond.

21. In the Temple, aged 47, Charles Miller, esq., barrister-at-law, many years recorder of Leeds. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 29th April, 1814.

— In Upper Berkeley-st., aged 85, Mrs. Philadelphia Mitford, sister to the late colonel Mitford and Lord Redesdale.

— In Bridgewater-square, aged 46, captain Jonathan G. Foster, late of 95th Rifle Brigade, second son of the late captain E. B. Foster, of Knowle-hall, Yorkshire. He was one of those devoted men who led on the "forlorn hope," at the taking of the fort Picurina, at the siege of Badajos, where he fell in the breach wounded by four musket balls.

— At Weymouth, aged 54, Henry Bowyer Lane, esq., late major of Royal Artillery.

— At Chelsea, aged 82, lieutenant-general Lewis Lindenthal, K.C.

— At Bear-place, aged 74, sir Morris Ximenes. He was of Jewish extraction, and knighted when high sheriff of the county.

— At Newcastle, aged 56, Mr. John Sykes, late a bookseller in that town, and author of a valuable compilation which he published under the title of "Local Records," in two vols 8vo.

— At Bath, aged 87, Eleanor, relict of James Sutton, esq., of New-park, near Devizes, sister of viscount Sidmouth.

— In Howland-street, Fitzroy-sq., Robert John Thornton, M.D., the celebrated botanist. Dr. Thornton was the younger son of Bonnell Thornton, esq., translator of Plautus, and joint editor with Colman of the Connoisseur. His mother was a sister of sir John Brathwaite, bart., commander-in-chief at Madras. Mr. Bonnell Thornton died

in 1768, leaving two sons and one daughter. The subject of this memoir was remarkable for passing the whole of his holidays in making collections in natural history; and he also devoted his play-hours at school to the same pursuit, and established there a small garden and menagerie, besides having every species of the English hawk. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Cambridge, where, though destined for the church, he evinced a decided preference for the study of physic. He attended the anatomical and chemical lectures in the university, as well as those on botany and natural history. Shortly after this, having acquired an important accession of fortune by the death of his brother, he resolved to make medicine his profession; and going to London, he became a pupil at Guy's hospital, attending also the lectures of Mr. Cline and Dr. Babington. On taking his degree of B.M. at Cambridge in 1797, he gave as his thesis a discovery which he had himself made, contrary to the received opinions, "That the animal heat arises from the oxygen air imbibed by the blood flowing through the lungs, and taken from the atmosphere received into them, and that in its circulation through the body it becomes decomposed. Having studied for three years in London, he visited the continent; and on his return, began to practice in the metropolis with considerable success. He published in 1798 a work in support of the Brunonian system, under the title of "The Philosophy of Medicine, or Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health and Disease." In the following year he applied the same plan to a system of modern politics, entitled "The Philosophy of Politics, or Political Extracts on the nature of Governments and their Administration." Dr. Thornton was for four years physician to the Marybone Dispensary, where he first introduced the foxglove as a cure for scarlet fever. He afterwards succeeded the late sir James Edw. Smith as lecturer at Guy's hospital on medical botany, and for many years he was a most indefatigable author. At length, however, he entirely overreached himself in a gigantic speculation, which was a work on botany of an extraordinary size, with plates very splendidly coloured after nature. The returns from the sale of this very expensive undertaking by no means answered the author's expectation; and he had recourse to a plan which had been previously tried by Boydell and Bowyer—that of a public lottery. He succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament to legalise this measure; but the results were not sufficiently successful to restore his fortunes, and he was ever after a beggared man. Dr. Thornton had a son who formerly gave lectures on astronomy and geography.

Lately. At Moscow, Mr. John Field, an eminent professor of music.

Lately. At Vepery, Madras, the rev. Dr. Rottler. This eminent servant of God was born at Strasburgh, in June, 1749, where he received his early education, which was continued at Copenhagen. Rottler was twenty-two years a labourer in the same vineyard with Swartz; and has survived him thirty-eight years. For the last twenty years, he has borne a prominent part in all the measures adopted for the improvement of the mission in Southern India, first under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and after its transfer to the superintendence of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Among the most essential benefits he conferred on the mission, in his private hours, were a revision of Fabricius's Translation of the Old Testament, and the preparation of a Tamil version of the Liturgy of the Church of England. He was likewise engaged, to the last day of his valuable life, in compiling a Tamil and English dictionary, to which he had devoted a certain portion of his time for the last twenty years. In the earlier seasons of his residence in India, he pursued, in his leisure hours, the study of Botany, in which science he attained to so great eminence, as to have been in communication with the most eminent botanists in Europe, and to receive, in acknowledgment of his high attainments, the diploma of a Doctor of Physical Sciences, in the year 1795, from the University (or Imperial Academy) of Vienna. He has bequeathed to the Vepery Mission his valuable herbarium, his books and manuscripts, together with the contingent reversion of some pecuniary property.

22. In Hertford-street, aged 42, lady Frances, wife of sir J. W. Wedderburn, bart. sister to the earl of Mountnorris,

lady Farnham, and lady John Somerset.

— At Brighton, Jane, the wife of admiral sir Edward Codrington, G.C.B.

— In Portland Place, sir Richard Borough, of Baseldon-park, in Berkshire, bart., D.C.L., grandfather of the earl of Pomfret.

— At Bathford, near Bath, aged 75, sir Richard Dacres, knt., G.C.H., vice-admiral of the red squadron.

— Aged 61, John Edgcumbe, esq., post captain, R.N., of Edgcumbe, in the county of Devon.

23. Aged 90 years, John Nicholas Silver, esq., many years alderman, and several times mayor of the city of Winchester.

— In Kensington-palace, Mrs. James Strode, the housekeeper for more than a quarter of a century.

— At Waterford, bishop Abraham, of the Roman Catholic church.

24. At Bath, in his 75th year, Thomas Reade, esq., uncle to sir J. C. Reade, bart., and twin brother of the late sir John Reade, bart. of Shipton-court, Oxfordshire.

— Hugh Ley, M.D., was born at Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the year 1790. He was the son of Dr. Ley, who afterwards practised at Penzance, in Cornwall, and was descended of an old and highly respectable family in the west of England. Dr. Ley was educated at Abingdon, under the celebrated classical scholar, Dr. Lempriere, and, being intended for the medical profession, studied assiduously at the Borough hospitals, and was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, but afterwards went to Edinburgh, and graduated in the year 1813; having first published an inaugural dissertation, "De Naturâ intimâ Phthiseos Pulmonalis," in which he exhibited much research and discrimination. On his return to London, he was elected one of the physicians of the Westminster Lying-in-hospital, and in due time was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. Subsequently to this, he became associated with Dr. Merriman, in giving lectures on midwifery and the diseases of women and children, at the Middlesex Hospital, on whose resignation, he was unanimously elected physician. There are several very valuable papers in the London Medical Gazette, by Dr. Ley. His only separate publication is, "An Essay on Laryngismus Stridulus, together with a Dissertation on the Pathology of the Nerves." But it was in the lecture-room that Dr. Ley shone forth most conspicuously, as few have ever possessed greater powers of language, or greater clearness in the arrangement of his matter. Dr. Ley was appointed to the Obstetric Chair at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in the autumn of 1835, and speedily acquired the respect and regard of his class.

Lately. Aged 70, the rev. William Margetson Heald, M.A. late vicar of Birstal, near Leeds, author of a poem, called "The Brunoniade," attacking the doctrine of Browne, who, at that period, was contending for the palm of pre-eminence with Cullen.

— In Mill-street, Hanover-square, aged 67, Joseph Sabine, esq., F.R.L., and Z.S.S. &c. &c. This highly-talented man was educated for the bar, but we do not find that he was actually called. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, Nov. 7, 1799. In 1808 he was appointed inspector-general of taxes, which office he held for twenty-six years, and when that office was abolished in 1835, the present government allowed him a compensation-pension of 350*l.* per annum, seven of his colleagues having retired eighteen years before on 400*l.* Mr. Sabine was honorary secretary (we may say founder) of the Horticultural Society, treasurer and vice-president of the Zoological Society, and one of the council of the Royal and Linnean Societies, and many other scientific institutions.

27. At Brighton, Robert Walter Alexander, esq. of Hampstead, deputy commissary-general.

— At his seat, Kedleston, near Derby, aged 85, the rt. hon. Nathaniel Curzon, second baron Scarsdale.

— In Whitehall-gardens, aged 92, Eliz. Amelia, widow of Richard Henry Bennett, esq., of Babraham, county Cambridge. She was the eldest daughter of Peter Burrell, esq., father of the first lord Gwydir, and grandfather of the present lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

Lately. At Hingham, aged 91, Mrs. Margaret Ridley, last survivor of the family of the rev. Gloster Ridley, D.D. of New College, author of the "Life of Bishop Ridley."

— Off the Isle of Wight, lieut.-col. Edward Purdon, a passenger by the

Hero. He fell down the hatchway of the vessel and was killed.

29. Aged 81, Anne, widow of John Loveday, esq., D.C.L. only child of William Taylor Loder, esq. of Williamscote, where she was born and died.

— At Brighton, aged 74, Andrew Plimer, esq. many years ago an eminent miniature painter in Exeter.

— At Ruddington, near Nottingham, aged 76, lieut.-general John Grey.

30. Aged 79, John Willes, esq. of Hungerford-park, one of the oldest magistrates in the county.

— At Upsal, aged 86, Professor Adam Azelius, the Nestor of scientific men in Sweden. He was the last pupil of Linneus, and was celebrated for his travels in Asia and Africa. His African herbarium is now, we believe, in the Banksian collection in the British Museum. His younger brothers, John and Peter, the first devoted to chemistry, and the second to medecine, and both distinguished for their talents, have for nearly half a century occupied chairs in the University of Upsal.

— Fred. Dundas Radford, esq. husband of Sarah dowager baroness Muskerry, to whom he was married in 1826.

31. At Egham, aged 76, lord William Seymour, uncle to the marquess of Hertford.

— At Paris, aged 35, sir Ferdinand Richard Edward Dalberg-Acton, the seventh baronet, of Aldenham-hall, co. Salop. He was born on the 24th July, 1801, the eldest son of sir John Francis Edward, for some years prime minister of the kingdom of Naples, by Mary-Anne, daughter of Joseph-Edward Acton, esq. (who was his niece, but married by papal dispensation). Sir Ferdinand married at Paris, Marie-Louise-Pelline, only child and heir of Emeric-Joseph duc de Dalberg; and took the name of Dalberg before that of Acton by royal sign-manual.

— At Brighton, aged 85, Anne, widow of admiral sir Richard Onslow, bart., G.C.B.

FEBRUARY.

1. Aged 47, Cuthbert Stephen Romilly, esq., barrister-at-law, nephew to the late sir Samuel Romilly, and late a commissioner for inquiring into charities.

— At Southampton, aged 53, Wilhamina, wife of the hon. and rev. R. F. King, brother to the earl of Kingston and viscount Lorton. She was the eldest daughter of Wm. Ross, esq. of Sandwick.

— At his palace of Ludwigs-lust, aged 80, Frederick-Francis grand duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. He was born on the 10th of Dec. 1756; succeeded his uncle, duke Frederick, on the 19th of April, 1785; and assumed, June 9th, 1815, the title of grand duke. His territories were not large, and he kept up but a moderate court at the residence at Ludwigs-lust, which is a very pleasant village on the road from Hamburg to Berlin. He married Louisa, daughter of John Augustus duke of Saxe-Gotha; and by that princess, who died Jan. 1, 1808, he had issue three sons and one daughter.

— In John-street, Kennington-road, Edward Donovan, esq. F.L.S. Mr. Donovan was the author of the articles in Natural History in Rees's Cyclopedia, and of the following works, all of which are illustrated with numerous engravings. The Botanical Review; or, the Beauties of Flora. The Natural History of British Insects. Instructions for collecting and preserving subjects of Natural History, with a treatise on the management of Insects in their various states. The Natural History of Birds. The Natural History of British Fishes. The Natural History of British Shells. An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of China; India, and islands in the Indian seas; New Holland, New Zealand. Descriptive Excursions through South Wales and Monmouthshire. The Natural History of British Quadrupeds. The Naturalist's Repository of exotic Natural History. The Natural History of the Nests and Eggs of British Birds.

2. At Brussels, lieut.-colonel William Perceval, C.B. formerly of the Rifle Brigade.

— In Lancaster-castle, aged nearly 80, Mr. John Cardwell, after enduring a voluntary incarceration of upwards of twenty years. He was imprisoned for his contempt of the court of Common Pleas, Lancaster, in not executing certain deeds and conveyances, which he refused to do, although their execution could not have been in any way prejudicial to his interests.

— At Stopham-house, Sussex, aged 86, W. Smyth, esq.

3. At Edinburgh, the hon. David Robertson Williamson Ewart, Lord Balgray, a judge of the Court of Session; he was appointed to the bench in 1811.

— At Lyndhurst, aged 58, sir James William Weston Wolff, the second baronet (of Town-hill, Southampton, 1766), and a baron of the Holy Roman empire.

— At Harefield-park, Middlesex, in his 70th year, lieut.-general sir George Cooke, K.C.B. colonel of the 40th regiment, and a member of the Consolidated Board of General Officers.

— At Longwitton-hall, near Morpeth, Northumberland, in his 79th year, James Fenwicke, esq. He was descended from the ancient family of Fenwicke-castle, in the same county.

— At Colne, aged 105, Elizabeth Shoesmith. She had a very perfect recollection of the Scotch rebels, in 1745, skirmishing in the neighbourhood of Preston, of whom she could give a vivid description. Her brother, who joined the rebels, was executed.

8. At Chester, in his 88th year, Roger Barnston, esq., of Churton, col. of the royal Cheshire Militia.

He was decended from a very ancient family, seated at Churton, in that county.

— At her residence in the island of Arran, lady Charlotte Frances Erskine, aunt to the earl of Mar and Kellie. Her ladyship was the eldest daughter of John Francis, the 14th earl.

5. At Capesthorne, Cheshire, in his 80th year, Davies Davenport, esq., formerly during twenty-four years, one of the knights in Parliament for that county.

— Aged 90, Mr. James Cervetto, "the younger," formerly a celebrated violoncellist. He was the son of the elder James Cervetto, who was born in Italy in 1682, and came in 1738 to London, where he continued nntil 1783, and then died at the great age of 101. He first brought the violoncello into favour in England. He was leader of the Drury-lane orchestra in the time of Garrick; and in consequence of his very prominent nose, the gods in the gallery used to call out "Play up, Nosey!" Hence, the origin of a phrase not unfrequently heard at the theatre even to the present day. He was a member of the royal society of musicians for seventy-two years. He published some instrumental music of his own composition.

5. In Chelmsford old gaol, in his 82nd year, the rev. George Somers Clarke, D.D. vicar of Great Waltham, Essex. His parishioners had, for many years, suffered from his eccentricities, when in April 1823, they exhibited twenty-three articles against him "for brawling in church," and other irregularities, and on the 22nd May, 1824, he was committed to Chelmsford old gaol, for contempt of the ecclesiastical court. Since that time, with the exception of a short period, he persisted in remaining in his cell, where he expired. He was master of several languages, and has left behind him a great many manuscripts, translations of the Persian bible, with marginal notes, &c.

— At his residence in Canterbury, aged 80, John Sicklemore, esq., of Wetheringsett, Suffolk, whose family represented that county, and the Borough of Ipswich, in the Parliament of 1654, &c.

— At Madras, the right rev. Daniel Corrie, D.C.L. bishop of that see. This excellent man, whose name has been associated with the labours of Christianity in India for many years, was a member of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of LL.B. in 1805. He was appointed archdeacon of Calcutta in 1823, and consecrated the first bishop of Madras in 1835.

6. At Greatford, (where he had laboured under mental affliction for forty-five years), aged sixty-eight, the most hon. Edward 2nd Marquess of Drogheda. He was never married; and his title and estates devolve upon his nephew, the only child of the late lord Henry Moore and Miss Parnell, daughter of Sir Henry Parnell, now in his 13th year.

— At Ipswich, Sir John Joseph Dillon, knt., and baron S. R. E. formerly of Lincoln's Inn, barrister-at-law. He was called to the bar by that society, Jan. 29, 1801; and was formerly a frequent author on subjects legal and political. The following were the titles of his publications:

Report of a case argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer in Easter term 40 Geo. 3rd, between Lord Petre, plaintiff, lord Auckland and lord Gower, postmasters-general, defendants.

A further supplement (occasioned by the second edition of Reeve's Considerations on the Coronation Oath), to a Pamphlet, entitled, "The question as

to the admissibility of Catholics in Parliament considered."

Essay on the history, and effects of the Coronation Oath. 1807. 8vo.

Allusions concerning the political state of Malta. 1807, 4to.

Two memoirs on the Catholic question. 1810. 4to.

Considerations on the royal Marriage Act. 1811.

A letter on the apprehension of the earl of Fingal. 1812. 8vo.

Letters of Hiberno-Anglus, containing strictures on the conduct of the present administration in Ireland. 1812. 8vo.

A letter to the right hon. George Canning, in explanation of "Two memoirs on the Catholic question." 1812. 4to.

Papers connected with certain points likely to engage the consideration of Parliament in the discussion of the Catholic bill. 1813. 8vo.

Epitome of the case on the claim of the Dillon family of Proudston, to the great chamberlainship of all England, fol. 1820, and again 1829, 4to.

The case of the children of his royal highness, the duke of Sussex, elucidated; a juridical Exercitation. 1832. 4to.

7. At St. Gall, Switzerland, aged 58, Gustavus Adolphus IV., ex-king of Sweden. He was born Nov. 1, 1778, the only son of king Gustavus III. by Sophia-Magdalene of Denmark, eldest daughter of King Frederic V. and his first Queen the Princess Louisa of England, youngest daughter of King George the second; and was, consequently, second cousin to our present sovereign, William the Fourth. At the age of fourteen, he became king of Sweden, on the assassination of his father, March 29, 1792. The regency was vested in his uncle the duke of Sudermania, who refused to assist in the war against France, to which Gustavus III. had agreed previous to his assassination. When the young king first came of age, he appeared resolved to follow the same pacific system; but that wise resolution did not continue to be held for any length of time. The empress of Russia wished to have him married to her favourite daughter, Catharine Paulowna, afterwards successively duchess of Oldenburgh and queen of Wirtemberg; a marriage which would have been highly advantageous to himself and his kingdom. But when everything was prepared, when he had actually arrived in St. Petersburg, and the court of Russia was assembled to witness the ceremony, and only waited for the coming of the young king, he refused to sign the contract, and shut himself up in his apartment, because the empress had inserted a clause that his future queen was to be allowed to profess the religion of the Greek church, which was contrary to the laws of Sweden. This occasioned great displeasure at the court of Russia, and was, in fact, a prelude to the unwise conduct by which the unfortunate Gustavus lost his throne. Not very long after this unfortunate transaction, Gustavus married a princess of Baden, and was at that place, on a visit to his father-in-law, when the duke d'Enghein was seized by orders of Buonaparte, and dragged to Paris, in violation of the neutrality of the country of Baden, in which he had taken refuge. On hearing this, the king of Sweden immediately despatched an aid-de-camp with a letter to Buonaparte, and with orders to leave nothing untried to save the duke; but the noble effort was useless, the deed was done before the messenger arrived. Gustavus was greatly grieved as well as enraged at Napoleon, whom he could never forgive for that terrible transaction. He, notwithstanding the example of all the other sovereigns on the continent, persisted in refusing to recognize Buonaparte as emperor of France; ordered his ambassador to leave Paris, and dismissed the French ambassador from Sweden; while, at the same time, he returned to the king of Prussia the Order of the Black Eagle, with which Napoleon had been invested, saying, "That he never could, according to the laws of knighthood, consent to be brother companion of the assassin of the duke of Enghein." When Napoleon had become emperor, and deprived the emperor of Germany of his title, Gustavus positively refused to recognize that arrangement, or to receive an ambassador from Francis as emperor of Austria. When war was renewed on the continent with France, Gustavus joined the coalition, received a subsidy from England, and, having settled a regency at Stockholm, crossed the Baltic with a small army to his territories in Pomerania, in order to act in conjunction with Russia, according to circumstances. The battle of Austerlitz hav-

ing put an end to the co-operation, Gustavus, after remaining in Pomerania nearly with as much obstinacy as his predecessor Charles XII. did at Bender, was compelled to return to Stockholm; but he refused to take any part in the Diet held at Ratisbon. Gustavus then drew still closer his connexion with England, and determined to persevere in resisting Napoleon's political system. He made all the opposition he could to the occupation of Hanover by Prussian troops, and declared war on that nation. Having abolished servitude in Pomerania, he ordered a levy in mass of all the inhabitants, and declared war against France, at the very moment that a French army, such as he had no power to cope with, was almost under the walls of Stralsund. The treaty of Tilsit, which soon after followed, completed the misfortunes of Sweden. Pomerania, her only continental possession, had already fallen into the hands of the French; and a coalition of France, Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, was formed against Sweden, which prepared the way for the seizure of Finland by Russia; while the only ally that Gustavus possessed, namely, England, was prevented from lending him assistance by his own strange conduct to the British general, sir John Moore. The council of state in vain solicited him to make peace; and he was on the point of marching against the enemy when he found that two Swedish armies were in full march to the capital, and a civil war was on the eve of breaking out. Having displeased his two regiments of guards by assimilating them to the militia, and being thus absolutely without any defence, he was arrested on the 13th March, 1809, and conveyed, together with his family, to the fortress of Drotningholm, where, on the 6th of June, he signed his abdication, and his uncle, the duke of Sudermania, was raised to the throne, by the title of Charles XIII. and Christian-Augustus of Sleswig Augustenburg was invested with the title of Prince Royal of Sweden, or heir apparent. That prince, however, having soon after died, as was supposed, by poison, before the close of the same year, the succession was transferred by election to field-marshal Bernadotte, who subsequently succeeded to the throne in 1818. By the resignation of Gustavus, Sweden obtained a new constitution, and peace with Russia, with the loss of Finland, a loss never to be repaired. From his first prison Gustavus and his family were removed to the castle of Gripsholm, from whence he passed over to the continent in 1810, He went again to Baden, notwithstanding its vicinity to France, and the manner in which that territory had been violated, in order to seize the duke d'Enghien. He afterwards travelled in the north of Europe, under different names, and paid a visit to the emperor Alexander at Petersburgh, whose personal esteem he enjoyed, as his misfortunes had arisen from his too inflexible resistance to Napoleon, and, besides, they had married sisters. On the 14th November, in the same year, he landed in Yarmouth, and in England he was well received by the court, and admired by the people. He passed part of 1811 at Hartwell, with Louis XVIII. In 1812 he lived at Altona, under the protection of Denmark; and he even ventured to show himself in Hamburgh, then occupied by the French. In the end of 1814 he went to Bâle, in Switzerland, where he resided under the title of count Gottorp. He projected, whilst there, a sort of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but it did not take place. In 1815 Gustavus Adolphus took the name of duke of Holstein, and sent to the congress at Vienna, by sir Sidney Smith, knight of the Swedish order of the Sword, a declaration relative to his right to the throne of Sweden, saying, he had been dethroned through the influence of Buonaparte, and demanding the succession for his son, if not for himself. In August, 1816, he lived in Frankfort; and from thence he afterwards went to the city of Hanover, where he resided in great privacy, and took the name of Gustavson (son of Gustavus). In 1818 he became a citizen of Bâle, where he engaged in literary pursuits, and printed, for private distribution, "Reflections on the Aurora Borealis, and its connexion with Diurnal Motion." It was written in French, and translated into Swedish. The latter years of Gustavus were spent not only in exile, but in poverty. He only possessed a small annuity of 96*l.* per annum, and always refused to accept anything from his own private domains in Sweden, or from the emperor Alexander, who offered him an indemnity, which he resolutely declined. He travelled about, always alone, and without

being waited on by any servant. When he alighted at an hotel, he always went to the table d'hote, and was only distinguished from the other guests by his delicate politeness, which he owed more to the goodness of his heart, than to his education. It is said, that during the last few years, his little income of 96*l.* was diminished, that he lived very miserably, was obliged to deprive himself of every little comfort, and was badly clothed and fed, though living in a corner of Europe where provisions are so cheap. His son, the Prince Gustavus Vasa, now a general in the service of Austria, had exhausted all his most ingenious contrivances for rendering less miserable the existence of his father. He paid two persons to observe him, to watch over him, and endeavour secretly to ascertain his wants; but they had great difficulty in concealing that they were so employed, and filial piety was reduced to resort to stratagem, for otherwise the old king would not have admitted of any aid. By the princess before mentioned, from whom he was separated, February 17, 1812, Gustavus had issue several children, of whom the survivors were:—the prince Gustavus Vasa, born in 1799; and educated at the University of Edinburgh, now styled count Itterburg, and high in the military service of Austria; the princess Sophia Wilhelmina, born in 1801, married in 1819 to Charles-Leopold-Frederick prince Margrave of Baden; the princess Amelia-Maria-Charlotte, born in 1805 and the princess Cecilia, born in 1807., The body of Gustavus was removed from St. Gall on the 27th February, to be transported toward Moravia, where it will be finally deposited in the same tomb with that of his grandson.

— At Bodmin, aged 87, the rev. Joseph Pomery, for sixty years vicar of St. Kew, the senior magistrate of Cornwall, and, with one exception, the oldest incumbent.

8. At Exmouth, aged 80, sir Manley Dixon, K.C.B., admiral of the red.

— At North Runcton, aged 34, lady Harriet-Jemima, wife of Daniel Gurney, esq., and sister to the earl of Errol.

9. At Warminster, aged 65, William D'Urban, esq., a rear-adm. and D.C.L.

11. At Edinburgh, general sir James Hay, K.C.H., colonel of the 2nd Dragoon guards.

— At Winchester, in his 97th year, John Latham, M.D., F.R.A., and L.SS., member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and of several foreign learned societies. This very eminent ornithologist was the son of Mr. John Latham, a surgeon and apothecary at Eltham in Kent. He was himself brought up in the same description of country practice, and he pursued it for many years at Dartford in the same county. Dr. Latham first appeared as an author in 1770, in the Philosophical Transactions, and afterwards published various works on medical subjects and natural history; also several treatises, which appeared at various times in the Philosophical Transactions, the Transactions, of the Linnæan Society, and the Medical Transactions. Though chiefly known and most successful as a naturalist, Dr. Latham was also much attached to antiquities. In 1801, he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of some ancient sculptures and inscriptions in the abbey church of Romsey; in 1804, an account of an engraved brass plate from Netley abbey. At the age of 80 he retired with his second wife to the house of his son-in-law, W. N. Wickham, esq., at Winchester, where he remained till his death. In his 82nd year this indefatigable man began publishing his General History of Birds, which was completed in 10 vols. 4to.

12. At Hampstead, aged 40, Edward Turner, M.D., F.R.S., London and Edinburgh professor of chemistry at University College, London. He was a native of Jamaica, but was early removed, for his education, to England. He graduated as doctor of medicine in Edinburgh. Having determined to make chemistry the principal object of his study, he went, even after taking his degree, to Gottingen, where he continued for two years, devoting his whole attention, under professor Stromeyer, to that science and the kindred one of mineralogy. He returned to Edinburgh in 1824, and began to lecture on his favourite science. On the foundation of the University of London, in 1828, he was appointed professor of chemistry at that institution, to the success of which, as a medical school especially, he has contributed a very ample share. As a chemist, he was an acute and original observer, and he was distinguished by the extent and accuracy of his knowledge in all departments.

Dr. Turner's first publication was a small treatise on the atomic theory. His 'Elements of Chemistry' has been for some years the text book used by almost all teachers. He was the author of several papers in scientific periodicals, and in the transactions of the royal societies of Edinburgh and London.

13. At York House, Twickenham, the hon. John Tollemache, uncle to the earl of Dysart. He was the eldest son of the late Louisa, countess of Dysart, and John Manners, esq., and married in 1806, Mary, dowager duchess of Roxburghe, daughter of Benjamin Bechenoe, esq., and widow of William, 4th duke of Roxburghe. Her Grace survives him without issue.

Lately. The right hon. Caroline, viscountess Combermere.

— Henry Bromfield, esq. In addition to numberless acts of charity performed during his lifetime, he has bequeathed to the trustee of Cheltenham chapel 200*l.*; and to each of the undermentioned institutions 100*l.*—Cheltenham dispensary, Female Orphan Asylum, Infant's Schools, Benevolent Society, Union School, London Missionary Society, British and Foreign Bible Society, Naval and Military Bible Society, Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, Hibernian Society, Religious Tract Society, Gloucester Magdalen Asylum.

13. At Mawnan, Cornwall, aged 75, Jas. Manderson, esq., commander, R.N. This officer was principally employed in receiving and prison ships. He was the author of—"A letter addressed to the prime minister and first lord of the admiralty on the extension of the naval establishments of the country." "An examination into the true cause of the stream running through the gulf of Florida." "Twelve letters addressed to the right hon. Spencer Perceval; on the magnitude of the British navy, the importance of Falmouth Harbour," &c. &c.

Lately. At Hereford, Thomas Bird, esq., F. S. A. At the sale of his library, his valuable manuscripts relating to the county, containing the Scudamore papers from Home Lacy, pedigrees, correspondence, maps, drawings, &c.. in eleven thick folio volumes, were sold in one lot to Mr. Vale for 400 guineas.

14. At Goodrich court, the house of his father sir Samuel R. Meyrick, K.H. aged 32, Llewellyn Meyrick, esq. LL.B., and F.S.A., one of the equerries of his royal highness, the duke of Sussex.

— Aged 21, the eldest son of M. Guizot minister of public instruction.

15. At Erskine House, Renfrewshire, aged 58, lieut.-gen. the hon. William Stuart, C.B., late of the grenadier guards uncle to lord Blantyre.

16. In London, aged 44 George Peard, esq., commander R.N., of Exminster, co. Devon.

17. At Upper Deal, Sir John Harvey, K.C.B., admiral of the blue. This officer was the second son of the late c ptain John Harvey, who commanded the Brunswick, of seventy-four guns, in the memorable battle of the 1st of June, 1794.

18. At Lyme, Henry Waring, esq., commander, R.N.

19. At Cheltenham, aged 27, the hon. Letitia Dillon, sister to lord Clonbrock.

— At Southampton, aged 80, the rt. rev. Thomas Burgess, D.D., lord bishop of Salisbury, and chancellor of the order of the garter, F.R.S. F.S.A. V.P.R.S.L., &c. &c. Dr. Burgess was the son of Mr. William Burgess, a respectable grocer at Odiham, in Hampshire, where the bishop was born on the 19th November, 1756. He was educated as a commoner at Winchester; and obtained a scholarship at Corpus Christi college, Oxford, Feb. 22, 1755. In 1780, he obtained the prize for the chancellor's English Essay, "On the Study of Antiquities." In 1787, he was elected probationer, and fellow of Corpus, in the room of Walker King, the late bishop of Rochester, and was soon after appointed logic reader, and then tutor of the college. Before this period, his talents and diligence had attracted the notice of Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq., the distinguished scholar and critic, whose love of learning carried him to the encouragement and support of young men of promising abilities and application. It was not long after, that Mr. Burgess found a still more powerful patron in the person of the late Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards bishop of Durham; who, in approbation of his literary works, collated him in 1787 to the prebend of Wilsford and Woodford in Salisbury cathedral; and, after his translation to Durham, gave Mr. Burgess in 1791, a prebend belonging to that cathedral, and which was retained by him until his translation from St. David's to Salisbury in 1825. His next advancement took place under the administra-

tion of Mr. Addington, who had been his fellow-student at Winchester and Oxford, and who, unsolicited, conferred on him, in 1803, the vacant see of St. David's. From the moment of his elevation to the episcopal bench, the learned prelate displayed the most devoted and exemplary attention to the concerns of his diocese, and was unceasing in his efforts to benefit those placed under his jurisdiction. With this view, his lordship planned and formed a society for the foundation of a provincial college within the diocese, for the instruction of ministers for the Welsh church, who have not the means to obtain an university education.

It is believed, that he had repeatedly declined the prospect of removal to a more wealthy diocese, when at length, upon the death of bishop Fisher, he was translated to the see of Salisbury, of which he took formal possession on the 6th of July, 1825. Throughout the twelve years during which he presided over this diocese, he laboured zealously to improve the means of divine worship —to correct every approach to neglect or irregularity—and, in a word, to increase and nurture the flock committed to his charge. His lordship's studious and retiring habits induced a life of apparent seclusion from public affairs, and prevented him from taking any active part in the House of Peers; but his vote or proxy was never withheld, when any measure affecting the interests of true religion and of the church, called for the exercise of his Parliamentary privilege, and so strongly did he feel concerned in the defence of the establishment, that he was persuaded, perhaps rather unadvisedly, to permit his name to be put forth as the chaplain to the Grand Orange Association. During the whole of his long ministerial life, the laborious and powerful pen of bishop Burgess was constantly employed in advancing the cause of his heavenly master, and the true interests of mankind. His first publication appeared in 1780; and within a few months only of his death, the venerable prelate wrote and published a letter to lord Melbourne, on the Irish church measure. The number of his classical and theological works, amply testify his scholarship; whilst both his public and private charities are the sure proofs of the liberality and kindness of his disposition. The college that he built and founded, whilst bishop of St. David's will be a lasting memorial of his public munificence.

In the year 1796, the bishop, then Mr. Burgess, married Miss Bright, of Durham, half-sister of the marchioness of Winchester.

The bishop has bequeathed to St. David's college, Lampeter, the whole of his valuable library, consisting of many thousand volumes, "with the exception only of such books as Mrs. Burgess may think proper, immediately after his decease, to select for her own use and benefit." He has also left the sum of 3000*l.* Three per cent. consols upon trust, that out of the interest thereof, 40*l.* per annum should be applied to the maintenance of the Burton, Mrs. Martha More's, and the two Eldon, scholarships in that college; the remainder of the interest to be paid to Mrs. Burgess during her life, and after her death, to the use and benefit of the principal professors, and students of the same.

— At Godinton, near Ashford, Kent, aged 72, Nicholas Roundall Toke, esq. This gentleman was the representative of one of the oldest families of Kent, originally seated at Bere near Dover, and for the last three centuries at Godinton.

20. At Windsor, at an advanced age, Mr. Baker, during nearly the whole of his life, he had lived in a little four-room cottage in Peascod-street, and was accustomed to purchase the cheapest and coarsest food; he was generally supposed to be rich, and upon the opening of his will, he was discovered to have died worth the enormous sum of 90,000*l.*

— At Combe Down, Mr. George Steart, of the firm of Bally, Ellen, and Steart, paper manufacturers. By his active and intelligent mind, he brought into great repute the De Montalt Mills, of which the water wheel is the largest in England. The new church on Combe Down was erected through his unwearied exertions, and to it he largely contributed.

22. At York, aged 52, Miss Elizabeth Wright Macauley, a lady who has been some time known to the public in the varied and opposite characters of actress and preacher of the gospel.

She published in 1812, "Effusions of Fancy, a collection of poems, consisting of the Birth of Friendship, the Birth of Affection, and the Birth of Sensibility."

About twenty years ago, she left the stage on the plea of ill health, and became the occupant and preacher of a chapel in the metropolis; but subsequently returned to her former profession. For the last twelve months, she had been travelling through the provinces delivering lectures on "Domestic Philosophy," which were interspersed with recitations, &c. During the three weeks before her death, she had been sojourning at York, delivering a course of lectures in the merchants' hall. Her subject at the last lecture was "Jealousy," which Miss Macauley illustrated by a recitation from the third act of Othello, which she delivered with an energy that drew forth the enthusiastic plaudits of her auditory.

— At Haslar hospital, lieutenant John Marshall, R.N. compiler of an excellent royal naval biography.

Lately.— At Caldbeck, Cumberland, Mary, wife of Mr. Richard Harrison, of that place. This amiable individual was formerly the far-famed, and much talked of "Mary of Buttermere," or as she was more commonly termed, "the Buttermere Beauty."

24. At Liverpool, aged 80, John Bolton, esq. Liverpool has lost by the demise of Mr. Bolton, one of its most honourable merchants, and bountiful benefactors.

Mr Bolton was a native of Ulverston, in the same county. He entered early in life into commercial pursuits, resided for some time in the West Indies, and finally settled in Liverpool, where he acquired an almost princely fortune. In 1803, when England was menaced with foreign invasion, Mr. Bolton raised and clothed a corps in Liverpool at his own expense, consisting of ten companies, and 600 men.

— Thomas Jackson, LL.D. professor of natural philosophy in the university of St. Andrew's.

Lately. At Logan, N.B., William Cunninghame, esq., of Enterkine, author of "Principles of the Constitution of Governments," and about forty years since a candidate on the Whig interest, for the representation of Bristol.

— Aged 86, the very rev. Patrick Nolan, archdeacon and vicar-general of the arch-diocese of Tuam, and parish priest of Balla.

25. At Newport, Isle of Wight, aged 71, Robert, the eldest and only surviving brother of Elizabeth Walbridge, the "Dairyman's Daughter," whose memoirs by the rev. L. Richmond, has been translated into many languages. He was first induced to think seriously from an attendance on the preaching of the rev. J. Wesley, when on a visit to the island in 1790; and afterwards became a preacher himself in that connexion, and so continued upwards of forty years. He was interred in Arreton church-yard, where also rest the remains of his exemplary sister.

27. At Tickhill castle, aged 49, Fred. Lumley Saville, esq., cousin and heir presumptive to the earl of Scarborough.

— In the sheriff's prison at Dublin, of typhus fever, aged 42, the right hon. Edward King, viscount Kingsborough. He was the eldest son of George, third and present earl of Kingston, by lady Helena Moore, only daughter of Stephen first earl of Mountcashell.

At the general election of 1820, his lordship was returned to Parliament for the county of Cork; but he sat only during that Parliament until the dissolution in 1826, when he relinquished his seat to his brother the hon. Robert King.

Lord Kingsborough was much attached to, and a considerable proficient in antiquarian learning, and has left behind him one very extraordinary public monument of his diligence and munificence, having, in 1831, printed six splendid volumes of "The Antiquities of Mexico," which were illustrated by fac-simile plates, taken from inedited MSS. preserved in the royal libraries of Paris, Berlin, and Dresden, in the imperial library at Vienna, the Vatican, the Borgian museum, the library of the institute at Bologna, together with some, and those of the most curious and beautiful description, in the Bodleian library, preserved among the collections of archbishop Laud, and the learned Mr. Selden. Of this magnificent work, four copies were printed upon vellum; lord Kingsborough presented one of them to the British Museum, and another to the Bodleian library, which was acknowledged by the public thanks of the university, unanimously voted in convocation.

Cut off in the prime of life, this amiable and talented nobleman has descended to a premature grave. He was imprisoned for a debt of his father, for which he had unfortunately become security, and not, as might be supposed, from his own extravagance. His lordship was unmarried.

MARCH.

1. At Prestwould hall, Leicestershire, in his 80th year, Charles James Packe, esq.

3. At Clifton, Wm. Henry Clayfield, esq., a gentleman of high philosophic and scientific attainments.

8. In New-street, Spring Gardens, aged 85, Joseph Jekyll, esq., the senior king's counsel, and the senior bencher of the Inner Temple, M.A. F.R.S. and F.S.A. &c. &c.

Mr. Jekyll was the son of a captain in the navy, and was descended from sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls in the reign of George 1st. He was educated at Westminster school, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1777. He was called to the bar by the hon. society of Lincoln's Inn, May 30, 1778. He practised in the western circuit, and in the court of King's Bench.

In 1782, he published in two vols 8vo. the letters of Ignatius Sancho, the clever African, who corresponded with Sterne and Garrick, with memoirs of his life.

In 1787, he was returned to Parliament for Calne on the popular interest, in opposition to that of the Lansdowne family; a circumstance which gave so much offence, that several leading persons clubbed their powers of wit together to satirize him in a poem, entitled "Jekyll, a political eclogue." However, he retained his seat for several successive Parliaments; and on most occasions, he took an active part in union with the Whig party. In 1797, he voted in favour of Mr. Grey's motion for a reform of Parliament. But Mr. Jekyll's reputation was chiefly formed by his ready talent in epigram and repartee. His bon-mots often convulsed the bar, and his ever sparkling wit delighted the high society into which his station and talents gave him the most ready admission.

In 1805, Mr. Jekyll was appointed solicitor-general to the prince of Wales; on which occasion he obtained a silk gown, being called to the rank of king's counsel in Hilary term 1805. He also obtained the office of a commissioner of lunatics.

Under the directions of Mr. Jekyll, as treasurer of the society of the Inner Temple, the hall and fine church were substantially and beautifully repaired.

In 1811, he published "Facts and Observations relating to the Temple church, and the monuments contained in it"—4to.

Mr. Jekyll married, about 1803, the daughter of colonel Hans Sloane, M.P. for Lostwithiel.

9. At Newton Mill, Forfarshire, aged 57, Sir George Mulgrave Ogilvie, the sixth bart., of Barras, co. Kincardine (1661).

— At Sabathoo, East Indies, aged 73, major-gen. sir John Wittington Adams, K.C.B. col. of the 16th Bengal, N. Inf.

10. At Charlton Down Farm, near Andover, Elizabeth Hutfield, in her 106th year.

— In South Audley-st., aged 84, Frances Canning, daughter of the late Stratford Canning, esq., of Garvagh, co. Londonderry, and aunt of the late right hon. G. Canning.

— At Harefield Park, after a few days illness, aged 53, major-gen. sir Henry Frederick Cooke, C.B. and G.C.H.

— At his seat, Denne Hill, near Canterbury, general sir Henry Tucker Montressor, K.C.B. and G.C.H. col. of the 11th foot.

11. At Bodmin, aged 66, Wm. James, esq., Plas Neroyd, land agent. He was the original projector of the Manchester and Liverpool and other railways, and may, with truth, be considered as the father of the railway system, as he surveyed numerous lines at his own expense, at a time when such an innovation was generally ridiculed.

Lately.—At Heiston, aged 45, George Simon Borlase, esq., F.R.S, a deputy lieut. for the county.

Lately.—At Paris, baron Dubois, consulting surgeon to the king, clinical professor of the faculty of medicine of Paris, &c.

— Von Steiner, deputy-governor of the Austrian national bank.

Lately.—At Exeter, aged 77, Joseph James, esq., a post captain, R.N.

12. At Dover, aged 52, Sir Wm. Howe Mulcaster, C.B. K.C.H., K.T.S., a post captain in the royal navy, and naval aide-de-camp to the king.

13. At his house, near Botley, Hants, aged 68, John Fawcett, esq., late of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.

John Fawcett was born in London, Aug. 29, 1768. His father was an humble actor of Drury Lane Theatre, who, though he had not the ability to rise in his profession, was much respected by his brother actors. Mr. Garrick sometimes kindly noticed him,

and seeing his son John at the theatre one day, popped half-a-crown into the boy's hand, a circumstance which, of course, he never forgot. The elder Fawcett, like most theatrical fathers, intended that his son should follow some more profitable and sober calling than that of an actor; and, after giving him an education at St. Paul's school, he apprenticed him, at the age of fifteen, to a respectable linendraper in the city. Young Fawcett very soon, however, left that service in favour of the stage, took to his heels, and joined a company of strolling players, under the assumed name of Foote. His first performance that we hear of was at the Margate Theatre, as Courtall in The Belle's Stratagem. He next played at Tunbridge Wells, where he came under the eye of Cumberland, the dramatist, and of Lord Abingdon. The latter gave him some instruction in music. Not long after, he was engaged by Tate Wilkinson, of the York company, who, at first, obliged him to play youthful tragic characters—Romeo, Douglas, and the like; but when Mr. Thomas Knight left the company, Mr. Fawcett made a stipulation with the manager to perform only comic parts, finding himself most applauded in them.

Mr. Fawcett made his first appearance on the London boards, Sept.21st, 1791, as Caleb in "He would be a Soldier." The reception he met with was very promising. He was chiefly called upon to fill the parts at this theatre, which had been left vacant by the death of Edwin. In a very short time, Mr. Fawcett ingratiated himself into high favour with the public.

In 1794, when Bannister partly seceded from the Haymarket, he recommended Mr. Fawcett to the manager as his substitute. Mr. Colman gave him some prominent characters to play, especially in his own comedies, which fitted cap-a-pie; thus author and actor assisted each other up the ladder of fame. Dr. Pangloss in "The Heir at Law," was the most perfect of these assumptions—Fawcett certainly excelled Jack Bannister in the performance of this character. Mr. Colman was so much pleased with it, that he dedicated the comedy to him. Trudge was a part in which the palm of merit might be fairly divided between them.

Mr. Fawcett was a member of the Covent Garden Company from the time he first appeared there, till his departure from the stage, and for seventeen years, he very ably filled the situation of stage-manager.

Mr. Fawcett was very choice in his selection of parts, and attempted only those he was likely to play well; hence he always pleased by a constant nearness to perfection. In the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare he was without an equal; indeed there never were more perfect representations of Shakspeare's creations. Mr. Fawcett was an inimitable singer of comic songs; his words were wonderfully rapid, yet distinctly heard, and the vivacity of his spirits was in the highest degree exhilarating. He was an excellent representative of the quick-tempered, warm-hearted old English gentleman. His acting was rough, but full of warmth and feeling.

On the 20th May, 1830, Mr. Fawcett took leave of the stage, after performing his favourite character, Captain Copp.

For many years, Mr. Fawcett was treasurer of the Covent Garden Theatrical Fund, its best friend and warmest advocate. At the annual dinners of the charity, he made some eloquent and admirable speeches. In private life, as in his public function, he was an upright and honourable character, and fully supported the title of a gentleman. His manners were decidedly rough, but hi heart was kind.

Mr. Fawcetts, father and son, collected a valuable series of play-bills of Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres from 1774 to 1830. This collection was in the possession of the late Mr. Charles Mathews, and brought the sum of thirty-two guineas at the sale of his property.

— At Flower place, Surrey, aged 33, the rev. Henry Walpole Neville, M.A. nephew to the earl of Abergavenny, rector of Burgh Apton, Norfolk; and Otley Suffolk.

— At Dromoland, co. Clare, aged 63, Sir Edward O'Brien, the fourth bart. of that place.

15. At St. Sebastian, in consequence of the wounds he received in the action of the 15th March, aged 34, col. Oliver de Lancey.

— In Chapel-st. Grosvenor-place, aged 55, Henry Alexander Douglas, esq., brother to the marquess of Queensbury. He was the fourth son of the late Sir Wm. Douglas of Kelhead, bart.

— At North Brixton, Randle Jackson, esq., barrister-at-law, and a bencher of the hon. society of the Middle Temple.

He was called to the bar on the 9th Feb. 1793; and was advocate before Parliament to the hon. East India Company.

— The right hon. Joan viscountess Canning. She was the youngest of the three daughters and co-heirs of the late major-gen. John Scott, of Balcomie. She was married July 8, 1800, to the late rt. hon. George Canning, after whose death, whilst first lord of the treasury, Aug. 8, 1827, she was created a peeress of the United Kingdom, by the title of viscountess Canning, of Kilbrahan, co. Kilkenny, by patent, dated Jan. 17, 1828. She is succeeded by her youngest and only surviving son, Charles John, M.P. in the present Parliament for Warwick. Her body was interred on the 26th by the side of that of her late illustrious husband, in Westminster Abbey.

— At Dresden, major-gen. sir Lorenzo Moore, K.C.H., and C.B. formerly for twenty-one years lieut.-col. of the 35th foot.

Lately.— In the minster-yard, Lincoln, aged 62, col. John Bromhead, C.B.

16. At Edinburgh, aged 82, sir Wm. Maxwell, the seventh bart. of Calderwood, co. Lanark, a general in the army.

— At Bath, aged 31, sir Christopher Baynes, bart. of Harefield-place, Middlesex, and a deputy Lieutenant for that county.

20. At Braunfels, aged 78, Wm. Christian Charles, reigning prince of Solms Braunfels, a major-general in the Prussian service. He succeeded his father in 1783, and has left a son and heir, born in 1797, and other children.

Lately. At Smyrna, capt. Allan, on his way to explore the regions of Central Asia.

23. At Chiswick, aged 63, Simon Cock, esq., secretary to the London Dock Company. Through a long series of years, his zealous exertions had been devoted to the prosperity of the commerce of the port of London.

26. The rev. P. Jackson, B.A. curate of Silverstone, Lancashire. He died from inflammation, brought on by eating snow the day before.

— In Bedford-sq., aged 87, sir James Burrough, late one of the justices of his majesty's common pleas.

27. In Lower Grosvenor-street, aged 72, the most hon. Thomas Thynne, second marquess of Bath K.G.; lord-lieut. and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Somerset; D.C.L., F.S.A. and F.L.S. &c. &c.

— At her house on the Old Steyne, Brighton, aged 80, Mrs. Maria Anne Fitzherbert.

She was born July 26, 1756, the youngest daughter of Walter Smythe, of Bambridge in Hampshire, great uncle to the present Sir Joseph Edward Smythe, of Acton Burton, co. Salop, bart., by Mary, daughter of John Errington, of Errington, co. Durham, esq.

She was first married in 1775 to Edward Weld, esq. of Lulworth castle, co. Dorset, uncle to the late Cardinal Weld. He died without issue in the same year, and she was secondly united in marriage to Thomas Fitzherbert, esq., of Norbury, co. Derby, and Swinnerton, co. Stafford, who also died without issue at Nice, May 7, 1781, and the large property of the family is now enjoyed by his nephew, Thomas Fitzherbert, esq.

Shortly after, her beauty and fascinating manners attracted the particular admiration of the prince of Wales; and, after having for some time received his assiduous attentions, she consented to a nuptial union with his royal highness, according to the forms of her own, the Roman Catholic Church. The precise period of this remarkable occurrence, we have not ascertained. It was alluded to during a debate which took place in the House of Commons in 1787, relative to the prince's pecuniary difficulties. Fox, however, with, as he stated, the express authority of the prince, denied the truth of the report in such positive terms, that Mrs. Fitzherbert never would speak to "The Man of the People" again.

Although, from the force of circumstances, she unwillingly became the object of great public and political interest, her natural disposition tended to the retirement of domestic life, and made her long struggle against that notoriety which the connexion formed with the prince of Wales, was certain to create. The influence she possessed was always exercised for the honour of the personage she was, by the forms of her church, united to; and she found, on her retirement, that she had lost no friend, and, instead of neglect from society, she received the highest tribute of its respect and esteem; and last, though not least, from every member of the royal family the most affectionate demonstrations of attachment, increased no doubt by the grateful conviction they one and all entertained that her influence and good offices had ever been exerted to promote

concord and affection between the prince and his family. The respect shown by his present majesty on his accession to the throne marked these feelings to her in the most flattering manner, and the unceasing attachment and attention of all branches of the royal family, until the close of her existence, showed how deep a sense they entertained of her intrinsic worth.

In disposition, Mrs. Fitzherbert was frank, generous, indulgent, and hospitable. She retained in advanced age the warmth, the enthusiasm, the freshness and disinterested feelings of youth. Her piety was fervent and unostentatious, and her life was one of active benevolence.

It is rumoured, that an annuity of 8,000*l.* per annum, reverts to the Crown, since the demise of Mrs. Fitzherbert. Her jointure from her first marriage was 6,000*l.* a year, which she relinquished after her last alliance; since then, the sum of 8,000*l.* was granted.

28. At Hinton Blewett rectory, aged 72, Anna-Maria, widow of the hon. John Coventry.

— In Sackville-street, Piccadilly, aged 67, George Vance, esq., the eminent surgeon.

In early life, Mr. Vance acquired great reputation for his skill, while belonging to his majesty's forces, and he was appointed one of the resident surgeons of Haslar hospital, near Gosport, where he remained for more than seventeen years. He then removed to London, where he speedily obtained a very extensive practice, his skill, more especially in diseases of the stomach and liver, having become almost proverbial.

The following is the account of the melancholy manner of his death.

"Mr. Vance had been occasionally in attendance on Mr. Broadley, a gentleman of independent property, residing in Lower Grosvenor-street, whose habits had long been singular, but not such, as to induce his friends to place him under restraint. Mr. Vance was sent for to attend him on the 19th March, and found him in a state of so much excitement, that he deemed it prudent to recommend his being placed under the charge of a competent attendant, which was accordingly done. Mr. Vance repeated his visit on the 21st instant, and met Mr. Broadley on the drawing-room landing, accompanied by the attendant, in the act of ascending to his bed-room, on reaching which he succeeded, after a struggle, in shutting out his attendant, and making fast the door. Mr. Vance was proceeding up stairs, in the hope of pacifying Mr. Broadley, when Mr. B. suddenly rushed from his room, and coming in violent, though accidental collision with Mr. Vance on the stairs, Mr. Vance was precipitated to the bottom, and fell on the edge of a window seat, receiving a very severe wound on the forehead. Mr. Vance, although seriously injured, was able to assist in binding up his head, previous to the arrival of Mr. Earl, who was in immediate attendance; but, notwithstanding the unremitted attentions of this gentleman, as well as of Mr. Pettigrew, Sir Benjamin Brodie, &c., he gradually sank, and expired on the evening of the 27th March at half past 11 o'clock.

He left personal property exceeding 100,000*l.*

29. Aged 42, Mr. Charles Nicholson, the eminent performer on the flute.

— At Daylesford House, aged 90, the widow of the right hon. Warren Hastings, governor-gen. of Bengal.

— At Barton Lodge, Berks, in her 100th year, Mary, relict of G. Birch, esq. late of St. Leonard's-hill, and mother of lieut.-gen. Birch Reynardson, of Holywell, co. Lincoln.

30. At Connaught-place, Mary, widow of the hon. and right rev. G. Pelham, bishop of Lincoln. She was the third daughter of the rev. sir Richard Rycroft bart.

30. In Russel-square, in his 69th year, the rev. George Richards, D.D., V.P.R.S.L., F.S.A., &c. &c., vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and author of the aboriginal Britons, and other poems.

APRIL.

1. At Harmsworth-house, near Alresford, aged 67, John Trueman Villebois, esq., a gentleman well known and respected throughout the county as the spirited and sole proprietor of the Hampshire hounds, and a thorough sportsman. He was a partner with Messrs. Hanbury and F. Buxton, in that productive concern, the Brick-lane brewery.

— In Charlotte street, Fitzroy-square, John Constable, esq., R.A. Mr. Constable was the son of a miller, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk. Early in life

he showed so strong a passion for the arts, that it could not be controlled, and his friends placed him under an instructor. Mr. Farringdon, R.A., was his master for some time, and he became a student of the Royal Academy; his improvement was rapid, and he commenced portrait painter, which line he followed with much success for some years, but his taste was decidedly for landscape painting, and he finally abandoned the more lucrative walk of portraiture for the agreeable and congenial one of which he was so fond. He was skilled in the real composition and qualities of colours, and had so far studied the effects, which time and exposure have upon them, that he generally painted his pictures more with a view to their future effect after the lapse of some years, than to their original appearance. Mr. Constable was elected a Royal Academician about twelve years ago. He published, a few years since, a work on English landscape.

4. At Seaton, the rev. J. B. Smith, late of the Unitarian chapel at Colyton, and author of Seaton Beach, the Solitary Seagull, the Fall of Southdown Cliffs, and other poems.

5. At Hobart Town, Faude Fergerson, a free black of the Mandingo nation, said to be aged 130 years. He was originally brought from Africa a slave, but, by dint of industry, soon obtained his freedom. It is worthy of remark, that on the 1st August, 1834, there was not a single individual of the Mandingo nation in slavery in Van Diemen's Land, they having all become free by their own exertions, industry, and good conduct.

In his 53rd year, John Entwistle, esq. of Foxholes, county of Lancaster, and of York Terrace, Regent's Park, M.P. for Rochdale, a magistrate for Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

— In Hereford-street, London, in his 93rd year, the right rev. Henry Bathurst, D.C.L., lord bishop of Norwich. Dr. Bathurst was born at Brackley, in Northamptonshire, October 16, 1744, the seventh son of Benjamin Bathurst, of Lydney, county of Gloucester, esq. (younger brother to Allen first earl Bathurst). Mr. Bathurst had twenty-two children by his first wife, and fourteen by his second. He was educated at Winchester, and thence elected as a Founder's kin to a fellowship of New College, Oxford. About 1775 he was appointed to a canonry of Christ Church, Oxford; and in 17.. to a prebendal stall in Durham. Finally, on the translation of Dr. Manners Sutton to Canterbury, he was consecrated bishop of Norwich, March 9, 1805. On the 27th of May, 1808, he delivered a remarkable speech in the House of Lords, in support of lord Grenville's proposal for the relief of the Roman Catholics: after which, he is reported to have said to a friend, "I have lost Winchester, my dear Sir, but I have satisfied my conscience." He was subsequently one of the most fervent advocates of Roman Catholic emancipation; and in October 1826, having been solicited to present a petition for that object from Tuam, in an answer addressed to Dr. Kelly, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Tuam, we find him thus expressing himself:—"Old as I am, I will gladly present to the House of Lords the petition mentioned by your Grace; and I shall be happy to have an opportunity of bearing my humble testimony in favour of the most injured people upon the face of the earth." Dr. Bathurst was distinguished through the whole course of his long life for the liberality of his principles, and during many years he was regarded as "the only liberal bishop" in the House of Lords. His lordship published some few single Sermons; two of his Charges, in 1806 and 1815; and "A Letter to the late Mr. Wilberforce, on Christianity and Politics, how far they are reconcilable;" this, we believe, was his last publication, and is dated 1818. The bishop of Norwich married Grace, daughter of the very rev. Charles Coote, dean of Kilfenora, sister to Charles Henry Lord Castlecoote, and to general sir Eyre Coote, K.B. By that lady his lordship had eight sons and three daughters.

— At Bangalore, aged 24, lieut. Pettigrew, of the 6th Madras cavalry, the eldest son of Mr. Pettigrew, of Saville-row, and remarkable for his great acquirements in Oriental languages.

7. In his 64th year, Mr. William Eusebius Andrews, editor of the "Orthodox Journal," &c. He is the third of the London Roman Catholic booksellers who have died within six weeks.

8. Aged 71, Frederick-Charles, reigning prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein. He was in the 42d year of his reign; and is succeeded by his eldest son Frederick-William, born in 1798.

DEATHS.—APRIL.

10. In Kensington-palace, the right hon. Sophia Lady de Lisle and Dudley; the eldest daughter of King William the Fourth, (by Mrs. Jordan), sister to the earl of Munster. Miss Fitzclarence was married August 13, 1825, at the house of the duke of Clarence in London, and in the presence of their royal highnesses the dukes of York and Sussex, by the former of whom she was given away. Her husband Philip Chas. Sidney, esq. (only son of the present sir John Shelley Sidney, of Penshurst-place, county of Kent, bart.) was at that time a captain in the first regiment of guards; and after the accession of his royal father-in-law was appointed a lord of his majesty's bedchamber and surveyor-general of the duchy of Cornwall; he was in 1830 honoured with the dignity of a Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order, and in 1835 created baron de Lisle and Dudley, of Penshurst, in recognition of his lineal descent (through his mother Henrietta Hunloke) from the family of Dudley earl of Leicester, and from the Sidneys, Dudleys, Greys, and Talbots, who enjoyed the ancient barony and viscounty of Lisle. Her ladyship was raised to the precedence of the daughter of a marquis, by the king's warrant, 1831; and was recently appointed housekeeper of Kensington-palace on the death of Mrs. Strode. Lady de Lisle is said to have been the favourite daughter of her royal father, and occasionally acted as his amanuensis. Her ladyship had issue six children.

— In South Audley-street, aged 84, the hon. Mrs. Anne Vernon, elder sister of the archbishop of York.

— At Hampstead-heath, aged 77, lady Elizabeth-Eleanor, relic of major-general Thomas Dundas, of Fingask, and half-sister to the earl of Home. She was the only daughter of Alexander the ninth and late earl by his first wife the hon. Primrose Elphinstone.

— At North-end, Fulham, aged 68, William Jones, esq., many years chief cashier at the paymaster's-general's office.

— At his palace at Rome, aged 63, his Eminence Thomas Weld, cardinal of the church of Rome; brother-in-law to lord Stourton, and father-in-law of lord de Clifford. He was born January 22, 1773, the eldest son of Thomas Weld, esq. of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, who was the founder of the Roman Catholic college at Stoneyhurst, in Lancashire. His mother was Mary, eldest daughter of sir John Stanley Massey-Stanley, bart. of Hooton. He resided for many years at Clifton, near Bristol. He succeeded to his ancestral estates on the death of his father in 1810; but after the decease of his wife, in 1815, he took holy orders in the church of Rome, and some years after was consecrated coadjutor bishop of Canada. Having accompanied to Rome his daughter lady de Clifford, who went to Italy for her health, he received in 1829 the extraordinary mark of the favour of Pope Pius VIII. in being elevated to the dignity of a cardinal. Mr. Weld had for many years before devoted the whole of his time and a large share of his fortune to objects of piety and charity. He relinquished his estates to his next brother the present Joseph Weld, esq.; and in 1830 the exiled royal family of France found refuge at his mansion at Lulworth Castle, where they remained for some weeks until their removal to Holyrood House. Mr. Weld married in 1796 Lucy-Bridget, fourth daughter of the hon. Thomas Clifford, fourth and posthumous son of Hugh third lord Clifford, and sister to the present sir Thomas Hugh Clifford Constable, of Tixall, bart. By this lady, he had issue an only daughter, Mary-Lucy, who was married at Paris, 31st August, 1818, and afterwards at Ugbrooke, 9th January, 1819, to Hugh-Charles, present and seventh lord Clifford, of Chudleigh, and died in June, 1831, leaving six children. In a letter from Rome, dated the 15th April, it is stated: "Yesterday the Pope was present at a *requiem*, celebrated in honour of cardinal Weld. The sovereign pontiff wished thus to express the great esteem he felt for that dignitary. Never was mourning more general here."

— In Great Russell-street, William Cummin, M.D., a member of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical and Statistical Societies. This very accomplished medical professor was chiefly known as a teacher of forensic medicine at the Aldersgate-street school. His lectures on that interesting subject, as published in the Medical Gazette, exhibit the profound knowledge of the medical jurist, with all the elegant accomplishments of the scholar. He was also the author of a tract on the "Proofs of Infanticide. As a writer in the Medical Gazette, he distinguished himself by his contribu-

tions on every matter connected with medical literature. His writings were marked by extreme accuracy, correctness of style, exactness of knowledge, and elegance of expression. He had a passion for knowledge, which he pursued to the last moment of his life, with singular devotion. He had won the highest honours in the University of Dublin; and he was familiar with the principal continental languages.

— At St. John's Wood, the hon. Anna Matilda Hill, elder sister to lord Berwick and the Marchioness of Ailesbury.

11. At Mabus, Cardiganshire, aged 75, colonel Lloyd Phillips, governor of Fishguard. He served his king and country in the four quarters of the globe, and commanded the 86th regiment across the desert from Suez to Cairo, during the Egyptian campaign of 1801. He was an active magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the county of Cardigan.

15. At Ayston-hall, county of Rutland, aged 75, George Fludyer, esq., uncle to sir Samuel Fludyer, bart., brother-in-law to the earl of Westmoreland, and father-in-law to the earl of Onslow, earl Brownlow, &c.

— At Norwich, in his 45th year, Joseph Sparshall, esq., F.L.S.. a celebrated entymologist, and the principal originator of the Norfolk and Norwich museum.

16. At Upper Wimpole-street, aged 84, Mrs. Fraser Tytler, widow of the hon. A. F. Tytler, lord Woodhouselee, one of the senators of the college of justice, and one of the lords commissioners of justiciary, in Scotland.

17. At Mentz, the countess de Brosse, widow of M. d'Ebersteine, formerly minister of State of the grand duchy of Frankfort. In her will she has left 12,000 florins to establish a *fête de la Rosiere* at Mentz, and to give a dowry of 500 florins on the 1st of May every year, to a girl chosen amongst the most virtuous of that city. The sum of 100 florins is to be appropriated for an entertainment on that day. To the editor of the *Frankfort Journal*, the countess has bequeathed 1000 florins and her manuscripts, on condition that he shall write her epitaph.

18. At Edinburgh, lady Anne Stuart, sister to the earl of Moray, K.T. She was the youngest daughter of Francis 9th, and late earl, by the hon. Jane Gray eldest daughter of John, 12th lord Gray.

Lately. Lady Prudentia C. E. Coote, second daughter of the late Charles, earl of Bellamont.

19. In Lower Grosvenor-street, the right hon. Hester-Elizabeth, dowager lady Selsey. Her ladyship died in consequence of being dreadfully burnt.

— At Berlin, in his 70th year, his excellency, M. Ancillon, minister of State for foreign affairs. He was equally eminent as a statesman, a philosopher, and a publicist. He was descended of an ancient French family.

20. At Dublin, in her 18th year, lady Julia Stuart, youngest daughter of the earl of Castlestuart. Her death was occasioned by her clothes accidentally catching fire three days before.

— At New Brentford, aged 65, the rev. Sir Robert Peat, vicar of that parish. He was formerly chaplain to , and a great confidant of his late majesty, George 4th, who, while prince of Wales procured him in 1808 the living of New Brentford, of which he had previously been curate for many years. The order of St. Stanislaus was conferred on the rev. sir Robert Peat (then Robert Peat, esq.), by Stanislaus Augustus, king of Poland, 1790; and he received permission to wear it from king George 3rd.

21. At Golder's hill, Hampstead, in his 50th year, John Blackburne, esq. M.P., king's counsel, a bencher of the hon. society of the Middle Temple, and M.P. for Huddersfield.

Mr. Blackburne was a native of Huddersfield. He was a member of Brazennose college, Oxford. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, June 18, 1813; and had been for many years a distinguished member of the Northern circuit. He was promoted to the rank of king's counsel in the Hilary vacation, 1833. Having long been known as a zealous advocate of liberal politics, he was selected in 1832, by the cabinet of lord Grey, as the head of the commission appointed to investigate the state of the municipal corporations of England and Wales, and it is generally understood, that the majority of the members of that commission were recommended by him.

— In the 85th year of his age, the rev. George Jepson, A.M. of Emman. Coll. Cantab. prebendary of St. Botolph, in Lincoln Cathedral, installed in 1781, and was senior prebendary in England.

DEATHS.—April.

22. Aged 76, Gunther Fredericke Charles, reigning prince of Schwarzburg, Sondershausen, and chief of the house of Schwarzburg.

23. At Liverpool, in his 33rd year, the hon. Randal Plunkett, M.P. for Drogheda, elder son of lord Dunsany. He was of the conservative party, and succeeded to the representation in 1835, on the decision that the return of his competitor Mr. O'Dwyer was void.

24. At Wickham, Hampshire, aged 72, Pitt Burnaby Greene, esq., a post-captain, R.N.

26. At Ross, aged 71, James Caulfield, esq., captain R.N.

28. At Clifton, near Nottingham, aged 70, sir Robert Clifton, seventh bart. of that place.

29. At Frankfort, in his 90th year, the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse Cassel, uncle to the reigning elector, and father of the duchess of Cambridge.

30. At her palace, in the immediate neighbourhood of the ducal residence, Louisa Eleonora, duchess dowager of Saxe [Cobourg Meinungen, mother of the reigning duke, and of her most gracious majesty, Adelaide, our beloved queen. Her serene highness was the daughter of the late Christian Albert Lewis, prince of Hohenloe, Langenburg, one of the most ancient, but mediatized States in Germany. She was, we believe, in her 74th year. On the 27th of November, 1782, she was married to George Fredrich Charles, duke of Saxe Coburg, and Meinungen; who had just succeeded to his elder brother in the undivided sovereignty of his hereditary states. The princess Louisa was then in her 18th year.

The duchy of Meinungen is a small portion of that territory which, on the division of the Saxon states, fell to the share of the two sons of John Fredrich, when he was deprived of the electorate by the emperor Charles the 5th, in 1547. The late duchess of Meinungen, became a widow in 1803, with three children, a son then in his 3rd year, and two daughters; Adelaide eleven, and Ida, nine years of age. Duke George was only forty-two years of age when he died. He was a prince of splendid talents, and inherited all that love for literature and the sciences which have long rendered Weimar so distinguished; and he was both the friend and the patron of most of the learned men of his time. The court of Meinungen was second only to that of Weimar. At his death he left the duchess unrestricted regent of his hereditary states, and sole guardian of their infant children. The good sense, sound discretion, and great firmness, with which her serene highness ruled her people, and the steady and sound religious principles, in which she educated, or caused to be educated, her beloved children, are sufficient proofs that the confidence of the prince had not been misplaced. The deceased princess governed the states of Meinungen for a period of eighteen years, from 1803 to 1822, when her only son, the present duke, came of age. She steered her little vessel most prosperously through the most disastrous times of the revolutionary war, and saw it ride triumphantly for several years of tranquilizing peace; and when she delivered up the helm, and retired from the ducal palace to her own quiet abode, with her limited court, and a few esteemed and long tried friends, every tongue blessed her, and prayed for her happiness. Soon after her retirement from the government, the deceased paid a visit to her favourite daughter, and resided for some time at Bushey Park. The bow, however, had been too long bent, and when unstrung the injuries began to appear. No sooner had her serene highness returned to Meinungen than her health began to decline, and her friends saw with anxiety the too rapid approaches of serious disease. Her late serene highness had somewhat of a masculine body as well as a masculine mind. We do not think it can be said, that she ever had been beautiful, but her figure was perfect, and even at a late period of her life, her carriage was most noble and erect. She was strict and regular in the discharge of all her duties to her God and to her fellow creatures. A sincere Christian without bigotry; a just ruler, and a firm and unflinching conservator of the rights of the prince, and the privileges of the people.

MAY.

1. At the mansion of his brother-in-law earl Spencer, in the Green Park, aged 55, the right hon. William-Henry Lyttelton, the fifth lord Lyttelton, lord-lieut. of the county of Worcester, high steward of Bewdley, and D.C.L.

His lordship was born April 3, 1782, the youngest child of William-Henry the

first lord Westcote, and first lord Lyttelton of the creation of 1794, and his only son by his second marriage with Caroline, daughter of John Bristow, of Quiddenham in Norfolk, esq. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford; and was the contemporary of the late lord Dudley, lord Ebrington, the late lord Blessington, bishop Heber, professor Wilson, &c. Among these eminent associates, he was distinguished not only by his great natural abilities, but his academical learning and knowledge of Greek were considered to be superior to most of his contemporaries. In March 1816, he contested the county of Worcester with the hon. W. B. Lygon, and was defeated. He was, however, in the course of the following year, returned for the county, which he continued to represent until 1820.

On the death of his half-brother Wm. Fulke lord Lyttelton, Nov. 12, 1828, he succeeded to the peerage. Lord Lyttelton printed privately in 1836, an account of his interview and conversations with the ex-emperor Napoleon on board the Northumberland, in company with lord Lowther.

Lord Lyttelton also printed for private circulation, a catalogue of the pictures of Hagley; and we believe some prayers and religious meditations for the use of his sons at college.

His lordship married, March 4, 1813, lady Sarah Spencer, eldest daughter of George-John, second and late earl Spencer, K.G., and sister to the present earl Spencer.

— At Jever, in the grand duchy of Oldenburg, in his 48th year, Dr. John Lewis Tiarks, F.R.S., British Astronomer to the American boundary line commission. Dr. Tiarks was born at Jever, in 1789; and he very early displayed so devoted an attachment to mathematical studies, and pursued them so severely, as to excite the fears of his friends on account of his health. At the age of seventeen, having surpassed in his acquirements the teachers under whom he was placed, he proceeded to the university of Gottingen, for the purpose of preparing himself for the church; but, after an attendance of one year on the theological lectures, he gave himself up to his favorite objects, and, having taken his degree, he visited Hamburg. He remained there until Napoleon, superseded his brother Louis in the kingdom of Holland, when, having every reason to fear conscription, he hastily quitted that city, and set out for England. But when he had taken this decided step, and the continent was subsequently closed against his return, it was found, that the most favourable sentiments were entertained towards him; and, without his absence being known, the offer was directed to him at Hamburg, of the professorship of natural philosophy at Marburg. He reached London in 1810, and became assistant librarian to sir Joseph Banks, through whose interest he subsequently received the appointment of British Astronomer to the commission named under the treaty of Ghent, for determining the American boundary line; and immediately proceeded to America, where he remained, with the exception of one short leave of absence, till 1821.

In 1822, he married, and arrived in England for the purpose of returning to America; but the state of the question not requiring his attendance at that time, the board of longitude took advantage of the opportunity presented by the delay, to recommend to the admiralty the determination of the longitude of various places by means of observations on chronometers. For this purpose, the Comet steam-boat was fitted out, and Dr. Tiarks having been conveyed from Greenwich to Madeira with fifteen chronometers, employed the months of July and August in that year in making the determination. From July to September, 1813, he carried on his operations with twenty-five chronometers between Dover, Falmouth, and Portsmouth; and in the following year he went, with thirty-six chronometers, to Altona, from whence he proceeded, in conjunction with the German astronomers, to Heligoland, and various stations in the north seas. On this last occasion, he was accompanied by sir H. Davy, who was desirous of ascertaining the mechanical effect of a rough sea, and the rapid motion of a steam-vessel, on copper sheathing, furnished with protectors.

In 1825, he was re-called from Germany, to proceed to the interior of America, for the purpose of ascertaining the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods. He accomplished this in the autumn of that year; and, in carrying on the operations in this remote region, he endured the greatest hardships. For many weeks, the party saw neither house nor human being, though they constantly found themselves a day in

arrear on the track of Franklin's expedition. They slept on the snow, with fires round the tents to protect them from the wolves. At one time, they were entirely without water, and were obliged to substitute the juice of the bark of trees, and for food, had only a little bacon and bread. In consequence of these privations, the party were affected with eruptions on the skin. In 1826, he returned from America, and in 1828, on the reference of the boundary line question to the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands, he proceeded to the Hague, for the purpose of giving the requisite information on the various points of the subject, to the commissioners appointed by that sovereign. After remaining a year in Holland, he returned to England, and made his report to the government; and then retired to Germany, where he remained, in a state of great uncertainty as to the future orders of the government in the disposal of his services, until 1834, when the president of the United States having addressed a communication to the British court on the question, Dr. Tiarks was immediately called over to London. He left this country, for the last time, in March, 1835.

The last labour of Dr. Tiarks was a revision of the calculations on which the celebrated institution of Oldenburgh, for the benefit of widows, so highly extolled by Price, in his work on Annuities, is founded, and on the completion of this intricate investigation, undertaken by him gratuitously, he received from the grand duke of Oldenburgh a handsome letter, expressive of his obligation, accompanied with a present of a thousand dollars, as a mark of his approbation of the disinterested service Dr. Tiarks had rendered to the duchy.

4. At his lodgings, near Richmond, James Gordon, esq., solicitor, late of Durham. He was well known in that vicinity, as a young man of great ability, in his profession, and also in literary and philological studies. Having been of eminent service to the Surtees society in editing their publications, the members appointed him their under secretary at their anniversary in July, 1836.

9. At Alnwick, in his 73rd year, sir David William Smith, of Pickering in Upper Canada, and of Preston, co., Northumberland, bart. He was the only child of John Smith, sometime of Salisbury, esq., lieut.-col. of the fifth foot, who died commandant of the fortress of Niagara in Canada in 1795. At an early age, he was appointed an ensign in his father's regiment, in which he subsequently attained the rank of captain. Afterwards, he was called to the bar in the province of Upper Canada, with precedence as deputy judge advocate; and was appointed surveyor-general of lands, also one of the trustees for the six nations, and one of the executive council, and of the committee for administering the government in the governor's absence; a member of the three first Canadian parliaments, and speaker of the house of assembly, in two of them. For these public services, he was created a baronet by patent, dated Aug. 30, 1821. The consummate ability with which he had for a long period, administered the affairs of the duke of Northumberland in the county of Northumberland, is well known.

— At Dun's Tew, Oxfordshire, aged 66, the rev. Wm. Gordon, vicar of that parish, and a magistrate for the county. He was presented to the vicarage of Dun's Tew, by the late sir Henry Dashwood, bart., to whose son he afterwards became tutor. He accompanied his pupil to France during the short peace of 1802-3, and in 1803, they were both detained prisoners of war, and sent to Verdun. During a period of eleven years detention in France, Mr. Gordon's prudence and discretion, and his influence with the French authorities, founded solely on esteem for his character, enabled him to render important services to many of his countrymen, prisoners like himself.

— At Paris, in her 15th year, the hon. Susan Penelope Copley, second daughter of lord Lyndhurst.

13. At Bath, aged 82, lieut.-gen. Wm. Neville Cameron, of the Bengal army.

14. In Conduit-street, aged 76, the dowager lady Bellew.

15. At Elemore Hall, Durham, in his 84th year, George Baker, esq.

Mr. Baker was the only son and heir of George Baker, esq. of Elemore (descended from an old Durham family). In his earlier years, he was well known in the sporting circles, and was supposed to be one of the best gentleman riders in England.

— At Knutsford, aged 82, Henry Calveley Cotton, esq., uncle to lord visct. Combermere.

16. At Stockport, in his 70th year,

DEATHS.—MAY.

Mr. John Hazlitt, portrait painter, elder brother to Wm. Hazlitt, the eloquent critic and essayist. He possessed great conversational ability, and was distinguished for the extent of his information and the versatility of his powers.

— At Cheltenham, the right hon. Margaret-Jane, countess of Moray.

17. In the Regent's Park, Charlotte Sophia, wife of John Gibson Lockhart, esq., the elder and only surviving daughter of the late sir Walter Scott, of Abbotsford, bart. This amiable and accomplished lady, was the favourite companion of her highly gifted father. She was married in 1820; was the mother of that child, whose memory will be preserved in the writings of his grandfather, under the playful soubriquet of Hugh Littlejohn; and she has left two children, a son and a daughter.

Lately. Mrs. Freeman, of Houseley-hall. She has left to the hon. J. A. Stuart Wortley, youngest son of lord Wharncliffe, property, personal and freehold, amounting to about ten thousand pounds. The clause in the will states, that Mrs. Freeman, having long been a sincere admirer of the manly independence of lord Wharncliffe's political character, was so much gratified at seeing Mr. Wortley determined to tread in his father's steps, that she was induced thus to testify her admiration of his character, and at the same time to aid, in some degree, in making up the pecuniary deficiences which the sacrifice of professional to political success might call upon him to make.

19. At the lieut.-governor's house, Chelsea Hospital, aged 67, the hon. sir Alexander Hope, of Craighall, co. Linlithgow, G.C.B., a general in the army, col. of the 14th foot, lieut.-governor of Chelsea Hospital, a commissioner of the royal military college, a member of the consolidated board of general officers, D.C.L., &c. &c.; uncle to the earl of Hopetoun. Sir Alexander Hope was for many years a member of the House of Commons. He was first returned for the Dumfries, &c., burghs, at the general election of 1796; in 1800, he succeeded his brother sir John Hope as knight of the shire of Linlithgow, for which he was re-elected to eleven successive parliaments until the dissolution of 1834. His vote was given to Mr. Pitt and the subsequent supporters of his principles.

21. At Shaftesbury, aged 71, Charles Bowles, esq., late recorder, and one of the aldermen of that borough. Mr. Bowles was the only surviving brother of the rev. Wm. Lisle Bowles, the poet. Mr. Bowles was possessed of very extensive information, particularly in legal and genealogical antiquities. He was the author of the history of the Hundred of Chalk, which he compiled as a contribution to his friend sir Richard Hoare's History of Wiltshire.

23. At Bath, aged 75, the right hon. Susannah dowager, viscountess Exmouth. She was the second daughter of James Frowd, esq., was married to Edward the gallant lord viscount Exmouth in 1783, and left his widow in 1833, having had issue the present viscount, the present dean of Norwich, two other sons, and two daughters.

24. In her 62rd year, Dorothea, relict of lieut.-general sir Henry Oakes, bart.

29. At Calcutta, aged 38, the hon. Frederick John Shore, chief commissioner for the Saugur and Nerpudder provinces; second son of the late, and brother of the present lord Teignmouth.

31. In Southampton-street, Pentonville, aged 57, Mr. Joseph Grimaldi, the paragon of clowns. This celebrated mime was the son of Signor Grimaldi, a dentist and dancer, who came to this country in 1760, in the suite of Queen Charlotte; and who was the son of a far celebrated *sauteur*, who performed chiefly in France, and from his vast powers of jumping, obtained the *soubriquet* of Iron-legs. The skill of Grimaldi the second, as a dancer, and his inventive powers as a ballet master, were made known to Garrick, who engaged him in the latter capacity. Joseph, his elder son, the subject of the present notice, was born on the 18th December, 1779. He made his first appearance at Drury-lane theatre, when only two years and eight months old, in the character of the child, in the serious pantomime of Robinson Crusoe. At seven years of age, little Joey was regularly engaged at that establishment. He gradually grew into the favour of the public as a serious pantomimist, but he did not for many years attempt to rival the Delpinis, Follets, &c., who made our grandsires merry. Grimaldi remained at Drury until about 1808, when Mr. Harris secured his services, and there he aided in the production of all the celebrated pantomimes from

DEATHS.—JUNE.

Mother Goose down to Harlequin Gulliver. He was also engaged at Sadler's Wells, and night after night played clown there (the pantomime being performed first) and then repeated the character at Covent-garden, and on one occasion actually played Clown three times in one evening, at Sadler's Wells, the Circus, and Covent-garden. He did not confine himself to clownship at Sadler's Wells, he played a variety of characters, comic and serious,—corsairs, slaves, pirates, &c., were amid the latter, and the broader portion of low comedy was deemed his *forte* in the former line. He played Acres in The Rivals, on the occasion of his benefit at Covent-garden, and has acted Richard the Third in the provinces. Having demanded too great a salary, the proprietors of Sadler's Wells engaged Paulo in his stead, and Mr. G. "starr'd" in the country, and in this expedition he amassed enough to buy his shares in that theatre. In 1823, when only forty-four years of age, he was overtaken by a premature decline of health. He took his final leave of the stage on the 27th June 1828. He then retired to a place near Woolwich, on a pension of 130*l.* from the Drury-lane Theatrical Fund; his post on the stage being taken by his only son, Joseph Samuel William Grimaldi, whose career was arrested by a still more early termination, for he died of the effects of intemperance in December, 1832. About two years since, Grimaldi lost his wife; when he removed from Woolwich to his old vicinity of Pentonville. The landlord of a neighbouring public-house, (the Marquis Cornwallis) was accustomed to fetch him on his back in order to pass the evening with his other guests, and to carry him home in the same fashion. He passed his last evening in that manner in good spirits; and died suddenly in his bed during the night. The mortal remains of this great mime were consigned to the earth, in the burial ground of Pentonville chapel. His grave, which is far beyond the usual depth, is at the foot of that of Charles Dibdin, (son of the great lyrist). Grimaldi was indebted to Charles for almost all the songs in which he set London in a roar; and now actor and author share a few feet of earth between them.

— At Noyadd Trefaur, county of Cardigan, aged 70, William Henry Webley Parry, esq., rear-admiral of the White, C.B. and K.C.S. He was serving as lieutenant on board the Juno frigate, commanded by sir Samuel Hood, when she made her extraordinary escape from Toulon on the night of January 11, 1794, after having accidentally run ashore in the inner harbour. Sir Samuel Hood, in his narrative addressed to the commander-in-chief, mentioned that lieut. Webley was the first to suggest to him the chance of getting out.

JUNE.

8. At Sheppard's bush, near London, aged 75, Joshua Edward Cooper, esq. of Markree Castle, county of Sligo, late colonel of the Sligo militia, and formerly representative of that county in parliament.

— At Crediton, aged 91, the widow of the rev. W. Hazlitt, Presbyterian minister, and mother of the clever writer of that name.

9. At Bridgewater, in his 70th year, Edward Bury, esq., a lineal descendant of James Douglas, earl of Morton and Aberdeen.

— At his residence, the Hôtel Marbœuf, in the Champs Elysées, Paris, aged 77, the right hon. George Forbes, sixth earl of Granard.

Lately. At Paris, at an advanced age, the celebrated Abbé de Pradt. The Abbé was a native of Auvergne, and born in 1759. Before the revolution he was grand vicar of the cardinal archbishop of Rouen, and when the states-general were assembled in 1789, he was sent to them as the deputy of the Norman clergy. In the royalism of his principles, he went even beyond the celebrated Abbé Maury. He emigrated at an early period, and for a long while resided at Hamburgh. In 1798, he published, anonymously, his "Antidote to the Congress of Radstadt," a work which passed through several editions, and produced considerable effect. Two years afterwards he gave to the press his pamphlet entitled, "Prussia and its Neutrality," which was equally successful. On the establishment of the consulship he returned to Paris, and almost immediately after his return, appeared his "Three Ages of the Colonies," in three volumes. Having met with little gratitude from the Bourbons, and being nearly without resources, M. de Pradt thought it proper to become a friend to

the new order of things, and, accordingly, his cousin, Marshal Duroc, presented him to Buonaparte, who made him his almoner. He was present at the coronation of Napoleon, and was quickly raised to be bishop of Poitiers, with the title of baron, and a gift of 40,000 livres. He accompanied Napoleon to Milan, and officiated at the crowning of him as king of Italy. In the negociation with the Spanish princes at Bayonne, he bore a considerable part, and his conduct was so satisfactory, that the emperor rewarded him with a present of 50,000 livres. He was next made archbishop of Malines, and an officer of the legion of honour, and received a third gift of 30,000 livres. As archbishop, however, he seems never to have been regularly acknowledged by the clergy of his diocese, his papal letters of institution into the see having been drawn up in a form of which Napoleon disapproved, and having consequently been sent back to Rome to be altered, whence they were never again transmitted to him. In 1811 M. de Pradt was dispatched to Savona, on a mission to the pope. But it was the appointment he received in 1812, that contributed the most to his notoriety. In that year he was chosen by Napoleon to be ambassador to the grand duchy of Warsaw, and to superintend those measures which were necessary to rally the Poles round the standard of the emperor. M. de Pradt afterwards gave to the public the "History" of this embassy, in which he, of course, did not fail to represent his own proceedings in the most favourable light. Napoleon, however, was exceedingly dissatisfied with them; and is said to have often exclaimed, "Had it not been for one man, (the archbishop) I should have been the master of the world." When he arrived in Paris he was removed from the office of almoner, and ordered to retire to Malines. After having resided for a few months in his diocese, he was permitted to come back to Paris; and when the allies reached the capital, he became a decided royalist. He even claimed the merit of having induced the sovereigns to espouse the cause of the Bourbons, and issue the declaration in their favour; but his claim is disputed, and apparently on good grounds. The provisional government appointed him high chancellor of the legion of honour, and this office he continued to hold under Louis XVIII. He did not take part with Napoleon during the hundred days, and consequently he ceased to be chancellor: nor did he recover that office on the restoration of Louis, it being given to Marshal Macdonald. Since that period M. de Pradt has been a most fertile writer. In addition to the works already noticed, he was the author of two volumes "On the State of Culture in France," 1802;" "An Agronomic Journey in Auvergne," 1803;—"On the Congress of Vienna," 2 vols. 1815;—"Historical Memoirs on the Revolution of Spain," 1816;—"Historical Narrative of the Restoration of Royalty in France," 1816;—"On the Colonies, and the present American Revolution," 2 vols. 1817;—"Letter to a Parisian Elector," 1817;—"Preliminaries of the Session of 1817;"—"On the progress of a Representative Government in France," 1817;—"The Last Six Months of America and Brazil," 1818;—"Pieces relative to St. Domingo and America," 1818;—"The Four Concordats," 3 vols. 1818;—Europe, after the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle," 1819;—"The Congress of Carlsbad," 1819; and "On the present Spanish Revolution," 1820.

11. At Heatham Lodge, Twickenham, aged 75, Maria, wife of colonel Espinasse, and sister to Henry Howard, esq. of Corby.

12. Colonel R. Buckner, C.B., of Rombald's Wyke.

14. At Marlwood, near Thornbury, aged 70, Andrew Carrick, M.D., late of Clifton.

Lately. At Southgate, aged 49, lieut.-col. Frederick Goulburn.

17. In Argyll-street, in his 70th year, Ralph Green, esq., inspector-general of military hospitals.

19. At Kempstone, Norfolk, aged 63, the hon. William Fitzroy, lieut.-general in the army; uncle to lord Southampton.

— In Grosvenor-street, aged 78, Michael Barne, esq. of Sotterley, Suffolk, formerly M.P. for Dunwich.

— At his house at Beverley, in his 61st year, the rev. Joseph Coltman, M.A., head curate of Beverley Minster, and a magistrate of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

— At the castle of Windsor, having nearly completed the 72nd year of his age, and the 7th of his reign, William 4th, king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of

the faith; king of Hanover, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh; sovereign of the orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, St.Patrick, the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and the Ionian Order of St. Michael and St. George; knight of the Orders of St. Esprit of France, St. Andrew of Russia, and the Black Eagle of Prussia, &c. &c. William-Henry, the third son and child of king George 3rd, and queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, was born at St. James's-palace on the 21st Aug. 1765. On the 5th April, 1770, his royal highness was invested with the order of the Thistle, being the first prince of the blood royal, who had been made a knight of the order since its revival in 1687. At the age of thirteen, prince William was entered as a midshipman on board the *Prince George*, a ninety-eight gun ship, commanded by admiral Digby. The king declared, that his son should win his way to promotion in the same manner as the most friendless young man in the fleet; and the prince was accordingly placed on the same footing, in every respect, with his fellow "youngsters." He had soon an opportunity of seeing service. An armament, commanded by Rodney, and of which the *Prince George* formed a part, sailed from Spithead in December, 1779; and on the 8th of the following month, captured the whole Spanish convoy, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, (afterwards named the *Prince William*, in compliment to his royal highness), and a great number of armed vessels and transports. When the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara was brought on board the *Prince George* as a prisoner, and was told, that one of the midshipmen whom he saw actively engaged in his duty, was an English prince of the blood, he exclaimed, "Well may England be mistress of the sea, when the son of her king is thus employed in her service!"

The prince served nearly all the residue of his time as midshipman in the West Indies, and off the coasts of Nova Scotia, and Canada. While upon the North American station, the prince preferring the activity of a cruising vessel to remaining in a stationary situation, was removed at his own request from the *Prince George* to the *Warwick* of fifty guns, commanded by lord Keith, and served under that officer, when he captured *L'Aigle*, a large French Frigate, *La Sophie* of twenty-two guns, and the *Terrier* sloop-of-war, off the Delaware river, on the 11th Sept. 1782. He then joined lord Hood; and it was then, that he became acquainted with Nelson, to whom he was first introduced by lord Hood on board the *Barfleur*. He soon afterwards proceeded to the Leeward Island station, where he remained for some months under the orders of Nelson, then captain of the *Boreas* frigate. A strong and lasting friendship sprang up between them. The king has declared that his mind took its first decided naval turn from his familiar intercourse with Nelson, when they served together; and the high opinion, which that great commander entertained of his junior officer was frequently expressed. In a letter to captain Locker, Feb. 14, 1784, he says, "his royal highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship, and, without paying any compliments, she is one of the first ordered frigates I have seen." In 1785, his royal highness received his lieutenant's commission. In 1786, he was appointed captain of the Pegasus; and in December, 1787, he returned to England, after an absence of a year and a half, and was appointed to command the Andromeda frigate, in which he again sailed for the West Indies. On the 2nd December, 1789, the assembly of Jamaica voted 1,000 guineas for a diamond star to be presented to his royal highness. He was made rear-admiral of the Blue, in 1790, by order in council. His royal highness was elected a knight of the Garter in 1782. On the 19th of May, 1789, he was created duke of Clarence and St. Andrew's in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Munster in Ireland. On the 8th of June following, he took his seat in the House of Lords, being introduced by the dukes of Chandos and Montagu. His royal highness frequently took part in the debates of the House of Lords; but otherwise, from this period, during many years, his life was passed in great privacy; for, from the time at which he received his flag, the duke of Clarence saw no more active service afloat. He was most anxious to be employed; but circumstances, now unknown, repeatedly thwarted his wishes. In 1811, the duke was made admiral of the Fleet, in the place of the late sir Peter Parker; and in that capacity, he hoisted his flag in 1814 for the last time, for the purpose of conveying Louis

18th to Calais, when that monarch was recalled to his ancient kingdom of France. During the earlier part of the same year, his royal highness had been present, as an amateur, with the British forces before Antwerp, when sir Thomas Graham, now lord Lyndoch, commanded; and there distinguished himself by the *insouciance* of his courage in the sanguinary action of Merxem. The duke of Clarence had now been for many years resident at Bushy Park, of which he had been appointed ranger on the death of the countess of Guilford, in 1797. It seems to have been towards the close of the year 1791, that the first formal approach was made to a connexion that continued unbroken during the lapse of twenty years. Its object was the fascinating actress, Mrs. Jordan, whose age was three years more than the duke's, though she appeared much younger. However, Mrs. Jordan was at the time referred to a very charming person. She was full of vivacity—the very personification of overflowing natural spirits. The attachment of the duke of Clarence seemed to be corroborated by the length of its duration; and it rests on the authority of Mrs. Jordan herself, that throughout nearly a quarter of a century, not even a transient disagreement had interrupted the course of her domestic happiness. A numerous family grew up around her; and out of ten sons and daughters, only two have been removed by death, and neither of these in the life-time of their mother. Circumstances, however, at length led to the breaking up, in the year 1811, of an establishment that had been distinguished for a duration not common in the conventional connections of high life. It is not easy to assign the causes that led to this event; they were probably of a mixed and complicated nature. After the death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, in 1817, a new era took place in the position and prospects of the duke of Clarence. At the express wish, as was generally believed, of his mother, the late queen Charlotte, a marriage was negotiated for him with the princess Adelaide-Louisa-Theresa-Caroline-Amelia, the eldest daughter of his serene highness George-Frederick-Charles, duke of Saxe Cobourg Meinungen. They were married at Kew Palace on the 11th July, 1818; and shortly after, proceeded to reside in Hanover, parliament having granted on the occasion, an accession of only 6,000*l.* to the duke's income. The duchess had two children,—the princess Charlotte-Augusta-Louisa, who died on the day of her birth, and the princess-Elizabeth-Georgiana-Adelaide, who was born on the 10th Dec., 1820, and died on the 21st March of the following year. On two other occasions, in 1819 and 1821, her majesty had also the misfortune to be prematurely confined. At the prosecution of queen Caroline, in 1820, the duke of Clarence supported the bills of Pains and Penalties. On the death of earl St. Vincent, in 1823, he was promoted to the rank of general of the Marines. On the death of his brother, the duke of York in 1827, having become heir-presumptive to the throne, his royal highness received an additional parliamentary grant, which raised his income to 40,000*l.* a year. On the 17th of April, in the same year, he was appointed lord high admiral, an office which had been long supplied by commissioners. The duke of Wellington, however, then premier, having made some objections to the expenses of his royal highness's progresses, he resigned the office about the end of 1828. At the death of George the Fourth, the duke of Clarence succeeded to the throne, on the 26th June, 1830. In presence of the privy council, assembled on that day, according to custom, the new king, with marked emphasis, expressed to the duke of Wellington his entire approval of the manner in which his grace had hitherto administered the public affairs. Of course, no change took place in the Cabinet, and the policy of the late reign was adhered to. In November, of the same year, the Wellington administration was outvoted on the civil list; and thus ensued the period when, aided by the force of a strong popular excitement, the administration of earl Grey effected the reform of parliament. On the 8th Sept., 1831, their majesties were crowned in Westminster Abbey. On the conduct of William 4th, as a sovereign, we have the concurrent and enthusiastic testimony of all his chief ministers, expressed in parliament in the debate upon our present queen's accession. His majesty's illness was of about four weeks' duration. The principal symptoms were cough and oppression of breathing, with a very languid atate of

the circulation. The phenomena taken collectively, clearly indicated organic disease of the heart, of a nature not likely to be essentially mitigated by any remedies; and the result was therefore fully anticipated by those who were aware of his majesty's condition. On opening the body, the heart was perceived to be enlarged, many of the adjoining passages were ossified, and in the right cavity of the chest were twelve or fourteen ounces of serous fluid. The archbishop of Canterbury, at a meeting of the Metropolitan Churches' Fund Society, took the opportunity to remark:—It was not many days since he had attended on his late sovereign, during the few last days of his life, and truly it was an edifying sight to witness the patience with which he endured sufferings the most oppressive — his thankfulness to the Almighty for any alleviations under the most painful disorders—his sense of every attention paid him—the absence of all expressions of impatience—his attention to the discharge of every public duty to the utmost of his power—his attention to every paper that was brought to him—the serious state of his mind, and his devotion to his religious duties, preparatory to his departure for that happy world, where he hoped, that he had been called to. Three different times, (said his grace) was I summoned to his presence the day before his dissolution. He received the sacrament first; on my second summons, I read the church service to him; and the third time I appeared, the oppression under which he laboured, prevented him from joining outwardly in the service, though he appeared sensible of the consolations which I read to him out of our religious service. For three weeks prior to his dissolution, the queen sat by his bed-side, performing for him every office which a sick man could require, and depriving herself of all manner of rest and refection. She underwent labours which I thought no ordinary woman could endure. No language can do justice to her meekness, and to the calmness of mind which she sought to keep up before the king while sorrow was preying on her heart. Such constancy of affection, I think, was one of the most interesting spectacles that could be presented to a mind desirous of being gratified with the sight of human excellence." His Majesty died in a gentle sleep, his head resting upon the queen's shoulder, and her majesty's hand supporting his breast—a position which the queen had maintained about an hour before her fatal loss, and, indeed, during nearly all the king's hours of sleep, for the last fortnight of his majesty's illness. About two hours previous to his majesty's death, it had been thought desirable to remove him from one chamber to another, in the hope that the change of air might assist respiration. The room into which he was carried happened, by mere accident, to be that in which George 4th expired, and there William 4th, died also. By a will which is understood to be of a recent date, a bequest is made to each of the sons and daughters of the king of 2,000*l*. That this sum is not of greater amount will scarcely excite surprise, when it is known that his majesty has been in the habit of dividing, from year to year, his amount of savings among his offspring. The sum of 40,000*l*., to be received in virtue of a policy of life insurance, is bequeathed to trustees, the interest to be paid annually in equal shares among his children. The executors are sir Herbert Taylor, sir Henry Wheatley, and col. Wood. The remains of his majesty lay in state, in the Waterloo chamber, in Windsor Castle.

— The hon. Emily, wife of the rev. Frederick Twisselton, D.C.L. rector of Adlestrop, Gloucestershire, aunt to viscount Powerscourt. She was the younger daughter of Richard, the 4th viscount, by his second wife Isabella, daughter of the rt. hon. W. Brownlow.

— At Timsbury, captain John Parish R.N., and a magistrate of the county of Somerset. He was senior lieutenant of the Arethusa, at the capture of the Pomona Spanish frigate, 1806, and at the conquest of Curaçoa.

— At Chelwood, aged 98, Eleanor Howlett, widow; whose mother lived to the age of 102, and grandmother 106.

21. At Putney, aged 59, the right hon. Peter Leopold Lewis Francis Cowper, fifth earl Cowper, a count of the Holy Roman Empire, (1778) F.R.S., &c.

24. At Longleat, aged 40, the most noble Henry Frederick Thynne, third marquis of Bath, a post captain in the royal navy. His elder brother, lord Weymouth, having deceased, without issue, on the 16th January, in the

present year, Lord Henry succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, on the 17th of March; and the three eldest males of the family have thus died within six months.

25. In Harley-street, aged 56, Foster Lechmere Coore, of Scruton-hall, and Firby, county of York, esq., a colonel in the army, and a justice of peace for the North Riding of Yorkshire.

— At Tunbridge Wells, where he had resided some time, Mr. J. Maddox, author of Travels in the Holy Land.

28. Aged 66, Lieut.-General George Kinnaird Dana, of Winterbourne-house.

— At the Hirsel, N.B., aged 66, the right hon. Elizabeth countess of Home, aunt to the duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry. She was the second daughter of Henry the third duke, by lady Elizabeth Montagu, daughter of George duke of Montagu; was married in 1798 to Alexander, present and tenth earl of Home, and had issue the present lord Dunglas, and two other sons, now deceased.

— At Berlin, Aloysius Hirtt, the eminent architectural antiquary, author of a very excellent work on the Architecture of the Ancients, Treatises on the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, Solomon's Temple, the Pantheon at Rome, &c.

JULY.

1. At Barnstaple, in his 95th year, the rev. William Spurway, for seventy years rector of Alwinton, for sixty-five years perpetual curate of Pilton, and for fifty-six years rector of Broad Nymett and of Clare Portion in Tiverton, all in Devonshire.

2. Aged 83, general sir John Smith, G.C.H., Colonel commandant of the 7th battalion of royal horse artillery.

4. At Moor-house, Hawkhurst, Kent, aged 55, George Lewis Newnham Collingwood, esq., barrister-at-law. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 24, 1807. He married May 30, 1810, Sarah, elder daughter and co-heir of admiral lord Collingwood, and took the name and arms of Collingwood by royal-sign manual, June 11, 1819. He lately published the Life and Correspondence of his distinguished father-in-law; and "Alfred the Great," a poem.

6. At Brighton, aged 48, the hon. and rev. John William Peachey, rector of Reed, with Barkway, Herts, and of Treyford, with Didling, Sussex, only brother, and only heir presumptive to lord Selsey. He was the youngest son of John the second lord Selsey.

7. At Brussels, aged 78, the hon. Henry Dillon, major-general in the army; great uncle to viscount Dillon.

12. At Edinburgh, aged 76, the lady Helen Hall, widow of the late sir J. Hall, bart., F.R.S., and aunt to the present earl of Selkirk. She was the second daughter of Dunbar fourth earl of Selkirk. She had issue the present sir John Hall, captain Basil Hall, F.R.S., the traveller, and other children.

13. At Kingston-house, Knightsbridge, in his 87th year. the right hon. William Ware, earl of Listowell.

— At the house of his nephew the earl of Galloway, in Grosvenor-square, aged 62, the hon. and right rev. Charles James Stewart, D.D., bishop of Quebec, and visitor of the Queen's College at York, Upper Canada.

— At Falmouth, aged 38, Thomas Hingston, M.D., of Truro. The life of Dr. Hingston was devoted to literature and to the sciences connected with his profession. He contributed to the "Transactions of the Geological Society of Cornwall," a dissertation "on the use of Iron among the early Nations of Europe," and occasional papers to some other learned societies. He had also contributed a memoir of William of Worcester, and a very ingenious essay on the etymology of Cornish names, to Mr. Davies Gilbert's History of Cornwall, now nearly ready for publication. Besides what he had printed, Dr. H. had written much that is yet unpublished, and amongst the rest, some works of considerable research.

Lately. At Dublin. the right hon. Gertrude Mathew, countess of Llandaff,

15. At Clifton, aged 78, sir Alexander Wilson, knt., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, M.D. and LL.D. of Stroate, county of Gloucester, and Pulteney-street, Bath.

16. At his residence in Piccadilly Terrace, aged 65, vice-admiral John Richard Delap Tollemache.

17. At Bolton Percy, Yorkshire, aged 69, the venerable Robert Markham, M.A., archdeacon of York, and rector of Bolton Percy. He was the fifth son of the late William Markham, D.D., archbishop of York, and brother to the late dean of York.

— At Hythe, near Southampton,

captain William Hellard, R.N. He was made a lieutenant 1783, and promoted to the rank of commander 1805, as a reward for his gallant conduct as first of the Defiance 74, at Trafalgar.

Lately. At Gloucester, lieut.-colonel George Henry Mason, for many years on the half-pay of the late 102d foot, in which regiment he was appointed major in 1795, and lieut.-colonel in 1801.

Lately. At Stoke Rivers, Elizabeth Richards, aged 98, leaving a daughter 74, a granddaughter 48, and a great granddaughter 21. Also, on the 24th July, George Webber, the youngest brother of the said Elizabeth Richards, of the parish of Goodleigh, in the 83rd year of his age, leaving two brothers, one 92, and the other 88, and a sister, aged 86, all able to walk about.

— At Broadway, aged 63, the rev. John Birdsall, for twenty-five years Catholic priest of Cheltenham, and president of the Order of Benedictines.

— At Edinburgh, in her 95th year, the hon. Mrs. St. Clair.

— Aged 109 years, Margaret, relict of the late Maurice Cahill, esq. of Clonmel. She was in perfect possession of all her mental faculties up to six months before her death.

20. At Howth, commander William Mudge, R.N., who has for five or six years conducted the nautical survey in Ireland, now in progress. He commenced his scientific career under captain Owen, in the arduous survey of the eastern coast of Africa. His great skill and abilities recommended him to the survey of the coast of Ireland, in which he had completed a most minute examination from Dublin to the southern point of Donegal. He communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of the aboriginal log-house found in a bog, county of Donegal (printed in the Archæologia); and to the Nautical Magazine several communications, particularly an account of the melancholy loss of the Saldanha in Lough Swilley.

Lately. At Ardbraccan-house, aged 70, Anne, wife of the right rev. Nath. Alexander, D.D., lord bishop of Meath.

— At Rangoon, his golden-footed majesty, the king of Ava. The event is said to have been followed by civil commotions, and the country is represented to be in a most disturbed state.

24. At the rectory-house, Whitechapel, after an incumbency of thirty years, the rev. Daniel Mathias, M.A., formerly Fellow of Brasennose college, Oxford.

— At his palace, Hereford, aged 55, the hon. and right rev. Edward Grey, D.D., lord bishop of Hereford, and a prebendary of Westminster; brother to earl Grey, K.G. Bishop Grey was born March 25, 1782, the seventh and youngest son of Charles first earl Grey, by Elizabeth, daughter of George Grey, esq. In 1816 he was collated by bishop Barrington to the rectory of Whickham, in the county of Durham; in 1828, on the promotion of bishop Blomfield to the see of London, he was presented by the crown to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate; in 1830 he was appointed dean of Hereford, and in 1832 he was consecrated bishop of that diocese, when he resigned the living of Bishopsgate. In 1833 he received the additional preferment of a prebend of Westminster Abbey. As the brother of earl Grey, under whose administration he was elevated to the episcopal bench, Dr. Grey, of course, usually supported the whig party; but, of late, he had been much and strenuously opposed to those measures of theirs, which threaten the spoliation of the established church. He was considered a very sound divine, and an excellent Greek scholar.

AUGUST.

1. In St. James's Palace, aged 84, Lady Barnard, widow of the late sir F. A. Barnard, K.C.H., fifty-nine years librarian to his late majesty George the Third.

2. At Corfu, in his 45th year, lieut.-colonel William Gardner Freer, K.H., commanding the 10th regiment.

Lately. At Gartnagrenoch, N. B., lieut.-general Robert Campbell.

4. At his house in Pall Mall, aged 42, sir Mark Wood, of Hare-park, near Newmarket, the second baronet, originally styled, of Gatton, county of Surrey (1808).

5. Harriet-Elizabeth, wife of the rev. I. A. Wright, rector of Merstham, and youngest daughter of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury.

— At his residence at Walmer, Kent, aged 72, sir Richard Lee, K.C.B. and K.T.S., admiral of the blue.

— At her mansion in Piccadilly, the most noble Harriet duchess of St. Al-

ban's. The name of Mellon recalls to our old play-goers a person never in the foremost rank of histrionic excellence, but associated with those palmy days of the drama, when Mrs. Jordan was the Thalia, and Mrs. Siddons was the Melpomene of Drury; when Kemble, Lewis, Parsons, Suett, Palmer, Jack Bannister, Incledon, Kelly, Mrs. Crouch, Mrs. Bland, Mrs. Mountain, and Madam Storace were in the zenith of their fame and power. From the system of mystification indulged in by actresses, whom it behoves, it is difficult to ascertain the precise period of Miss Mellon's birth. It has been stated that she was born in 1771, but this date is only conjectural. Her father, Mr. Matthew Mellon, held a commission in the East India Company's service, and died before the birth of the subject of this article. Mrs. M. married again, her second choice being a Mr. Entwistle, a musician. Mrs. E. went on the stage, and her husband became leader of the band in various provincial theatres. To augment a scanty income, the services of little Harriet were enlisted, and at a very early period she played the duke of York in Richard the Third, Prince Arthur in King John, and other infant characters. Although upon the stage from her infancy, her education was not neglected. At the age of fourteen Miss Mellon's person approached maturity, and she personated the walking ladies, and occasionally characters of higher pretension. She ultimately joined an inferior provincial company. She was induced to take this situation for the opportunity it afforded of playing all Mrs. Jordan's characters. She remained for some years under the banners of Mr. Goldfinch, and from thence went to lead the business in Mr. Stanton's circuit, and in Stafford formed an acquaintance with the Misses Wright, sisters of the banker, whose kindness paved her way to the metropolis. The Wrights had great electioneering interest, and when Richard Brinsley Sheridan came to solicit their vote, Miss Mellon was warmly recommended to him. Of course, at such a moment, poor Sheridan was liberal in his promises, and, subsequently seeing Miss Mellon play Rosalind and Priscilla Tomboy, he engaged her at a small salary, but with a promise that her interests should be looked to. On the 31st of January, 1795, she made her first appearance at Drury-lane, as Lydia Languish, in her new manager's comedy of The Rivals; but her name was not inserted in the bill, the debût being simply announced thus —"Lydia Languish, by a young lady, her first appearance in London." She repeated the part once, and was not heard of for some months afterwards. She occasionally appeared during this and the two following seasons as a substitute for other performers, but seldom in any thing of more than third-rate importance. As she was then a very handsome woman, farce-writers were glad to avail themselves of her appearance, if not of her talent, and she was consequently a great deal before the public. By degrees, characters of greater importance were intrusted to her. When The Honeymoon came out, on the 31st Jan. 1805, it was expected that Mrs. Jordan would enact Violante, but that lady refused it, and, at Elliston's recommendation, the part was assigned to Miss Mellon, and thousands of copies were sold of a well known print, representing her in this character. About this time the circumstances of Miss Mellon suddenly improved in an extraordinary degree; this was accounted for by a paragraph in a morning paper, which made her the fortunate winner of 10,000*l.* in the lottery. Scandal-mongers, however, were ill-natured enough to say, that this lottery was drawn in the Strand, and that Mr. Coutts was the blue-coat boy who handed forth the prize. Miss Mellon laughed at all this, and, as a proof of her fortunate purchase, gave a hundred pounds to each of the theatrical funds; and though, it is said, she had only 8*l.* per week at Drury, set up her carriage in 1809. Mr. Coutts' first wife, it is well known, was his brother's wife's nursery maid; during the latter part of her life she lost the use of her limbs, and her mental faculties were impaired. She had been bedridden a considerable time previous to her death, which took place the latter end of 1814. On the 8th of January following, Mr. Coutts married Miss Mellon. When Drury-lane theatre was rebuilt and opened in 1812, it was at first doubtful whether Miss Mellon would resume her dramatic functions; she at length decided on doing so, and on the night of its opening she appeared as Nell in the farce of The Devil to Pay. On the second, or a night or two after, she made her cour-

tesy again as Violante, and finally quitted the stage in 1815 in that character. As an actress, Miss Mellon was of the school of Jordan, but by no means a servile imitator. She wanted the versatility and rapidity of the great original, but she had some points that Mrs. Jordan had not. In 1822 Mr. Coutts died, it is said, at the advanced age of 87 years. By his will dated the 9th of May, 1820, he appointed Mrs. Coutts universal legatee, and bequeathed to her his share in the banking-house and business in the Strand, and all benefit and interests to arise therefrom. The personal property within the province of Canterbury was sworn under 600,000*l.* The late duke of York was said to have been one of the wooers of the wealthy widow, and various other persons, from one of the wealthiest commoners in the land, down to the late comedian Robert William Elliston, were severally declared to be on the point of leading the lady to the altar; the question was ultimately put to rest by her marriage on the 16th of June, 1827, with William duke of St. Alban's, then in the 27th year of his age. The charities of the duchess of St. Alban's might fill a volume. When an actress of 4*l.* a-week, she made baby-linen with her own hands, and lent it, because she could not afford to give it to poor women during their accouchement. Her liberality to the two theatrical funds is well known. She allowed the late Wewitzer 100*l.* per annum; and hundreds now living can testify to the goodness of her heart. Miss Stephens, Miss Foote, Miss Smithson, young Kean, and many others, have experienced the benefits of her fostering kindness. The disease of which the duchess died was paralysis in the limbs. On the first serious attack, the deceased made her will, leaving the duke 10,000*l.* per annum, the house in Piccadilly, formerly inhabited by sir Francis Burdett, and the estate at Highgate. The bulk of her property, including the half profits of the banking-house, the principal mansion in Stratton-street, and all her moveables, plate, diamonds, &c., is bequeathed to Miss Angela Burdett, youngest daughter of sir Francis Burdett, and granddaughter of Mr. Coutts. She has taken in consequence the name of Coutts. In case of her dying without heirs, her eldest sister is placed next in remainder. To the household servants one year's wages are given; and several bequests of jewellery., &c., to a trifling amount, are made to various acquaintances. The residue amounts, it is confidently stated, to 1,800,000*l.* The cause assigned for the testatrix not leaving large legacies to the countess of Guildford and her daughters, is said to be, that during her lifetime she gave 30,000*l.* to her ladyship, and 10,000*l.* to the ladies North, her daughters; and also the alleged payment of the securities given by the only son of sir Francis Burdett, made payable by him on that gentlemen's decease, is said to have been the reason that her Grace made no bequest in his behalf. The duchess reserved to herself the sole and uncontrolled use of all her income. She did not expend the amount of her receipts by nearly 40,000*l.* a-year, which immense sum has been annually invested, increasing the prodigious capital left to her by her first husband nearly twofold. To lady Sandon, the only daughter of Mr. Coutts second daughter, the marchioness of Bute, the duchess gave on the day of her marriage, 20,000*l.* On the day of lord Dudley Stuart's alliance to the daughter of the prince of Canino (Lucien Buonaparte), she agreed to give him 2,000*l.* per annum, which was regularly paid. Her Grace has left 5,000*l.* to each of the two daughters of Mr. Majoribanks, of the firm in the Strand; to the unmarried daughter of sir Coutts Trotter, bart. 5,000*l.*; and to the lady of sir Francis, Burdett 20,000*l.* sterling. The body of the duchess was conveyed for interment to Redburn Hall, the seat of the Beauclerks in Lincolnshire.

8. At his lodgings, 19, Cecil-street, Strand, aged about 65, John Lawless, esq., the once celebrated Irish agitator. Mr. Lawless had received a liberal education, and his inclination led him to seek the legal profession, but his early connection with Robert Emmett, Thomas Moore, &c., induced lord Clare, the then chancellor of Ireland, to reject him. He then became partner with his father, a brewer in Dublin; but that pursuit not answering his expectations, and his attachment to literature and politics still holding the ascendancy, he was induced to take a share in the *Ulster Recorder*, published at Newry, and afterwards was invited to Belfast, where he published the *Ulster Register*, and afterwards the Irishman, which had

a very extensive circulation. He was during many years a leading political character with the liberal party in Belfast; and he occupied a very prominent position during the most stormy and exciting period of Irish politics. He was foremost in the ranks of opposition to the celebrated "veto" proposal, in which he was much aided and supported by the well-known Dr. Betagh, and others of not less note. But his fame principally rested on the decided part he took with respect to the famous "wings" in opposition to his great co-agitator O'Connell. It will be recollected, that the government of that day proposed to grant emancipation to the Irish Catholics, provided their clergy should be paid by the state, and the forty-shilling freeholders should be wholly disfranchised. This O'Connell agreed to accept, but it met with the decided and vehement opposition of Mr. Lawless, in the "Catholic Association," and never was the great lion bearded in his den so effectually as then, for the "wings" were abandoned. The great acquisition of popularity which Mr Lawless thus derived, aroused the jealousy of O'Connell, and to the latest hour of his life, we believe, Mr. Lawless experienced the effects of it. On one occasion in particular, shortly after the passing of the Relief Bill, Mr. Lawless having announced himself a candidate for the representation of Meath, a most furious attack was made upon him by O'Connell, who preferred a formal accusation against him, charging him with having, "for a consideration," sold his chance of being elected. A sort of committee of inquiry was held, and Mr. Lawless was honourably acquitted. Whatever were the faults of the head, and they were perhaps many, there is no question but that Mr. Lawless' heart was "in the right place." The Orange party gave him credit for unflinching integrity, and he was consequently honoured by all with the title of "Honest Jack Lawless." The character of his eloquence was nervous, forcible, and convincing. His manner was earnest, and often vehement, while the fiery restlessness of his eye showed that the heart of the speaker was engaged in his subject. Mr. Lawless had, in his declining years, shortly since obtained some small appointment in Ireland. He has left a wife and four children. He had been for some time afflicted with hernia, but, it is stated, that the immediate cause of his death was the great excitement occasioned by too frequent speaking at some of the late elections. He made his last speech at the Crown and Anchor tavern eight days before his death, in support of Mr. Hume's claims to the representation of Middlesex.

11. At Harrowgate, aged 75, William Camac, esq. of Mansfield-street, London, and Hastings, Sussex.

14. In Portman-square, aged 68, the right hon. Robert Brudenell, sixth earl of Cardigan.

16. At Brecknock-terrace, New Camden Town, after four months' dreadful suffering, William Daniell, esq., R.A. Mr. Daniell's career began when he was quite a youth, for, at the age of fourteen, he accompanied his uncle to India, for the express purpose of assisting him in depicting the scenery, costume, and every thing connected with that interesting country. During the ten years of their absence from England, the uncle and nephew travelled many thousand miles, commencing their arduous journey at Cape Comorin, and closing it at Serinagur, in the Himalaya Mountains. Immediately on their return, the large work, entitled "Oriental Scenery," in six folio volumes, was commenced and continued with the most persevering ardour until its completion, in 1808. Amongst the works engraved and published by Mr. Daniell, from 1801 to 1814, were "A Picturesque Voyage to India;" a work entitled "Zoography," in conjunction with Mr. Wiliam Wood, F.S.A. and F.L.S.; two volumes of "Animated Nature;" the series of views of "The Docks;" the story 'Hunchback," engraved from pictures, painted by Mr. Smirke, R.A.; together with a vast variety of unconnected subjects, besides very many pictures and drawings. In 1814, Mr. Daniell commenced the "Voyage round Great Britain,"—a gigantic undertaking for one unassisted individual. Two or three months in each summer were devoted to collecting drawings and notes. The work was finished in 1825, in four volumes, 4to. In 1832, Mr. Daniell, and his highly gifted friend, Mr. Parris, executed the Panorama of Madras; and subsequently Mr. Daniell painted two others, entirely without assistance, namely, the City of Lucknow, and the Mode of hunting Wild Elephants in Ceylon. His "Oriental Annual," of

which there are now three volumes, is a work deservedly ranking high among that class of periodicals to which it belongs. Mr. Daniell was honoured with the friendship of King Louis Phillippe, and received several flattering marks of his majesty's regard. One of his best pictures, "A View of the Long Walk at Windsor," is in his majesty's private collection.

20. At the Regent's Park barracks, Samuel D. Broughton, esq., F.R.S., and F.G.S., surgeon of the 2nd Life Guards. He was the fourth and youngest surviving son of the rev. Thomas Broughton, rector of St. Peter's, Bristol Mr. Broughton served with the 2nd Life Guards on the Continent, and was present, as assistant surgeon, at the battle of Waterloo. He became chief surgeon, July 25, 1821, on the resignation of Mr. Moore, the elder brother of Sir John Moore, who had been assigned a pension of 1,000*l.* a-year, in regard of his brother's distinguished services. Mr. Broughton was well-known in the scientific world. As a physiologist he stood high. And in another wide and useful field, that of medical jurisprudence, he had laboured hard, and given some instructive lectures. His experiments upon the effects of poison, and his mode of ascertaining their presence after death, were highly interesting. His death took place in consequence of disease of the ankle-joint, for which amputation of the leg became necessary.

21. At his seat, Moore House, Limpsfield, Surrey, rear admiral Robert Gambier Middleton, formerly one of the commissioners of the navy.

23. In his 69th year, William Harry Fellowes, esq. of Ramsey Abbey, Huntingdonshire, formerly for more than thirty years M.P. for the town of Huntingdon. He was first returned for that borough at the general election of 1796, and was formerly major of the county militia.

24. In Upper Gower-street, aged 80, William Bentham, esq., F.S.A., barrister-at-law. He possessed a very valuable library, and an extensive collection of prints, and was one of the original members of the Roxburgh club.

At Paris, aged 82, Baron Louis, formerly president of the Court of Accounts. The bulk of his large fortune goes to his nephews, M.M. de Rigny, and their sister.

25. At Edinburgh, aged 70, George Watson, esq., president of the Scottish academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

26. At the Benedictine Priory, Heywood, the rev. Charles Leonard Premord, a canon of the metropolitan church of Paris, and chaplain to his late most Christian majesty Charles X., author of "Rules of a Christian Life," 2 vols.

— At Crowbent, Lancashire, in the prime of life, the rev. Thomas Walker Horsfield, F.S.A., author of several topographical works.

— Assassinated in an insurrection at Pampeluna, general Sarsfield, viceroy of Navarre, and governor of Pampeluna. This distinguished officer was a native of the county of Louth, in Ireland, and was the descendant of a brother of lieutenant-general Sarsfield, viscount Kilmallock and earl of Lucan, who commanded the Irish troops in the severe struggle which was made by the adherents of James II. during three years, to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and which, after various changes of fortune, was terminated by the treaty of Limerick, A.D. 1691. The late general entered the Spanish (artillery) service in the beginning of the present century, and has always been considered a very efficient officer. His experience was considerable, as he has served with good reputation in all the wars which have been waged in that unhappy country during the last 35 years. The ultra-republican faction excited a military insurrection at Pampeluna, during which, general Sarsfield and colonel Mendivil, another distinguished patriot, were sacrificed to the fury of the insurgents. Their murder has since been punished, pursuant to a general order of Espartero, the commander-in-chief, issued at Pampeluna on the 16th November.

30. At Wyndham-place, aged 24, Robert Graham, esq., of the Admiralty, Somerset-place, eldest son of sir R. Graham, of Esk, bart.

31. At Tobago, aged 48, J. L. Kensington, esq., senior assistant judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

SEPTEMBER.

1. In Grosvenor-square, aged 70, sir Coutts Trotter, of Westfield, co. Lincoln, bart., and senior partner of the banking house of Coutts & Co. He was

created a baronet at the Coronation of King George the Fourth, by patent dated July 27, 1821, with remainder to his grandson Coutts Lindsay, the eldest son of his eldest daughter.

2. At Richmond, aged 57, rear-admiral, Charles Fielding, R.N.

— At the Bush hotel, Southsea, on his way to the Isle of Wight, aged 68, Richard Byron, esq., rear-admiral of the White, and a companion of the Bath; cousin to lord Byron.

— At the vicarage, Cardington, the hon. Jane, widow of lieut.-gen. sir Gonville Bromhead, bart. She was the youngest daughter of sir Chas. Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, co. Galway, bart. by the right hon. Rose baroness Ffrench.

3. At Margate, aged 80, first lieutenant J. Stewart, R.A.D., one of the brave defenders of Gibraltar under gen. Elliot.

— At Lincoln, aged 45, the rev. James Hickson, for twenty-one years a minister in the Wesleyan Methodist connection, and for nine years a missionary in Newfoundland.

5. At his residence, the Bank's Cottage, near Durham, aged 98, Count Borowlaski, the celebrated Polish dwarf. His person, though of diminutive formation, was of the completest symmetry, his height being short of thirty-six inches. In former years, the Count travelled on the Continent, as well as in the United Kingdom. About forty years ago, having been casually seen by some of the prebendaries of Durham, he was prevailed upon by that body to take up his abode in the above cottage for life, they engaging to allow him a handsome income, which he enjoyed up to his death. The count was an excellent wit and humourist, and full of information as to Foreign parts, as well as being acquainted with several languages, which made his company much courted by the gentry of the city and neighbourhood. When young, he married. It is rather remarkable, that the count had brothers and sisters, some of them above six feet. Mr. Bonomi, the architect, recently took a full cast of him. His remains were placed near those of the late Mr. Stephen Kemble.

— At Gelligron, near Neath, Glamorganshire, aged 67, Owen Rees, esq., late of the firm of Messrs. Longman and Co. booksellers, Paternoster Row. Few men in the metropolis, perhaps, ever had larger opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance and intimacy of men distinguished in all the walks of literature. Moore's Works, Scott's Works, and, indeed, a number of the works of the principal authors of the age, bear testimony to the important share Mr. Rees had in bringing forward their productions, and of the friendly intercourse which subsisted between them and him. Mr. Rees was a warm patron of the drama, and an acute and excellent dramatic critic.

7. At Holloway, of paralysis, aged 61, Mr. William Sherwood, medical and general publisher, one of the oldest and most respectable booksellers of Paternoster Row.

— In Great Portland-st. Miss Euphemia Boswell, daughter of James Boswell, esq., the biographer of Dr. Johnson.

8. At Scott's Hill, Rickmansworth, aged 71, John Stafford, esq., who for thirty-seven years, filled the situation of chief clerk at the public office, Bow-st., and also the office of clerk of the indictments for the county of Middlesex, with great credit to himself, and advantage to the public service.

— At Nether Stowey, at an advanced age, Thomas Poole, esq., long an able magistrate for this county. In early life, he was intimately associated with Coleridge, Southey, and other men of literary endowments, who were entertained at his hospitable residence, and in whose erudite and philosophic pursuits he felt a kindred delight.

— At Campagne Gros Jean, near Geneva, in his 75th year, sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, baronet, and K.J. He was born at Wootton Court in Kent, Nov. 30, 1762, being the second son of Edward Brydges, esq., of that place, by Jemima, daughter and co-heiress of the rev. William Egerton, LL.D. prebendary of Canterbury, a grandson of John, second earl of Bridgewater, and lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William, duke of Newcastle. He was educated, first, at the grammar school at Maidstone, and afterwards at the King's School, Canterbury; and in Oct. 1780, was entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, with the character of a good classical scholar, who excelled in the composition of Latin as well as English poetry. He acknowledges, however, that he neglected at the University not only the

mathematical studies which were necessary to academical distinction, but even the ancient classics, abandoning himself to a luxurious enjoyment of English poetry and belles-lettres. It is therefore not surprising that he left Cambridge without a degree. In the summer of 1782, he was entered at the Middle Temple, and in Nov. 1787, he was called to the bar; but he acknowledges, that, notwithstanding the temporary emulation he derived from the remembrance of his great ancester, lord chancellor Ellesmere, he never had sufficient perseverance to apply himself to the study of the law. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, June 4, 1795. After his marriage in 1786, Mr. Brydges lived for three years in a retired manner in Hampshire, but on being called to the bar, he took a house in London, where he lived for four years; until, after purchasing Denton, an estate near his native place in Kent, he removed thither, incurring at the time an expenditure of many thousand pounds in repairs, which, in conjunction with other acts of inattention, and imprudence, is reported to have since lain with an oppressive weight upon him. In 1810, he removed from Denton to his son's house at Lee Priory, near Canterbury, "having then an intention of purchasing Sudeley Castle, the ancient seat of the Chandos family, in Gloucestershire, and, with that object to dispose of his Kentish estates." In 1790, after the death of the last duke of Chandos, his elder brother, the rev. Edward Tymewell Brydges, was incited, by his instigation, to prefer a claim to the barony of Chandos, alleging his descent from a younger son of the first Brydges who bore that title. The consideration of this claim was long procrastinated; but at length, in June 1803, the House of Peers pronounced its decision, "that the petitioner had not made out his claim to the title and dignity of baron Chandos." From the period of the rejection of his claims, as is well remarked by Mr. Beltz, "the press—public and private, domestic and foreign—has teemed with imputations of the injustice of the decision and the consequent denial to a British subject of a just right of inheritance by the highest tribunal in the country." This bold complaint has taken almost every form of literary composition; and the sensitive and gifted accuser, with inexhaustible powers to charm and to instruct, has even stooped to the drudgery of editing a Peerage of nine volumes, in order, that a few of its pages might transmit to posterity a record of his wrongs. That the claim was actually groundless, and that the connexion between the Bridges of Harbledown, near Canterbury, yeomen, and the Brydges, Lords Chandos, was imaginary and fabricated, is proved beyond dispute, in a volume which was published in 1834, by George Fred. Beltz, esq., Lancaster Herald. It seems indeed scarcely possible to acquit Sir Egerton Brydges himself of having tampered, and that in several instances, with the documentary evidence that existed of his actual ancestors; though such was the devotion with which he ever adhered to his favourite illusion, that one would fain have concluded, that he had created in his own mind a sincere conviction of the justice of his claims. Latterly, though he admitted that he had been defeated by parliamentary law, he maintained that he could when he pleased assert his rights by common law, and he used to add to the signature of his name,—"*per legem terræ, B. C. of S.*"—meaning Baron Chandos of Sudeley. His elder brother had died without issue in 1807. At the general election in 1796, the ambition which he had always indulged by fits prompted him to seek a seat in parliament by canvassing the neighbouring city of Canterbury, from which, however, he was soon induced to withdraw. He soon after accepted the command of a troop in one of the new raised regiments of fencible cavalry, with which he continued to serve for two years in different parts of England. But again we meet with the same unsteadiness as at college and at the bar; his studious habits, his eccentricities, his indolence, and his frequent absences of mind were little suited to the duties of a soldier. At length, in 1812, he obtained a seat in parliament for Maidstone, for which he sat during the six sessions of that parliament, until its dissolution in 1818. He was then, perhaps, too old to become conspicuous; however, he by no means took that leading part in the senate of which he had in early life so fondly dreamed. He obtained a patent of ba-

ronetcy, dated Dec. 27, 1814. At the same time that he accepted this dignity, as it were in contradiction to his former pretensions, he also accepted a coat of arms from the college of heralds, materially differenced from that of Brydges, Lords Chandos. In 1818 on the loss of his parliamentary privileges, Sir Egerton Brydges quitted England, and had since remained an exile from his native land. His first publication was a volume of Sonnets and other Poems, in 8vo. 1785. He was among the first of the modern school of Sonneteers. Latterly, he had returned with such devotedness to this his earliest class of composition, that he used to write several daily, and it is said, that he composed two thousand in the space of one year. In April 1789 he commenced, in conjunction with the Rev. Stebbing Shaw, afterwards the historian of Staffordshire, "The Topographer," a monthly miscellany, which was continued until June 1791, and forms four volumes 8vo. In 1792 he commenced a similar work in 4to. under the title of "Topographical Miscellanies," of which little more than 200 pages were printed. The preface contains an interesting synopsis of the ancient mansions of England, which has been re-worked up in the introduction to Neale's Seats. The following works appeared in succession. In "1792, Mary de Clifford," a novel; in 1798, another, entitled "Arthur Fitz Albini." In 1798, "Reflections on the late Augmentations of the English Peerage." "Tests of the National Wealth and Finances, 1798." In 1800, "Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum, being a new addition, with additions, of a work under the same title by Edward Philips, nephew of Milton." 8vo. "Le Forester," a novel. 1802. "Memoirs of the Peers of England during the reign of James the First." 1802. "Censura Literaria," 1809. To this the late Joseph Haslewood, esq. F.S.A. was a material contributor; and he still more largely and actively co-operated in "The British Bibliographer," and the "Restituta," compilations of a similar character, 1810-1812; 1816. In 1812 Sir Egerton Brydges completed his edition of Collins's Peerage, in nine volumes, 8vo. He also published "The Ruminator, a series of Moral, Critical, and Sentimental Essays." In 1813, "The Sylvan Wanderer," a small volume of Essays. "Occasional Poems," 1814. "Bertram a Poem," 1815. "Excerpta Tudoriana, or extracts from Elizabethan Literature," 1814-1818. Population and Riches," 1819. "Coningsby," a novel. 1819. "Res Literariæ," 1820, 1821. "The Hall of Hellingsey," a novel, 1821. "Letters from the Continent," 1821. "What are riches? or an Examination of the definitions of the subject given by modern Economists." 1821. "Polyanthea Librorum Vetustiorum." 1822. "Letters on Lord Byron." 1824. "Gnomica; detached thoughts." 1824. "Odo, Count of Lingen," a poem. 1824. "Theatrum Poetarum." 1824. "Recollections of Foreign Travel." 1825. "Stemmata Illustria, præcipue Regia." 1825. "Lex Terræ, with regard to the descent of English Peerages." 1831. "The Anglo-Genevan Critical Journal for 1831." "Expositions on the Parliamentary Reform Bill." 1831. "Lake of Geneva." 1832. Vendica." 1832. "Imaginary Biography." 1834. "The Autobiography, Times, Opinions, and Contemporaries of Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart, K.T. (Per legem terræ) Baron Chandos of Sudely," &c. 1834. This long list does not comprise several minor works, printed at his private press, and consisting either of occasional poetical effusions, or selections from the old poets genealogists, &c. Sir Egerton was also a large contributor to periodical publications. Sir Egerton Brydges was twice married; first in Jan. 1786, to Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of the Rev. William Dejovas Byrche, (by Elizabeth, only sister of Thomas Barrett, of Lee Priory, esq.) By that lady he had issue two sons and three daughters.

10. At Redland-house, near Bristol, the dowager lady Hartopp. She was Anne, sole daughter and heiress of Joseph Hurlock, esq., by Sarah, daughter, and eventually sole heiress of sir John Hartopp, the third and last baronet of the creation of 1619. She was married in 1777 to Edmund Cradock Bunney, esq., who thereupon took the name of Hartopp, and was created a baronet in 1796. He died in 1833, having had issue sir Edmund, the present baronet.

— At his residence, Stanwell, in his 72nd year, Mr. James Swaine, formerly of Piccadilly. Mr. Swaine was extensively known and deservedly respected. He was a man of considerable intelligence and observation, and took great interest in the public improvements

of the day. He was the inventor of the cast-iron open-lettered guide posts. For this invention he was presented with a silver medal by the Society of Arts.

11. At Alexandria, Besson Bey, a Frenchman, and vice-admiral of the Egyptian fleet.

12. At Staplefield, aged 79, sir Henry Gwillim, formerly first judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

— In Maddox-street, aged 32, Dr. Frederick Rosen, professor of Sanscrit in the London University College. He was a native of Germany, was educated at Leipsic, and subsequently prosecuted his studies at Bonn. His *Radices Sanscritæ*, published at Berlin in 1827, gained him considerable reputation. He had resided for some years in London, and had of late been employed on the Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the British Museum.

14. At Poynton Hall, aged 52, the right hon. Frances-Maria Lady Warren Vernon, widow of the late lord Vernon. In addition to large sums to every public charity, her ladyship gave 500*l.* to build a free school, and the land on which to erect it, to the parish of St. Thomas; and the land on which to build the Infirmary, and 250*l.* towards the building fund; the land and grounds on which the free grammar school is built, and 300*l.*; 3000*l.* to build and endow a church at Edgeley; 1000*l.* to build that at Handford, and 500*l.* to Norbury.

— At Leamington, aged 70, the hon. sir Edward Stopford, G.C.B. and K.T.S. a lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 41st regiment of foot.

14. At Venice, after a few days' illness, aged 77, the hon. Edmund Phipps, General in the army, Colonel of the second battalion of the 60th regiment; and a member of the Consolidated Board of General Officers; for many years M. P. for Scarborough; and uncle to the Earl of Mulgrave.

15. At Portobello, near Edinburgh, of fever, after a fortnight's illness, the Rev. William Ritchie, L L. D. F. R. S. Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy at the London University College, and of Natural and Experimental Philosophy at the Royal Institution.

Lately. Aged 47, the right hon. Edward Southwell Ward, third Viscount Bangor.

16. At his seat, Plaistow Lodge, Kent, Walter Boyd, esq. the famous financier, in the 84th year of his age. He was well known as the contractor for the Government loans, during the late war, to the extent of from thirty to forty millions. He was the intimate and warm friend of William Pitt, and was M. P. for Shaftesbury in the Parliament of 1796—1802.

17. At Lenton firs, near Nottingham, aged 90, John Storer, M. D., F. R. S. and F. L. S.; upwards of fifty years an eminent physician at Nottingham.

18. At Scarborough, aged 73, Richard Wilson, esq. one of the senior members of the late corporation, and chief magistrate of that borough in the years 1817, 1822, and 1831. As the benevolent founder of fourteen commodious and substantial alms-houses, erected and liberally endowed, at his sole expense, for the reception of decayed or disabled ship-owners, master-mariners, and their wives or widows, his memory will long be cherished and blessed.

— At Rome aged 73, Signor Fontana, the celebrated engraver, a pupil of Raphael Morghen.

19. At Elgin, the Rev. William Gordon, in the 86th year of his age and 62nd of his ministry; during the last 43 years he was one of the Established Clergy of Elgin.

Lately, At Weston-super-Mare, co. Gloucester, Joseph Poole, esq. He was a native of Bristol, and well known as the liberal supporter of every institution, which had for its object the benefit of his fellow creatures. The following munificent legacies have been bequeathed by his will; Bristol Infirmary; 500*l.*; Bristol Dispensary, 300*l.*; St. Augustine's Charity School, 100*l.*; Bristol Female Penitentiary, 100*l.*; Blind Asylum, Bristol. 100*l.*; Orphan Asylum, at Hook's Mills, Bristol, 200*l.* Minister and Churchwardens of St. Augustine's, for the poor of that parish not receiving alms, 200*l.*; Minister and Churchwardens of Temple, for the poor of that parish not receiving alms, 200*l.*; Bristol Society for supplying the poor with Trusses, 100*l.*; Hospital for diseases of the Eye in Lower Maudlin-street, 100*l.*; Bristol Diocesan school Society, 100*l.*; Infant school at the Hotwells, 100*l.* to the London Society for building and repairing Churches (after the death of an individual) 200*l.* His relative, who lived with him, and inherits the bulk of his property, appears to have exhibited the same phi-

lanthropic spirit. He has presented to other Bristol charities the following liberal donations, in consequence of having, subseqnently to the date of his will, heard the Testator express a wish that he had included such Societies in its bequests.—'Strangers' Friend Society, 100*l.*; Bristol Church Missionary Society, 100*l.*; Society for Widows and Orphans (connected with the Church Missionary Society), 100*l.* Moravian Missionary Society, Bristol, 100*l.* Wesleyan Missionary Society, 100*l.*, Bristol Bible Society, 100*l.* Temple Infant School, 100*l.* It was only a few months before his death, that Mr. Poole presented the Society for purchasing the Advowsons of Churches in Bristol with a donation of 1100*l.*

19. At Castle Dawson, aged 40, Francis Kenelm Bouverie, esq. son of Edward Bouverie, esq. of Delaprè Abbey.

20. At Hitchin, Hertfordshire Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Venables Hinde, Colonel of the 32nd regiment of foot, K. C. B. and K. T. S.

— At the Cape of good Hope, by being thrown from his horse, Mr. Musgrave, the grandson of the governor, Sir Benj. D'Urban. The man who threw him down is to be tried for murder, he having been heard to declare before he set out, that he would ride over some person.

Lately. At Green-hill, county Limerick, Morgan Mullins, tin plate worker, aged 114. He dined on the day of his death as usual, and retained his mental faculties to the last.

— Aged 34, William West, M.D. son of Alderman Jacob West, of Dublin; a gentleman distinguished by his acquirements, not only in Medicine, and its kindred sciences, but particularly in philology.

— J. Ewing, esq. formerly writer in Glasgow. He has left two-thirds of the free residue of his estate to the Royal Infirmary of that city, and the remaining third equally between the Lunatic Asylum and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.

22. In Bedford Row, aged 57, David Uwins, M.D. Author of an essay on Insanity and Madhouses, and another on Vaccine Inoculation, which appeared in the Quarterly Review, 1816, 1818. Also of a series of Medical Essays under the name of "Reports" in the Monthly Magazine, and of a work on Indigestion. He also edited The Medical Repository.

22. At Caversall Castle, aged 47, Mrs Shuttleworth, Lady Abbess of the Benedictine Nuns at that place.

23. At Peckham, aged 81, R. J. S. Stevens esq. organist of the Charterhouse, and Gresham lecturer on music.

He had been a member of the Royal Society of Musicians for sixty years, and was formerly organist at the Temple. He published a very beautiful selection of sacred music, in three volumes folio. He was the composer of a number of excellent glees, among which, were—"Blow, blow, thou winter's wind." "Crabbed Age," "Sigh no more, ladies," "Ye spotted snakes," "From Oberon in fairy land," "Some of my heroes are low," Strike the harp in praise of Bragela," "See what horrid tempests," "O mistress mine," &c. His compositions appeared chiefly between the years 1795 and 1805.

— At Paris, aged 77, the notorious revolutionist, Philip Buonarotti, commissary-general of the French National Convention.

23. At Highclere, the seat of the Earl of Carnarvon, the Rt. Hon. Susan Countess dowager of Guildford. She was the eldest dau. and co-heiress of Thomas Coutts, esq. of Westminster, banker; became the second wife of George-Augustus third Earl of Guildford in 1796, and was left his widow in 1802, having had issue one son, Frederick Lord North, who died an infant, and two daughters, the present Lady Susan Doyle, and Lady Georgiana North, who died unmarried in 1835. Her Ladyship's body was interred in the family vault at Wroxton on the 3d Oct. attended by the Marquess of Bute (who married the Earl's only dau. by his former marriage) the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Willoughby de Broke, Lieut.-Col. Doyle, &c. In the event of Lady Susan Doyle surviving her sister the Marchioness of Bute, she will immediately become invested with the Barony of North, now in abeyance.

25. Aged 43. Dr. Frehmann, Professor of Medicine in the University of Liege.

Lately. M. Van der Eyk, Emeritus Professor of Natural History in the University of Leyden.

— At Hamilton, Upper Canada, aged 41, James Arthur O'Connor, esq. M. D. grand-nephew to the celebrated Abbé Edgeworth, who attended Louis XVI, on the scaffold.

DEATHS.—Oct.

26. At his seat Combe Bank, Kent, after ten days' illness, aged 40, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Chichester, Baron Templemore, of Templemore, co. Donegal, a Lord in waiting to her Majesty, a Lieut-Col. in the army, and D. C. L,

— At Finedon hall, Northamptonshire, after a few days' illness, in his 88th year, Sir John English Dolben, the fourth Baronet of that place, D.C.L. and F. S. A. He was the fourth in lineal descent from the Rt. Rev. John Dolben, Archbishop of York in the reign of Charles the Second, who was descended from an ancient family in the county of Denbigh.

27. In her 83d year, Mrs O'Beirne, widow of Dr. O'Beirne Lord Bishop of Meath.

— At Pembroke Dockyard, William Pryce Cumby, esq. Post-Captain, R. N. superintendant of that establishment, and C. B. He was promoted in consequence of his gallant behaviour as first Lieutenant of the Bellerophon at the battle of Trafalgar.

— Richard Stevenson, esq. M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and only son of Richard Stevenson, esq. of Barton. He was third Wrangler in the year 1834, and the author of some memoirs on mathematical subjects. For some time before his last illness, he was engaged in the preparation of a "Complete System of Analysis," a work for which he was in every way qualified by his great knowledge and his uncommonly clear and vigorous understanding.

28. At Madras, the Rev. Frederick J. Darrah, Chaplain, in the Hon. E I. Company's service. He died two days after his wife Harriet, both victims to the cholera; leaving two orphan children.

30. At Teignmouth, aged 79, Thomas Luny, esq. the celebrated marine painter.

— At Ramsgate, aged 77, Elizabeth, widow of Lord Edward Charles Cavendish-Bentinck, uncle to the present Duke of Portland. She was the eldest daughter of Richard Cumberland, esq. the celebrated author.

OCTOBER.

1. At Glandovan, Pembroke, in his 90th year Abel Anthony Gower, esq. formerly an eminent merchant of the City of London; brother to the late Adm. Sir Erasmus Gower.

— At Otterington hall, Yorkshire, aged 46, John George Boss, esq. a commander in the Royal Navy. He was M. P. for Northallerton in 1832.

2. At Fulham, aged 69, P. Francis, esq. only son of the late Sir Philip Francis, K. B. Sir Philip bequeathed his house in St. James's square, his fine political and classical library, and his manuscripts, to Lady Francis and to his son. His collection of political pamphlets, published about the same time when Junius's letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser* are illustrated with manuscript notes, relating to the persons who figured in those memorable epistles. It is possible, that some information may be found, respecting the copy of these memorable epistles, bound in vellum by Henry Sampson Woodfall, and sent to the author. Sir Philip Francis left sealed up in his library, in manuscript, a history of the period in which he lived, containing biographical sketches of the eminent statesmen his contemporaries.

— At Rosstrevor, co. Down, Anne Charlotte, wife of the Hon. and right Rev. Dr. Knox, Lord Bishop of Limerick.

3. At Drumsheugh, Sir Patrick Walker, her Majesty's heritable chief Usher of the White Rod for Scotland.

— At Arenenberg, in Switzerland, aged 54, Hortense Eugenie duchess de Saint Leu, and ex-queen of Holland. Hortense Eugenie de Beauharnais was born at Paris on the 10th April, 1783 She was the daughter of Viscount Alexandre de Beauharnais, who died on the scaffold in 1793, and of Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, subsequently married to the emperor, Napoleon. On the 4th Jan., 1802, she was married to Louis Buonaparte, a match effected through the influence of her mother, and which, like many political matches, was a source of domestic unhappiness to both parties. Louis, who was then twenty-two years old, ascribes to this union all the misfortunes of his life, every hour of which it saddened. Both before the nuptials, and during the ceremony, they felt, that they could never agree, and yet they complied with the wish of Josephine and the will of her husband. In Holland, Hortense countenanced a line of politics in opposition to her husband, and was generally regarded as the head of the French party. From the 4th of January, 1802, to September 1807, when they finally sepa-

rated, they lived together scarcely four months, at three long intervals. Three children were the issue of this ill-fated marriage. The eldest, Napoleon Charles, died at the Hague in May, 1807, in the fifth year of his age. The second, Napoleon Louis, born Oct. 11th 1804, was christened at St. Cloud, by pope Pius VII. and nominated grand duke of Berg and Cleves, March 3, 1809. It was he that Louis endeavoured to raise to the throne of Holland when he abdicated in 1810. He was killed in the insurrection which took place in Romagna, in 1832. The third son, Charles Louis Napoleon, is the youth who made the late attempt at Strasbourg. He is married to his cousin Charlotte, daughter of Joseph, ex-king of Spain. On Louis Buonaparte's arrival at Rome, in September, 1814, he insisted upon his eldest son being sent to him. Hortense refusing to part with either of them, he applied to the tribunals, which, after much discussion, issued a decree in his favour. Napoleon had, in the mean time, reascended the throne, and it was only on his second abdication that young Napoleon Louis, was restored to his father. Hortense's health had long been declining, but her death had been hastened by the alarm and anxiety caused by her son's rash expedition to Alsace, and his subsequent imprisonment. The title of duchess de Saint Leu which she had borne since the fall of the empire, is derived from the estate of Saint Leu, near Paris, which after being the property of Louis Buonaparte, was purchased by the late duke de Bourbon, and by him left to Madame de Feucheres, who has sold a part of it. On his abdication, Louis Buonaparte assumed the title of count de Saint Leu, under which he was wont to travel. It was by Louis XVIII. that Hortense was created duchess de Saint Leu. The funeral of the duchess of St. Leu took place on the 11th inst. The *cortège* left the Chateau of Arenenberg, amidst an immense concourse of people, the coffin being carried by sixteen young men, habited specially for the ceremony and chosen in equal numbers from among the catholics and protestants. The body was laid on an *estrade*, decorated with a crown and with the family arms of the deceased, in the parochial church of Constance. After the religious service had terminated, the body was brought back to the chateau, where it is to remain until king Louis Philippe shall have authorised her removal to Ruel, near Malmaison, the last abode of her mother the empress Josephine.

8. In Grosvenor-st. the Most Noble Catharine, Duchess dowager of Leeds, Mistress of the Robes to the Queen Dowager.

— At Munden house, near Watford, Hertfordshire, having entered his 81st year, George Hibbert, esq. F.R.S. F.S.A. and F.L.S., an eminent West India merchant. Mr. Hibbert was mainly instrumental in originating and maturing that noble undertaking, the West India Docks.

—In his 72nd year, Mr. Samuel Wesley. He was born in 1766 on the 24th February (which was also the birthday of Handel), and was the younger son of the rev. Charles Wesley, (brother to the rev. John Wesley, the founder of Wesleyan Methodism) and brother to the very extraordinary musical genius Charles Wesley. Samuel Wesley, when only three years old, could play and extemporise freely on the organ, and before he was five had taught himself to read, and write a print hand, from his unremitting study of the oratorio of Samson, which he had committed entirely to memory. He also learned by heart within a month the whole of Handel's overtures, and before he was eight years of age had composed and written out an oratorio, which he entitled Ruth, and presented to Dr. Boyce, who acknowledged the compliment in the following terms:—"Dr. Boyce presents his compliments and thanks to his very ingenious brother composer, Mr. Samuel Wesley, and is very much pleased and obliged by the possession of the oratorio of Ruth, which he shall preserve with the utmost care as the most curious product of his musical library." Before he reached the year of his majority he had become an excellent classical scholar, a fine performer on the pianoforte and organ, and unquestionably the most astonishing extemporaneous player in Europe. His prospects in life were unfortunately clouded by a dreadful accident, which befel him in the year 1787. Returning home one evening from a visit to an intimate friend (one of the oldest members of the madrigal society), in passing through Snow-hill he fell into a deep excavation which had been prepared for

the foundation of a new building. There he lay insensible until daylight disclosed his situation, and he was conveyed home. His head had received a most serious injury, and the medical attendants wished to perform the operation of trepanning, but Wesley obstinately refused his consent, and the wound was permitted to heal. This he ever after regretted; for it is supposed, that in consequence of some portion of the skull adhering to, or pressing upon, the brain, those periodical states of high nervous irritability originated, which subsequently checked and darkened the splendour of his career. For seven years immediately following his accident, he remained in a low desponding state, refusing to cultivate his genius for music. On his recovery, he prosecuted the science with the utmost ardour, bringing to light the immortal works of Sebastian Bach, then alike unknown here and on the continent, In 1815, when on his journey to conduct an oratorio at Norwich, Mr. Wesley suffered a relapse of his mental despondency, and for another seven years he retired from public life, endeavouring to find relief in constant attendance upon public worship, and living with the austerity of an hermit. In 1823 he recovered and up to 1830 composed many excellent pieces, and was much engaged in public performance on the organ. He then relapsed into his former state, but in August last partially recovered his health and spirits. It soon became evident, however, that his constitution was undergoing a great change. When at Christchurch, Newgate-street, about three weeks since, he called, passed a delightful day, and spoke in the evening of Mendelssohn and his "wonderful mind" in terms of the strongest eulogy. On the Saturday before his death he played extemporaneously to a friend, and composed some psalm tunes. On Monday he endeavoured to write a long testimonial for an old pupil, but which his strength only permitted him to sign; and in the evening he retired to his room with a presentiment which the event of Wednesday but too accurately verified. As a musician, the celebrity of Samuel Wesley is greater on the continent than in his own country. His compositions are grand and masterly; his melodies sweet, varied, and novel; his harmonies bold, imposing, unexpected, and sublime; his resources were boundless, and if called upon to extemporise for half-a-dozen times, during an evening, each fantasia was new, fresh, and perfectly unlike the others. His execution was very great, close, and neat, and free from labour or effort; and his touch on the pianoforte delicate and *chantante* in the highest degree. Mr. Wesley was remarkable for great energy, firmness, nobleness of mind, freedom from envy, penetration, docility approaching to almost an infantine simplicity, and unvarying adherence to truth. These characteristics were united with a credulity, which exceeded, if possible, that which marked his uncle, the celebrated John Wesley. His passions were exceedingly strong, and from a habit of always speaking his mind, and his having no idea of management, or the finesse of human life he too often by the brilliancy of his wit, or the bitterness of his sarcasm, unthinkingly caused estrangements, if not raised up an enemy. His conversation was rich, copious, and fascinating, no subject could be started which he could not adorn by shrewd remarks, or illustrate by some appropriate and original anecdote. For many years it had been his constant habit to study the bible night and morning, and as no meal was taken before he had offered up his orisons to heaven, so he never laid down without thanksgiving. He disclaimed ever having been a convert to the Roman Catholic church, observing, "that although the Gregorian music had seduced him to their chapels, the tenets of the Romanists never obtained any influence over his mind." He was regarded with peculiar solicitude by his uncle, John Wesley, who, writing in reference to his supposed conversion to Popery, observes "He may indeed, roll a few years in purging fire, but he will surely go to heaven at last." Mr. Wesley was accustomed to relate, that his father (the rev. Charles Wesley), when dying, called him to his bedside, and addressed him in the words, "*Omnia vanitas et vexatio spiritus præter amare Deum et illi servire*;" and blessing him, he added, "Sam, we shall meet in heaven." Mr. Wesley has left a large family, nearly all of whom are distinguished for their talents and acquirements. The younger branches are of very tender years. His remains were gathered to the tomb of his fathers on Tuesday, Oct. 17, amidst a large concourse of his

relations connections, and friends. The family vault is in the small burial ground attached to the old church in High-street, Marylebone, and was constructed at the express desire of the rev. Charles Wesley, who in contradistinction to his brother, the rev. John Wesley, entertained a strong feeling against interment in unconsecrated ground. The vault is small, and, as was originally designed, contained no more than five coffins. That of the deceased has now filled up the only unoccupied niche. The bodies of the rev. Charles Wesley, Mrs. Wesley, Miss Sarah Wesley, and the brothers, Charles and Samuel, therefore, sleep together, to mingle in one common dust.

12. At Drakelow-hall, Derbyshire, in his 38th year, sir Roger Greisley, the eighth baronet of that place (1611), a groom of the bedchamber to H.R.H. the duke of Sussex, a captain in the Staffordshire yeomanry cavalry, and F.S.A. He was the author of "Sir Philip Gasteneys, a Minor," a tale, in one volume. 'The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh."

— At his apartments in St. James'-street, the right hon. lord James Murray, lord Glenlyon, of Glenlyon, county of Perth, a major-general in the army, K.C.H. and F.R.S. His lordship was born May 29, 1782, the second son of John fourth duke of Atholl, K.T., by the hon. Jane Cathcart, eldest daughter of John ninth lord Cathcart. He was an aid-de-camp to the Prince Regent, and was in the state-carriage with his royal highness, when, in 1817, he was shot at, on his way to the House of Peers. His lordship was afterwards a lord of the bedchamber to King George the Fourth, at whose coronation he was created lord Glenlyon, by patent, dated July 9th, 1821. His lordship married, May 19, 1810, lady Emily-Frances Percy, second daughter of Hugh second duke of Northumberland, K.G., and sister to the present duke; and by her ladyship, who survives him, he had issue, the right hon. George-Augustus-Frederick John, now lord Glenlyon, heir presumptive to the dukedom of Atholl, and other children.

— At the Hague, aged 63, Frederica-Louisa-Wilhelmina, queen of the Netherlands. She was a daughter of Frederick-William II. king of Prussia; was married October 1, 1791; and had issue the Prince of Orange, Prince Frederick, and one daughter, the Princess Marianne, who is unmarried.

— At Orbe, in Switzerland, aged 31, Wentworth, second son of sir Alexander and lady Croke, of Studley Priory, Oxfordshire.

14. At his seat, Braziers, Oxfordshire, aged 81, Isaac George Manley, esq., admiral of the Red, D.C.L. He was the last survivor of the crew who sailed with captain Cook, during his first voyage round the world. In 1782 he was a lieutenant on board the Prince George, and took part in the glorious victory gained by lord Rodney on the 12th of April in that year.

Lately. In his 70th year, John Broughton, esq. of Blackwater, Hampshire, rear-admiral of the White. He went to sea in 1780, and was one of the few survivors of lord Rodney's action of the 12th of April, 1782, in which he served as a midshipman on board the Valiant.

16. At Paris, aged 84, count Dumas, peer of France, a lieutenant-general in the French army, and an old companion in arms of general Lafayette.

17. At Weimar, in his 60th year, John Nepomuk Hummel, the founder of the modern school of pianoforte music. He was born at Presburg, on the 14th of November, 1778. When a child, he was remarkable for the precocity of his genius; and his father was induced, by the extraordinary progress he had made on the pianoforte, to place him, when he was seven years old, under the care of Mozart, in whose house he lived for two years. He then, along with his father, travelled through various parts of Europe, and came to England, where he passed the years 1791 and 1792, and his public performances were heard with admiration and delight. His "Variations to la Belle Catharine, the Plough-boy, and a German air," were engraved on copper, and dedicated to the queen; and one of Haydn's finest pianoforte sonatas, written at this period, is dedicated "to Master Hummell." He soon acquired great celebrity as a composer, as well as a performer on the pianoforte. In 1820 he became chapel-master to the duke of Weimar, where he has resided ever since, making, from time to time, brilliant and profitable tours in Germany, Russia, and England. His last visit to this country, was in 1832. Hummel composed some operas, the most celebrated of which is his *Mathilde von*

Guise. But his fame will rest upon his compositions for the pianoforte.

18. The wife of the rev. J. Gwynne, rector of Portstewart, county of Antrim. She went, attended by her waiting-maid, to bathe — unfortunately, the tide ran so strong as to overpower both, and sweep them away.

Lately. The hon. Catharine Eleanor, wife of the rev. William Armstrong, of Mealiffe, county of Tipperary, and sister to Lord Decies.

19. At Paris, aged 67, John Stuart, esq., late of the War-office.

21. At Calcutta, aged 41, sir Benjamin Heath Malkin, one of the judges of the Supreme Court. He was the eldest son of the late master of the grammar school of Bury St. Edmund's; and at that institution, at the University of Cambridge, and on the judicial bench in India, was equally distinguished by his talents. He obtained the honour of third wrangler in 1818—the great "Lefevre's year;" was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, February 11, 1823; and was in 1832 appointed recorder of Penang, from which island he was removed to Calcutta.

22. In Dominica, J. P. Lockhart, esq., many years senior member of H. M. Council, and late resident of that island.

— Aged 65, sir David Erskine, of Dryburgh Abbey, county of Berwick, knt., F.S.A., late captain of the royal military academy, Sandhurst. Sir David was the natural son of David Stewart, the late eccentric earl of Buchan, who, on his death in 1829, bequeathed to him for life the whole of his unentailed estates, the principal being Dryburgh, which became his permanent residence after the death of the earl. He was director of the royal academy of Edinburgh, and was one of the founders of the Scots military and naval academy in that city.

Lately. Slain, at the siege of Constantine, aged 64, lieut.-general the Comte de Damremont, governor of the French possessions in Africa. General de Damremont served through his inferior grades in the campaigns of the empire, and distinguished himself in all. As aid-de-camp to the duke of Ragusa, in 1814, together with general Fabvier, he was one of those who signed the treaty of Chevilly. The Restoration found him colonel, and gave him, in 1830, the command of a brigade of the expeditionary army of Africa, under the orders of M. de Bourmont. When appointed in 1836, to the government of the French possessions in the north of Africa, his conduct was such as to make his administration generally esteemed, and his character appreciated. As general *en chef*, he fully developed those qualities which distinguished him as administrator, in the prudence of his measures, and his immoveable firmness. His lady was the daughter of general Barraguay-d'Hilliers.

— At Rouen, in his 60th year, M. Eustache Hyacinthe Langlois, director of the academy of painting at Rouen, well known for his valuable publications on the antiquities of Normandy.

23. At Henley, aged 73, lady Catherine Bathurst, daughter of Henry, second earl Bathurst.

25. At Dublin, in his 70th year, Edward Dwyer, esq., the secretary of the late catholic association. Mr. O'Connell, since the dissolution of that body, allowed him 300*l*. a-year.

29. At Teignmouth, aged 81, the right hon. Susan, dowager viscountess Exmouth, widow of the distinguished admiral, Edward, Viscount Exmouth, G. C. B.

Lately. At Woodside, aged 78, William Owen, esq., of Glansevern, Montgomeryshire. He was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. 1782, as 5th wrangler, M.A. 1785, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's-inn in 1787. He was a distinguished member of the chancery bar, and quitted his profession about twenty years ago, soon after being appointed king's council, and retired to his mansion of Glansevern, where he devoted his time and his talents for the benefit of the public, acting for many years as chairman of the quarter sessions, as well as a local magistrate, and deputy-lieutenant. Mr. Owen took an active part in the abolition of the Welch judicature act, and in placing Wales, as to its jurisprudence, upon an equality with England.

— At Bruges, aged 83, Lady Margaret Augusta widow of Luke Dillon, esq., uncle of Lord Clonbrook.

31. At Leamington, lieut.-general, Robert Balfour, of Balbirnie, Fifesnire, and Carlton-terrace, Westminster.

— At Brentford, William Creighton, esq., many years a magistrate, and deputy-lieutenant for Middlesex.

NOVEMBER.

1. At his seat, Sheffield, near Maryborough Queen's County, in his 84th year, Matthew Cassan, esq., for upwards of forty years an acting magistrate for that county.

At Hackney, aged 80, the rev. Isaiah Birt, an eminent Baptist minister: a native of Coleford, co. Gloucester.

— Aged 27, C. C. Lloyd, esq., of the Middle Temple, and the poor-law office Somerset-house.

6. In Newman-street, John Linnell Bond, esq., an architect of great judgement and taste; he has left behind him a translation of Vitruvius, the work of some twenty years.

7. In Maddox-street, J. Forbes, M.D. inspector-general of army hospitals.

8. At Woodbridge-house, near Guildford, aged, 57, the lady Harriet Elizabeth Onslow, sister to the Earl of Onslow; and only daughter of Thomas, second and late Earl.

11. At Gey's-house, near Maidenhead aged 77, Jane Lady Lindores, widow of John, Baron Lindores, of the kingdom of Scotland, (better known formerly as General Leslie), at whose death many years ago, without issue, the title became extinct.

— Mr. Francis Meredith, of All Saints, Worcester. He has left 200*l.* to the British and Foreign Bible Society: 200*l.*, to the Church Missionary Society; 200*l.*, to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews; and 275*l.* to the London Moravian Mission Society.

Lately. At Beverley, in his 52nd year, Mr. John Coulson. His death was awfully sudden, and took place while he was in a fit of immoderate laughter, to which he was always so much addicted, that his acquaintance called him "Laughing Jack."

11. At Petworth-house, Sussex, in his 86th year the right hon. George O'Brien Wyndham, third earl of Egremont, F.R.S. and F.S.A. A nobleman distinguished by his extensive benevolence and liberal patronage of the fine arts. It is said, that in the last sixty years he had distributed in acts of charity and liberality the immense sum of 1,200,000*l.* or about 20,000*l.* yearly. He is succeeded in the earldom, by his nephew, Captain Wyndham, R.N., the only surviving son of the hon. Frederick William Wyndham, who, having no issue, is the last male heir in remainder to the title.

13. At Broom-house, Fulham, aged 47, the hon. Elizabeth, wife of Law Sullivan, esq., deputy secretary at war, and younger sister of Viscount Palmerston.

— At Manchester, aged 34, Henry Trowbridge Moor, M.D. of Chester.

— At South-bank, Regent's-park, aged 88, the dowager lady Cockburn, relict of the late sir James Cockburn, of Langton, co. Berwick, bart., and daughter of the late very reverend Dr. Ayscough, dean of Bristol, by Anne his wife, sister of George, first lord Lyttleton.

16. In Mason-street, Old Kent-road, the well-known London character, Miss Whitehead. The circumstances, that gave rise to the extraordinary perseverance of this unfortunate lady in frequenting the neighbourhood of the Bank and Royal Exchange, are well known to have resulted from the ill-fated end of her brother, who held a responsible situation in the Bank of England, and who, having committed an act of forgery, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The effect of his untimely end produced an alienation of her mental faculties; for forty years she paid a daily visit to the city, spending the whole day in the vicinity of the Bank always attired in black, while her cheeks had constantly the appearance of being rouged. At a coroner's inquest, Mrs. Butler, landlady of the Eagle coffee house, stated, that she had known the deceased for the last fourteen years. She took her meals daily, read the newspapers, and paid regularly. The day she died she observed, that she was going to the civic feast at the Mansion-house, and that the queen had sent by one of her servants 100*l.* to her for the purpose of providing herself with a suitable dress. She was seized with sudden illness, and died on her way home. She had subsisted upon the charity of many benevolent individuals. There are several portraits of her.

— At Leek Wootton, Warwickshire, aged 50, the rev. sir Henry Dryden, the third baronet, of Canon's Ashby, co. Northampton (1795), vicar of Leek Wootton, and of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire.

Lately. At Caen, in Normandy, in his 85th year, James Lowther, esq., for thirty-five years M.P. for Westmorland and colonel of its militia.

DEATHS.—Nov.

20. At Brighton, aged 71, Mr. Samuel Thompson, of Reigate, formerly of Holborn-hill, spirit merchant, and of New Bond-street. He was a conspicuous radical, and one of the leaders of the small sect calling themselves "Free-thinking Christians," whose principles proscribe all funeral rites, or family mourning.

Lately. At Carlow, Dr. Nolan, successor to the late Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, and Leighlin.

20. Aged 52, John Maddocks, esq. of Glan-y-Wern, formerly M.P. for the Denbighshire boroughs.

21. In Stanhope-place, Hyde Park, in his 74th year, the Right Hon. Richard Ford William Lambart, seventh Earl of the county of Cavan, and Viscount Kilcoursie in the King's county (1647.)

— Aged 79, Thomas Babington, esq. of Rothley Temple, co. Leic. The representative of one of the oldest families in Leicestershire. In 1800 he was elected Member of Parliament for the town of Leicester in the room of Lord Rancliffe deceased; he was re-chosen for the four following Parliaments, and sat until the dissolution of 1818.

22. Aged 61, Henry Verelst, of Aston-hall, Yorkshire, esq. He married a daughter of Henry Arthur Herbert, esq. and niece to the Duke of Dorset, by whom he has left a daughter, his heiress.

Lately. Mr. Jos. Holdsworth, aged 87, the father of the Ancient Society of College Youths, whose science in ringing is recorded in every church that has a peal of bells within 100 miles of London.

— At Keswick, Mrs. Southey, wife of the Laureat.

24. At Plymouth, aged 68, John Brooke Knight, esq. Assistant-Commissary-general to the Forces.

— At Dublin, the Rev. Bartholomew Lloyd, D.D. Provost of Trinity College, President of the Royal Irish Academy, &c. &c.

— At Scone palace; the Rt. Hon. Louisa Viscountess Stormont. She was the third daughter of Cuthbert Ellison, esq. was married in 1829, and has left issue.

— At Cherrybank, near Perth, A. Fisher, esq. surg. R.N. He was surgeon to the Hecla, in three successive voyages to the Arctic regions, under Capt. Sir Edward Parry.

Lately.—At Carnsalloch, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, aged 88, Peter Johnston, esq. formerly a Commissioner of Bankrupts. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 24, 1775; and was M.P. for Kirkcudbright in two Parliaments from 1780 to July 1786.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Isabella Campbell, sister of the author of the "Pleasures of Hope."

— At York, aged 71, Major-General Salmond, E.I. service. He was for 28 years Military Secretary at the India House, and resigned only a short time before his death.

24. At Kinnegad, co. Westmeath, aged 70, the Right Hon. Richard Le Poer Trench, second Earl of Clancarty, co. Cork (1803), G.C.B., G.C.H.; a Privy Councillor in Great Britain and in Ireland; one of the Representative Peers of Ireland, Custos Rotulorum of the county of Galway and Colonel of the Galway Militia, and Vice-Admiral of Connaught. His Lordship was born May 18, 1767, the second but eldest surviving son of William-Power-Keating, first Earl of Clancarty, by Anne, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Charles Gardiner, and sister to Luke Viscount Mountjoy. On the elevation of his father to the peerage in 1797, he succeeded to his seat in the Parliament of Ireland as one of the Members for the county of Galway, which he continued to represent, after the Union, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, until his accession to the peerage 1805. He supported the administration of Mr. Pitt, and moved the Address in the House of Commons at the meeting of Parliament of 1802; and, as the intimate friend of Lord Castlereagh, he subsequently enjoyed in succession a variety of important political offices. In 1804 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India. On the 13th May, 1807, he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and in that year he was elected one of the Representative Peers for Ireland. He was appointed Master of the Mint in 1812, and President of the Board of Trade Sept. 29, 1813. In the same year, on the restoration of the Prince of Orange to the sovereignty of the Netherlands, the Earl of Clancarty accompanied him from England, and landed with him at Scheveling on the 30th of November. On the 11th Dec. following, his name was announced from the Foreign Office

as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. On the 21st June 1814 he was appointed Joint Postmaster-general (with the Earl of Chichester). In the same summer he went as one of the Plenipotentiaries from the King of Great Britain to the Congress of Vienna. In this capacity he communicated to the allied powers the overtures made by M. Caulaincourt to the cabinet of London; and in his letter of the 6th May, which was made public, he declared to the world the politics of the great powers respecting Buonaparte. He was authorized to conclude the various treaties of subsidy with the sovereigns of the coalition; and signed, in the name of his court, all the Conventions and decisions of the Congress. His portrait occurs in the beautiful French print representing that august assembly. His Lordship was again appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Netherlands, on the 25th of May 1816. He continued there until 1818; and has since enjoyed a pension of 2000*l.* per. annum for his diplomatic services. He was raised to the dignity of Viscount Clancarty by patent dated Nov. 17. 1823.

— Murdered by the rebels in Canada, Lieut. Weir, of the 32d regiment, having been taken prisoner when riding with despatches. His funeral at Montreal was attended by more than 3000 men under arms, including the volunteers.

30. At the Priory, Totnes, in his 90th year, Sir William Elford, of Bickham near Plymouth, Bart. F.R.S. and F.L.S., late Recorder and M.P. for Plymouth, and Lieut.-Colonel of the South Devon Militia. Sir William Elford was a skilful amateur painter, and there has been scarcely an exhibi- of the Royal Academy for a long series of years without a contribution from his easel. His subjects were usually landscapes. He was also attached to scientific inquiries; and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1790. During the last year he had communicated to the members of both Houses of Parliament, and to all the foreign ministers resident in London, an important discovery which he had made as a substitute for common yeast.

DECEMBER.

2. At Leamington, Miss Anne Maria Finch Hatton, sister of the Earl of Winchilsea.

— In Canada, by the hands of the rebels of Toronto, Lieut.-col. Moody.

3. In St. James's palace, aged 60, the Most Hon. Charles Douglas, fifth Marquis of Queensberry (1682), K.T.; a Lord in waiting to her Majesty, Lord Lieutenant of Dumfriesshire, and Col. of the Dumfries Militia.

— In Sloane-street, aged 70, John Fearn, esq. author of an Essay on Human Consciousness, 4to. 1811; Review of the first principles of Bishop Berkeley, Dr. Reid and Prof. Stewart, 4to. 1813; and a Demonstration of the Principles of Primary Vision, with the consequent state of Philosophy in Great Britain, 4to. 1815.

5. Mr. J. O. Robinson, publisher, formerly a bookseller at Leeds, and afterwards a partner in the large concern of Messrs Hurst, Robinson and co. successors to Messrs. Boydell and co. printsellers and publishers, of Cheapside and Pall Mall.

— On the passage between Sierra Leone, and Barbadoes, aged 26, the hon. George Robert Anson Clements, fourth son of the earl of Leitrim, lieutenant in command of her majesty's brig Harpy.

6. At his seat, Delamore, in his 73rd year, Treby Hele Hayes, esq., lieut.-col. of the East Devon Militia.

7. In Edinburgh, aged 82, Janet, widow of Dr. Deans, mother of capt. Deans Dundas, R.N. M.P., and sister to the late lord Amesbury.

14. At his seat, Brynkinnalt, Denbighshire, in his 75th year, the right hon. Arthur Hill Trevor, second viscount Dungannon, co. Tyrone, and baron Hill of Olderflee, co. Antrim (1766).

15. In Albemarle-street, Henry Barre Beresford, esq., of Learmount castle, co. Londonderry.

18. In Great Russell-st., aged 71, after a long illness, Mr. Philip Audinet, engraver in the line manner.

19. At her residence at Harrogate, Mrs. Jane Van Mildert, widow of the late lord Bishop of Durham.

— At Woodford, Essex, in his 83rd year, Henry Field, esq., formerly of Christ's Hospital. Mr. Field was descended from a family which resided

for several generations at Cockenhoe, Herts. He was the eldest son of Mr. John Field, an apothecary in extensive practice, in Newgate st., by Anne, daughter of Thomas Cromwell, grocer who was a grandson of Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, the younger son of the Protector.

20. At his house in Brompton Row, in his 82nd year, Michael Bentley, esq., bencher of the Middle Temple.

Lately. At Brussels, aged 29, the rt. hon. William Lord Nairne, a baron of Scotland. He was the only son of William Lord Nairne, (restored in blood in 1824) by Caroline, third daughter of Laurence Oliphant, esq. As he has died unmarried, the baroness Keith, lady of count Flahaut, becomes heir to his barony, through his lordship's great-uncle, the late colonel William Mercer. It will descend to her daughters and the family will assume the name and arms of Nairne.

29. At Edinburgh, aged 72, Eliza, relict of Donald Macqueen, esq., of Corriebrough. She was great-niece of the unfortunate lord Lovat, beheaded in 1745.

Lately. On an uninhabited island in the South Pacific Ocean, aged 23, John Elforth, son of major-gen. Jas. Lomax.

— At Van Diemen's Land, aged 43, J. T. Gellebrand, formerly of Austin. Friars, London. In Feb. 1837, he was travelling, accompanied by another gentleman from Hobart Town to Port Philip, but in crossing the country, they were met by a party of the Aborigines who murdered, and threw them into a lake.

— At Paris, aged 80, Mrs. Ellis Cornelia Knight, for many years preceptress to the late princess Charlotte.

— At the rectory house, Woodstock, in his 80th year, the rev. William Mavor, LL.D. rector of Bladon with Woodstock, vicar of Hurley, Berks, and a magistrate for Oxfordshire. By his many useful publications, written during a literary life of fifty-six years, Dr. Mavor evinced his deep regard for the promotion of useful knowledge, and the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow creatures. Many of these works, particularly his Spelling-book, and others formed for the purpose of education, have, from the time of their publication, been exceedingly popular and successful.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS

CLASS I. PUBLIC INCOME.
II. PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.
III. DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

PUBLIC INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT.	Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties in the Nature of Drawbacks, &c.	NETT RECEIPT within the Year, after deducting REPAYMENTS, &c.
ORDINARY REVENUES.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Customs	23,959,036 16 11¾	913,368 15 10¼	23,045,668 1 1½
Excise	16,587,992 2 4¾	868,569 4 5¼	15,719,422 17 11½
Stamps (including Hackney Coach, and Hawkers and Pedlars Licenses)	7,642,042 18 1¾	291,665 15 9¾	7,350,377 2 4
Taxes, under the Management of the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes	3,926,550 16 6½	5,045 2 10½	3,921,505 13 8
Post Office	2,461,806 13 10¾	111,204 4 0	2,350,602 9 10¾
One Shilling in the Pound, and Sixpence in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries, and Four Shillings in the Pound on Pensions	7,663 15 8	.. ..	7,663 15 8
Crown Lands	361,593 3 2¼	.. ..	361,593 3 2¼
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue	12,581 1 6	.. ..	12,581 1 6
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	11,539 15 11	.. ..	11,539 15 11
Poundage Fees, Pells' Fees, Casualties, and Treasury Fees, in Ireland	2,869 16 4	.. ..	2,869 16 4
TOTALS of Ordinary Revenues	54,973,677 0 6¾	2,189,853 2 11¾	52,783,823 17 7
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.			
Money received from the East-India Company, on account of Retired Pay, Pensions, &c. of his Majesty's Forces serving in India, per Act 4 Geo. 4, c. 71	60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0 0
From the Trustees of the King of the Belgians, the Amount repaid into the Exchequer for the use of the Consolidated Fund, out of the Annuity granted to Prince Leopold	34,000 0 0	.. ..	34,000 0 0
Imprest Monies, repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public	17,473 8 10	.. ..	17,473 8 10
TOTALS of the Public Income of the United Kingdom	55,085,150 9 4¾	2,189,853 2 11¾	52,895,297 6 5

FOR THE YEAR 1837.

CLASS IV. UNFUNDED DEBT.
V. PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.
VI. TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH JANUARY, 1837.

TOTAL INCOME, including BALANCES.	TOTAL Payments out of the Income, in its Progress to the Exchequer.	PAYMENTS into the EXCHEQUER.	BALANCES and BILLS Outstanding on 5th January, 1837.	TOTAL Discharge of the Income.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
23,742,078 12 11	1,588,794 18 0¾	21,488,491 18 9	664,791 16 1¼	23,742,078 12 11
16,232,834 1 4	1,152,881 6 5¾	14,554,393 7 9¾	525,559 7 0½	16,232,834 1 4
7,613,021 5 7¼	174,512 4 3¾	7,192,088 5 0	246,420 16 3½	7,613,021 5 7¼
3,972,995 4 2	224,242 3 7¼	3,689,762 1 4	58,990 19 2¾	3,972,995 4 2
2,534,827 17 9¾	721,739 17 11	1,622,700 0 0	190,387 19 10¾	2,534,827 17 9¾
17,727 19 10	144 8 11	16,754 3 9	829 7 2	17,727 19 10
438,963 14 2¾	384,428 18 9¾	.. ..	54,534 15 5	438,963 14 2¾
12,581 1 6	.. ..	12,581 1 6	.. ..	12,581 1 6
11,539 15 11	.. ..	11,539 15 11	.. ..	11,539 15 11
2,869 16 4	.. ..	2,869 16 4	.. ..	2,869 16 4
54,579,439 9 7¾	4,246,743 18 1¼	48,591,180 10 4¾	1,741,515 1 1¾	54,579,439 9 7¾
60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0 0
34,000 0 0	.. ..	34,000 0 0	.. ..	34,000 0 0
17,473 8 10	.. ..	17,473 8 10	.. ..	17,473 8 10
54,690,912 18 5¾	4,246,743 18 1¼	48,702,653 19 2¾	1,741,515 1 1¾	54,690,912 18 5¾

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Of the United Kingdom, exclusive of the Sums applied to the Reduction of the National Debt in the Year ended 5th January, 1837.

EXPENDITURE.						
Payments out of the Income in its Progress to the Exchequer.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Charges of Collection	3,493,641	17	1½			
Other Payments	753,102	0	11¾			
Total Payments out of the Income, in its progress to the Exchequer				4,246,743	18	1¼
Funded Debt.						
Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt	24,292,347	1	1			
Terminable Annuities	4,224,427	16	2			
Total Charge of the Funded Debt, exclusive of £.6,989 4s. 7d. the Interest on Donations and Bequests	28,516,774	17	3			
Unfunded Debt.						
Interest on Exchequer Bills	726,823	14	10			
				29,243,598	12	1
Civil List	510,000	0	0			
Annuities and Pensions for Civil, Naval, Military, and Judicial Services, charged by the various Acts of Parliament on the Consolidated Fund	509,632	4	7			
Salaries and Allowances	171,560	9	0			
Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions	198,301	1	4			
Courts of Justice	420,996	7	6			
Miscellaneous Charges on the Consolidated Fund	1,056,102	13	11			
				2,866,592	16	4
Army	6,473,183	7	3	36,356,935	6	6¼
Navy	4,205,726	8	2			
Ordnance	1,434,059	0	0			
Miscellaneous charges upon the annual Grants of Parliament	2,279,309	13	4			
				14,392,278	8	9
Money paid to the Bank of England to supply deficiencies in the balance reserved for unclaimed Dividends, per Act 56 Geo. III. c. 97				70,092	1	9
				50,819,305	17	0¼
Surplus of Income paid into the Exchequer over the Expenditure issued thereout				2,130,092	0	7
				52,949,397	17	7¼

DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

An Account showing how the MONIES given for the SERVICE of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND for the Year 1836, have been disposed of; distinguished under their several Heads; to 5th January 1837.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
NAVY	4,533,543	0	0	2,870,000	0	0
ORDNANCE	1,263,449	0	0	540,000	0	0
FORCES	6,328,710	9	7	4,086,891	16	5
To defray, to the 31st March 1837, the Charge of the Civil Establishment of the Bahama Islands	1,940	0	0	1,000	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of the Bermudas; to the 31st March 1837	4,449	13	4	2,511	10	3
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of Prince Edward's Island; to the 31st March 1837	3,070	0	0	1,600	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishments on the Western Coast of Africa; to 31st March 1837	10,905	15	10	—		
To defray the Expenses of the Ecclesiastical Establishments of the British North American Provinces; to the 31st March 1837	14,140	18	6	—		
To defray the Expenses of the Settlement in Western Australia, to the 31st March 1837	7,378	15	0	—		
To defray the Expense of the Establishment of the Indian Department in Lower and Upper Canada, to the 31st March 1837	20,000	0	0	—		
To defray the Charge of the Salaries of the Governors, Lieut.-Governors, and others in his Majesty's West India Colonies; to the 31st March 1837	16,877	0	0	9,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Civil Establishment of Heligoland, to the 31st March 1837	963	0	10	186	19	2
To defray the Expense of the Civil and Military Establishments at St. Helena; to the 31st of March 1837	35,000	0	0	—		
To defray the Expenses of the Civil Government of Nova Scotia; to the 31st March 1837	1,900	0	0	—		
To defray, to the 31st March 1837, the Expense of Works and Repairs of Public Buildings, and for Furniture and other						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Charges and for Lighting and Watching, and for the Maintenance and Repair of Royal Palaces, and Works in the Royal Gardens, heretofore charged upon the Civil List	64,450	0	0	20,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of Works and Repairs at the Harbour of Kingstown; to the 31st March 1837	15,000	0	0	—		
To defray the Expense of Works and Repairs at Port Patrick Harbour, to the 31st March, 1837	226	0	0	12,226	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Holyhead and Howth Harbours, and Holyhead and Liverpool Roads; to the 31st March 1837 ...	6,455	0	0	6,455	0	0
To defray the Charge of New Buildings at the British Museum; to the 31st March 1837...	25,860	0	0	6,000	0	0
To complete the New Buildings for the National Gallery	31,112	0	0	22,800	0	0
To defray the Expense of providing temporary accommodation for the Houses of Parliament, Committee Rooms, Offices, and Temporary official Residences for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and other Officers of that House; to the 31st March 1837	4,547	0	0	3,500	0	0
To complete the Works at Windsor Castle ..	3,755	0	0	1,042	19	0
To restore the Building at the General Penitentiary, Milbank, destroyed by fire in October last, and for certain Improvements in that Building	15,300	0	0	3,423	14	2
To defray, in the year 1836, the Expense of Works at the Prison Buildings at Dartmoor	7,000	0	0	—		
To defray, in the year 1836, the Expense of the erection of Chambers for the Judges ...	10,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
To make good the Deficiency of the Fee Fund in the Department of his Majesty's Treasury, to the 31st March, 1837	42,300	0	0	32,302	17	7
To Do. Do. in the Office of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, to the 31st March, 1837	11,270	0	0	9,500	0	0
To Do. Do. in the Department of his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the 31st March, 1837	14,832	0	0	10,000	0	0
To Do. Do. in the Department of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the 31st March 1837	12,270	0		9,270	0	0
To Do. Do. in the Department of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council and Committee of Privy Council for Trade, to the 31st March 1837	20,288	0	0	14,980	16	0
To pay the Salaries, Contingent and other Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Treasury, to the 31st March 1837...	6,000	0	0	4,165	15	6
To pay the Salaries and other Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
State for the Home Department; to the 31st March 1837	5,410	0	0	4,350	0	0
To pay the Salaries and other Expenses in the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, also of the Foreign Messengers attached to that Department; to the 31st March 1837	31,500	0	0	20,000	0	0
To pay the Salaries and other Expenses in the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies; to the 31st March 1837	5,400	0	0	4,050	0	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Committee of Privy Council for Trade; to the 31st March 1837	4,150	0	0	1,897	16	10
To pay the Salaries and Contingent Expenses in the Departments of the Comptroller General of the Exchequer, and of the Paymaster of Civil Services; to the 31st March 1837	14,650	0	0	10,411	16	2
To defray the Expenses of Messengers attending the First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the four Patent Messengers of the Court of Exchequer, and various ancient Allowances to the Officers of that Court; to the 31st March 1837	3,700	0	0	2,537	7	4
To pay the Salaries and Allowances granted to certain Professors in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; to the 31st March 1837	2,006	0	0	2,006	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Salaries of the Commissioners of the Insolvent Debtors' Court, of their Clerks, and the Contingent Expenses of the Court and Office, and also the Expenses attendant upon their Circuits; to the 31st March 1837 ...	12,500	0	0	6,939	19	8
To pay the Salaries of the Officers and the contingent Expenses of the Office for the Registration of Aliens; to the 5th April 1837	1,000	0	0	500	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Penitentiary at Milbank; to the 31st March 1837 ..	15,600	0	0	4,610	0	0
To defray in the year 1836 the Expenses under and connected with the Acts relating to Municipal Corporations in England, Ireland, and Scotland	29,800	0	0	28,948	5	10
To pay the Salaries and other expenses of the State Paper Office, the Office for the Custody of the Records in the Tower, and the Office for the Custody of Records in the Chapter House, Westminster; to the 31st March 1837	3,981	0	0	1,471	9	2
To defray in the year 1836 the expenses of the						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Commission for digesting the several Statutes relating to Criminal and other Law .	5,100	0	0	4,851	18	9
For defraying for one year the Expenses of the Commission for inquiring into County Rates, and the authority for the receipt of the Fees by Magistrates and Sheriffs ...	753	0	0	651	0	1
To defray the expenses of the Commission for inquiring into Public Charities; from 22nd October 1835, to March 1st 1837 ...	30,000	0	0	24,325	0	0
To pay the Remuneration to the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of Religious Instruction in Ireland and the Expenses of the Commission to its close .	36,800	0	0	36,800	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Opportunities of Religious Worship and Means of Religious Instruction, and the Pastoral Superintendence afforded to the People of Scotland	10,090	0	0	3,600	0	0
To defray, in the year 1836, the Charge of Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales	49,180	0	0	37,451	10	10
To pay, to the 31st day of March 1837, the Salaries and Incidental Expenses for the Commissions appointed on the part of His Majesty, under the Treaties with Foreign Powers, for preventing the illegal Traffic in Slaves	14,700	0	0	10,050	0	0
To pay the Salaries of His Majesty's Consuls-General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls, and of the Superintendents of Trade at Canton, and also of the Contingent Expenses connected with the Public Duties of such Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Superintendents of Trade; to 31st March 1837	103,516	0	0	49,279	9	1
To defray the Charge of the Salaries, of the Inspectors and Superintendents of Factories appointed under the Act to regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom; to the 31st March 1837 ...	5,500	0	0	5,500	0	0
To defray the Salaries and Expenses of the Inspectors of Prisons; to 31st March 1837	4,900	0	0	4,430	7	10
To defray the Charge of Allowances or Compensations to Persons formerly employed in the Public Offices or Departments, or in the Public Service; to 31st March 1837..	73,905	0	0	20,871	6	9
To enable His Majesty to grant Relief, to the 31st March 1837, to Toulonese and						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Corsican Emigrants, Dutch Naval Officers, St. Domingo Sufferers, American Loyalists and others who have heretofore received Allowances from His Majesty, and who, from Services performed or Losses sustained in the British Service, have Special Claims on His Majesty's Justice and Liberality	10,500	0	0	3,500	0	0
To defray the Expense of the National Vaccine Establishment; for the year 1836 ...	1,850	0	0	1,850	0	0
For the Support of the Institution called "The Refuge for the Destitute;" for the year 1836	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
To defray the Charge of confining and maintaining Criminal Lunatics; to the 31st March 1837	2,900	0	0	580	16	7
To defray to the 31st March 1837, the usual Allowances to the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in England, poor French Refugee Clergy, poor French Refugee Laity, and sundry other small Charitable and other Allowances to the Poor of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and others	4,600	0	0	—		
To defray the Charge of Civil Contingencies: to the 31st March, 1837	130,000	0	0	50,269	10	11
To defray the Charge of His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services; to the 31st March 1837	36,000	0	0	11,950	0	0
To defray the Expense of providing Stationery, Printing and Binding for the several Departments of Government; to the 31st March 1837; including the Expense of the Establishment of the Stationery Office	198,478	0	0	56,046	13	9
To defray the Expenses of the Mint in the Coinage of Gold; to the 31st March 1837	8,600	0	0	8,600	0	0
To defray the Expenses incurred in the Prosecution of Offences against the laws relating to Coin; to the 31st March 1837 ...	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of Law Charges; to the 31st March 1837	10,000	0	0	6,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Convict Hulk Establishment at Home and at Bermuda; to 31st March 1837	57,400	0	0	13,682	3	1
To defray the Expense of maintaining Convicts at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; to 31st March 1837	242,000	0	0	—		
To defray the Expenses for the Support of Captured Negroes and Liberated Africans, under the Acts for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to the 31st March 1837 ..	20,000	0	0	1,660	18	4
To pay the Annual Compensation awarded to Sir Abraham Bradley King, late King's Stationer in Ireland, for Losses sustained by him by reason of the revocation of his Patent	2,500	0	0	2,500	0	0

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To pay in the year 1836 the Fees due and payable to Officers of the two Houses of Parliament on all Bills for continuing or amending any Acts for making or maintaining, or keeping in repair or improving Turnpike Roads, which shall pass the two Houses of Parliament, and receive the Royal Assent	2,400	0	0	1,352	0	8
To enable His Majesty to issue Money for the Erection of School-houses, in Aid of Private Subscriptions for that purpose, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in England; to 31st March 1837...	20,000	0	0	—		
To enable His Majesty to issue, in the year 1836, Money for the Erection of School-houses, in Aid of Private Subscriptions for that purpose, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes, and for the Erection of Model Schools in Scotland ...	10,000	0	0	—		
To pay the Allowances and Expenses of the Barristers employed in revising Lists of Voters, under the Act for amending the Representation of the People in England and Wales	40,200	0	0	32,204	3	8
To defray, to the 31st March 1837, the Expenses incurred by Sheriffs, formerly paid from Civil Contingencies; also to make good the Deficiency of the Fees in the Office of the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer	18,700	0	0	10,683	9	9
To defray, in the year 1836, certain Charges heretofore paid out of County Rates ...	40,000	0	0	—		
To pay compensation to Individuals, subjects of His Majesty, for Losses sustained by Confiscation of their Goods on Shore, by the Act of the Danish Government in 1807	78,000	0	0	51,571	2	2
To enable His Majesty to grant Relief to the Distressed Poles now in this Country ...	10,000	0	0	8,500	0	0
In Aid of the Expense of the Expedition to ascertain the practicability of establishing a Steam communication with India by the Euphrates	8,000	0	0	4,964	5	7
To defray, to the 31st March 1837, the Salaries and Allowances to Special Justices appointed in pursuance of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies	69,950	0	0	—		
To defray such Expenses as Her Majesty may incur in aiding the Local Legislatures in providing for the Religious and Moral Education of the Emancipated Negro Population	25,000	0	0	20,000	0	0
For Salaries of the Agents for Emigration; to the 31st March 1837	1,874	5	0	1,400	1	4

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To defray the Charge of the Salaries and Expenses of the two Houses of Parliament, and of Allowances to Retired Officers of the two Houses for the year 1836, and to the 31st March 1837	73,250	0	0	49,671	2	3
For Works and Services at Buckingham Palace	6,497	0	0	—		
To defray the Charge of the Consolidated Pay Offices of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance; to the 31st March 1837 ...	40,000	0	0	31,158	12	6
To defray the Estimated Expenditure of the British Museum; for the year ending at Lady-day 1837	21,974	0	0	21,974	0	0
To enable His Majesty to issue in the year 1836 money for the Establishment of a School of Design, with a view to the Improvement of the National Manufactures	1,500	0	0	—		
To defray the Expenses of paying to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England the amount of the Loss sustained by the Bank by melting into Bullion in the year 1831 Silver Coin, upon the Coinage of which Seignorage had been received by the public	38,289	0	0	38,289	0	0
To defray, to the 31st March 1837, Law Expenses, Grants to Scottish Universities, and other Charges formerly defrayed from the Hereditary Revenues, and not provided for in His Majesty's Civil List, nor out of the Consolidated Fund	55,000	0	0	10,431	17	0
To carry on, to the 31st March 1837, the Works in progress under the direction of Commissioners of Public Records, also to pay certain Arrears	34,000	0	0	19,820	8	0
To enable the Trustees of the British Museum to make certain purchases ...	9,250	0	0	9,223	18	7
To enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to issue Money for the Advancement of Education in Ireland; to 31st March 1837 ...	38,500	0	0	20,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin; to the 31st March 1837	20,000	0	0	15,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the House of Industry in Dublin, the Lunatic Department, and the Four General Hospitals attached; to the 31st March 1837	20,000	0	0	10,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin; to the 31st March 1837	150	0	0	150	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Female Orphan House, Circular Road, Dublin; to the 31st March 1837	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Westmorland Lock Hospital; to the 31st March 1837...	2,500	0	0	2,000	0	0

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To defray the Expense of the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin; to the 31st March 1837	1,000	0	0	500	0	0
To defray the Expense of Dr. Stevens's Hospital in Dublin; to 31st March 1837 ..	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Fever Hospital and House of Recovery, Cork-street, Dublin; to 31st March 1837	3,800	0	0	3,800	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Hospital for Incurables; to the 31st March 1837 ...	500	0	0	500	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Roman Catholic College in Ireland; to the 31st March 1837	8,928	0	0	4,464	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Royal Irish Academy; to the 31st March 1837 ...	300	0	0	300	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Royal Hibernian Academy; to the 31st March 1837 ...	300	0	0	300	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution; to the 31st March 1837	2,375	0	0	875	0	0
In aid of the Expenditure of the Royal Dublin Society; to the 31st March 1837 ...	5,300	0	0	3,000	0	0
To enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to issue, in the year 1836, Money for the completion of the Buildings and Fittings at Tyrone House, in the City of Dublin, which has been purchased and repaired as a Model School, and for Training of Teachers under the Direction of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland	11,653	0	0	—		
To defray the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests in Ireland; to 31st March 1837	700	0	0	700	0	0
To defray the Expense of repairing and maintaining the several Public Grounds and Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland in the year 1836	12,800	0	0	—		
To defray the Salaries and Expenses of the offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and His Majesty's Privy Council Office in Ireland, and of Printing for the Public Offices in Ireland; to the 31st March 1837	22,472	0	0	14,474	18	9
To defray the Charge of the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and certain other Officers, and Services formerly charged on the Civil List in Ireland; to 31st March 1837	12,406	0	0	8,433	4	7
To defray the Charge of the Establishments of the Vice Treasurer and Teller of the Ex-						

SERVICES—*continued.*				SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
chequer in Ireland, to the 31st March 1837				6,897	0	0	4,087	10	4
To defray the Expense of publishing Proclamations and Printing the Statutes in Ireland; to 31st March 1837				5,500	0	0	4,756	17	3
To defray the Expense of Non-conforming, Seceding and Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland; to the 31st March 1837				25,579	0	0	12,789	10	0
To defray the Charge of Criminal Prosecutions, and other Law Charges in Ireland: to the 31st March 1837				65,000	0	0	35,684	2	6
In aid of the Funds for the Maintenance of the Police Establishment of Dublin; to the 31st March 1837				17,900	0	0	12,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of Public Works in Ireland; to the 31st March 1837 ...				3,140	0	0	1,100	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Townland Survey of Ireland; to 31st March 1837 ...				7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
To defray the Charge for Repairs to Dunmore Harbour; to the 31st March 1837 ...				527	0	0	—		
To defray the Expenses incurred by Clerks of the Peace in Ireland in carrying into effect the Provisions of the Act for amending the Representation of the People of Ireland ...				6,000	0	0	5,107	3	8
			£	14,652,572	18	1	8,604,797	7	8
	£.	s.	d.						
To pay off and discharge any Exchequer Bills charged on the Aids or Supplies of the Year 1835 or 1836 ...	28,521,550	0	0						
To pay off and discharge Exchequer Bills issued pursuant to several Acts for carrying on Public Works, and for the Relief of Persons who have sustained Losses in the West Indies, outstanding and unprovided for	486,400	0	0						
				29,007,950	0	0	28,803,600	0	0
			£	43,660,522	18	1	37,408,397	7	8

PAYMENTS FOR OTHER SERVICES,

Not being part of the Supplies granted for the Service of the Year.

	Sums Paid to 5th January 1837.			Further Payments.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Expenses in the Office of the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, pursuant to Acts 57 Geo. 3, c. 34 and 124, and 3 Geo. 4, c. 86	2,000	0	0	—		
Expenses in the Office of the Commissioners for building additional Churches, per Act 58 Geo. 3, c. 45	3,000	0	0	—		
Interest on Exchequer Bills	679,895	5	7	—		
Bank of England, more than the sum received from them to make up their balance on account of unclaimed Dividends	68,202	4	1	1,547	3	3
	753,097	9	8	1,547	3	3
				753,097	9	8
TOTAL Payments for Services not Voted ..	...			754,644	12	11
TOTAL Grants	...			43,660,522	18	1
TOTAL Grants and Payments for Services not voted	...		£	44,415,167	11	0

WAYS AND MEANS

for answering the foregoing Services:

	£.	s.	d.
Sum to be brought from Consolidated Fund, per Act 6 Will. 4, c. 18	8,000,000	0	0
- - - - Ditto - - - - 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 98 ...	4,000,000	0	0
East India Company Money, per Act 6 Will. 4, c. 1	60,000	0	0
Duty on Sugar, per Act 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 26	3,000,000	0	0
Repayment by the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries in the United Kingdom, and for the Relief of Persons in the West Indies ...	483,385	0	7
Exchequer Bills voted in Ways and Means, 6 Will. 4, c. 2 ... £15,000,000 0 0			
Ditto ... 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 113 14,007,950 0 0			
	29,007,950	0	0
TOTAL Ways and Means	44,551,335	0	7
TOTAL Grants and Payments for Services not Voted ...	44,415,167	11	0
Surplus Ways and Means ... £	136,167	9	7

UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the Unfunded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Demands outstanding on 5th January, 1837.

—	Provided. £. s. d.	Unprovided. £. s. d.	TOTAL. £. s. d.
Exchequer Bills	- - -	28,155,150 - -	28,155,150 - -
Sums remaining unpaid, charged upon Aids granted by Parliament	6,253,365 12 5	- - -	6,253,365 12 5
Advances made out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland towards the Supplies which are to be repaid to the Consolidated Fund out of the Ways and Means in Great Britain	96,028 14 0	- - -	96,028 14 -
Total Unfunded Debt, and Demands outstanding	6,349,394 6 5	28,155,150 - -	34,504,544 6 5
Ways and Means	7,319,881 15 5¾		
Surplus of Ways and Means	970,487 9 0¾		
Exchequer Bills to be issued to complete the Charge upon the Consolidated Fund at 5th January 1837	- - -	5,236,021 13 10	5,236,021 13 10

PUBLIC

Of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, and the DEBT.

	1. CAPITALS.			2. CAPITALS transferred to the Commissioners.			3. CAPITALS UNREDEEMED.		
GREAT BRITAIN.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Debt due to the South Sea Company ..... at £.3 per cent	3,662,784	8	6½	-	-	-	3,662,784	8	6½
Old South Sea Annuities ..... Do.	3,497,870	2	7	-	-	-	3,497,870	2	7
New South Sea Annuities ..... Do.	2,460,830	2	10	-	-	-	2,460,830	2	10
South Sea Annuities, 1751 ..... Do.	523,100	0	0	-	-	-	523,100	0	0
Debt due to the Bank of England Do.	11,015,100	0	0	-	-	-	11,015,100	0	0
Bank Annuities, created in 1726.. Do.	826,636	0	0	1,373	4	6	825,262	15	6
Consolidated Annuities..... Do.	357,960,903	3	8¼	794,585	18	9	357,166,317	4	11¼
Reduced Annuities..... Do.	126,115,262	9	9	973,775	13	4	125,141,486	16	5
Total at £.3 per cent..	506,062,486	7	4¾	1,769,734	16	7	504,292,751	10	9¾
Annuities .. .. at £.3½ per cent. 1818..	10,727,622	15	1	2,390	5	8	10,725,232	9	5
Reduced 3½ per cent Annuities	66,298,818	13	9	25,497	18	4	66,273,320	15	5
New 3½ per cent Annuities	146,237,360	3	8	7,677	19	0	146,229,682	4	8
New £.5 per cent Annuities	438,240	13	4	-	-	-	438,240	13	4
Great Britain.....	729,764,528	13	2¾	1,805,300	19	7	727,959,227	13	7¾
IN IRELAND.									
Irish Consolidated £.3 per cent Annuities.	3,004,253	19	7	-	-	-	3,004,253	19	7
Irish Reduced £.3 per cent Annuities	162,882	8	1	-	-	-	162,882	8	1
£.3½ per cent Debentures and Stock	14,757,160	15	9	-	-	-	14,757,160	15	9
Reduced £.3½ per cent Annuities	1,045,712	7	0	-	-	-	1,045,712	7	0
New 3½ per cent Annuities	11,855,903	9	1	-	-	-	11,855,903	9	1
Debt due to the Bank of Ireland, at £.4 per cent	1,615,384	12	4	-	-	-	1,615,384	12	4
New £.5 per cent Annuities	6,661	1	0	-	-	-	6,661	1	0
Debt due to the Bank of Ireland, at £.5 per cent	1,015,384	12	4	-	-	-	1,015,384	12	4
Ireland.....	33,463,343	5	2	-	-	-	33,463,343	5	2
Total, United Kingdom.....	763,227,871	18	4¾	1,805,300	19	7	761,422,570	18	9¾

ABSTRACT.

*(*** Shillings and Pence omitted.)*

	CAPITALS.	CAPITALS transferred to the Commissioners	CAPITALS unredeemed.	ANNUAL CHARGE.		
				Due to the Public Creditor	Management.	TOTAL.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Great Britain ..	729,764,528	1,805,300	727,959,227	27,190,459	157,120	27,347,580
Ireland	33,463,343	—	33,463,343	1,185,612	—	1,185,612
Total	763,227,871	*1,805,300	761,422,570	28,376,071	157,120	28,533,192

	£.	s.	d.
* On account of Donations and Bequests	234,617	19	0
Do. of Stock unclaimed 10 years or upwards	293,206	16	3
Do. of Unclaimed Dividends	849,200	0	0
	1,377,024	15	3
Do. of Land Tax, Schedule C. D. 1 and D. 2.	428,276	4	4
Total Stock transferred to and standing in the Names of the Commissioners on the 5th Januaary 1837.....	1,805,300	19	7

DEFERRED ANNUITIES OUTSTANDING.

	£.	s.	d.
Deferred Life Annuities, per 10 Geo. 4, c. 24 and 3 Will. 4, c. 14.....	4,222	19	0
Deferred Annuities for terms of years, per do.	105	0	0
	5,045	19	0

FUNDED DEBT.

CHARGE thereupon, at the 5th January, 1837.

CHARGE.

		IN GREAT BRITAIN. £.	s.	d.	IN IRELAND. £.	s.	d.	TOTAL ANNUAL CHARGE. £.	s.	d.
Due to the Public Creditor. Payable at the National Debt Office.	Annual Interest on Unredeemed Capital	22,963,682	16	4¾	1,178,788	18	9			
	Long Annuities, expire 1860	1,294,586	6	10	—					
	Annuities per 4 Geo. 4, c. 22, do. 1867	585,740	0	0	—					
	Annuities per 10 Geo. 4, c. 24, and 3 Will. 4 c. 14, expire at various periods	1,402,363	18	6	—					
	Annuities to the Trustees of the Waterloo Subscription Fund, per 59 Geo. 3, c. 34, expire 5th July, 1837	2,900	0	0	—					
	Life Annuities per 48 Geo. 3, c. 142, and 10 Geo. 4, c. 24, and 3 Will. 4, c. 14	874,232	4	6	—					
	Tontines and other Life Annuities per various Acts — English	19,875	12	10¼	—					
	Tontines and other Life Annuities per various Acts — Irish	34,230	8	7	6,823	7	3			
		27,177,611	7	8½	1,185,612	6	0			
Annual Interest on Stock transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, towards the Redemption of Land Tax, under Schedule C. D 1, and D. 2, per 53 Geo. 3, c. 123		12,848	5	8¾	—					
Management		157,120	14	10¾	—					
Total Annual Charge		27,347,580	8	3½	1,185,612	6	0	28,533,192	14	3½

The Act 10 Geo. IV. c. 27, which came into operation at the 5th July, 1829, enacts, That the Sum thenceforth annually applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt of the United Kingdom, shall be the Sum which shall appear to be the amount of the whole actual annual surplus Revenue, beyond the Expenditure of the said United Kingdom; And the following Sums have been accordingly received by the Commissioners to be applied to the reduction of the said Debt, including Sums on account of Donations and Bequests, viz.:—

ON ACCOUNT OF

	The Sinking Fund. £.	s.	d.	Donations and Bequests. £.	s.	d.
Applicable between						
5th April and 5th July, 1836	405,235	1	2	229	10	4
5th July and 10th October, 1836	344,243	3	8	4,241	15	5
10th October, 1836, and 5th January, 1837	449,000	15	7	256	3	5
5th January and 5th April, 1837	678,052	17	8	3,258	13	11
£	1,876,531	18	1	7,986	3	1

TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

An Account of the Value of the Imports into, and of the Exports from, the United Kingdom, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th of January 1837:—Also, the amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into the United Kingdom.	VALUE OF EXPORTS from the UNITED KINGDOM.			VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.	TOTAL EXPORTS.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1835.....	49,362,811	73,831,551	11,562,037	85,393,587	41,649,191
1836.....	48,911,543	78,376,732	12,797,724	91,174,456	47,372,270
1837.....	57,230,968	85,229,837	12,391,712	97,621,549	53,368,572

TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH FOREIGN PARTS.

An Account of the Value of the Imports into, and of the Exports from Great Britain, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th of January 1837: exclusive of the Trade with Ireland—Also, the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into Great Britain.	VALUE OF EXPORTS from GREAT BRITAIN.			VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	TOTAL EXPORTS.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1835...	47,908,931	73,495,536	11,549,913	85,045,448	41,286,594
1836.....	47,463,610	77,932,616	12,783,802	90,716,418	46,926,370
1837.....	55,733,419	84,883,276	12,384,538	97,267,814	53,015,431

NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NEW VESSELS BUILT.—Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, that were built and registered in the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, in the Years ending the 5th January 1835, 1836, and 1837 respectively.

—	Year ending 5th Jan. 1835.		Year ending 5th Jan. 1836.		Year ending 5th Jan. 1837.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom	780	100,367	860	116,635	679	86,509
Isles Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	26	2,343	56	5,087	30	3,127
British Plantations	425	55,817	455	63,230	376	49,976
TOTAL	1,231	158,527	1,371	184,952	1,085	139,612

Note.—The Account rendered for the Plantations for the year ending 5th January 1836, is now corrected; and as several Returns for that part of the empire are not yet received for the last year, a similar correction will be necessary when the next Account is made up.

VESSELS REGISTERED.—An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS usually employed in Navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, on the 31st of December, in the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836, respectively.

—	On 31st Dec. 1834.			On 31st Dec. 1835.			On 31st Dec. 1836.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom	19,447	2,274,702	138,265	19,737	2,320,667	139,151	19,823	2,312,846	138,136
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey,& Man	528	37,653	3,761	563	39,636	3,958	565	36,903	3,995
British Plantations	5,080	403,745	26,035	5,211	423,458	27,911	5,432	442,897	28,506
TOTAL	25,055	2,716,100	168,061	25,511	2,783,761	171,020	25,820	2,792,646	170,637

NAVIGATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

New Vessels Built.

	Year ending 5th Jan. 1835.		Year ending 5th Jan. 1836.		Year ending 5th Jan. 1837.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
England	592	80,551	665	92,853	541	71,489
Scotland	151	17,311	156	21,261	116	13,103
Isle of Guernsey	2	167	6	714	9	744
— Jersey	6	842	16	1,981	8	683
— Man	18	1,334	34	2,392	13	1,700
British Plantations	425	55,817	455	63,230	376	49,976
Total	1,194	156,022	1,332	182,431	1,063	137,695

Vessels Registered.

	On the 31st December 1834.			On the 31st December 1835.			On the 31st December 1836,		
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Vessels.	Tonnage	Men.
England	14,620	1,831,074	105,198	14,823	1,853,112	105,945	14,949	1,859,726	105,221
Scotland	3,291	324,230	23,336	3,287	335,820	23,924	3,239	324,651	23,726
Isle of Guernsey	77	9,309	650	78	9,186	638	87	9,494	675
— Jersey	231	21,861	1,975	243	23,221	2,023	235	20,826	2,034
— Man	220	6,483	1,316	242	7,229	1,297	243	6,583	1,286
British Plantations	5,080	403,745	26,035	5,211	423,458	27,911	5,432	442,897	28,506
Total	23,519	2,596,702	158,330	23,884	2,652,026	161,738	24,185	2,644,177	161,448

SAVINGS BANKS.

Summary of the Number of Depositors and Amount of Deposits as they existed on the 20th of November, 1836, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, compared with the Numbers and Amounts on the 20th November, 1835.

	ENGLAND.			WALES.			SCOTLAND.			IRELAND.			TOTAL.		
	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount invested by each Depositor.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount invested by each Depositor.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount invested by each Depositor.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount invested by each Depositor.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Investments.	Average Amount invested by each Depositor.
		£.	£.		£.	£.		£.	£.		£.	£.		£.	£.
Not exceeding £20	268,080	1,863,156	7	6,462	50,557	8	5,433	27,984	5	29,809	219,444	7	309,784	2,161,141	7
,, ,, 50	141,899	4,356,566	31	4,116	125,085	30	1,178	32,645	28	23,664	722,516	31	170,857	5,236,842	31
,, ,, 100	61,456	4,210,190	69	1,488	102,187	70	1	70	70	7,273	483,862	67	70,218	4,796,309	68
,, ,, 150	20,699	2,487,936	120	411	48,076	117	..	..	..	1,676	199,112	119	22,786	2,735,124	120
,, ,, 200	11,213	1,906,225	170	207	34,727	167	..	..	..	669	113,206	169	12,089	2,054,158	170
Above 200	2,926	728,810	249	59	13,966	237	..	..	..	92	21,790	237	3,077	764,566	248
Total 20th Nov. 1836	506,273	15,552,883	31	12,743	374,598	29	6,612	60,699	9	63,183	1,759,960	28	588,811	17,748,140	30
,, ,, 1835	466,862	14,491,316	31	12,173	356,135	29.2	..	..	..	58,482	1,608,653	27.5	537,517	16,456,104	30.6
Number and Amount of Charitable Institutions	4,389	280,642	64	98	7,259	74	49	1,866	38	570	40,682	71	5,106	330,449	65
,, Friendly Societies	4,782	658,424	138	269	40,728	151	92	11,521	125	266	16,622	63	5,409	727,295	134
Total	..	30,983,265	..	25,283	778,720	..	6,753	73,086	..	122,501	3,425,917	..	1,136,843	35,261,988	..

Statement of the LIABILITIES and ASSETS of the BANK of ENGLAND, from the *London Gazette*, exhibiting the Average Amount under each Head, from October, 1836, to October, 1837.

Quarter ending	LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.		
	Circulation.	Deposits.	Total.	Securities.	Bullion.	Total.
1836.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
October 18th ..	17,936,000	13,324,000	31,260,000	28,845,000	5,257,000	34,102,000
November 15th .	17,543,000	12,682,000	30,225,000	28,134,000	4,933,000	33,067,000
December 13th .	17,361,000	13,330,000	30,691,000	28,971,000	4,545,000	33,516,000
1837.						
January 10th ..	17,422,000	14,354,000	31,776,000	30,365,000	4,287,000	34,652,000
February 7th ..	17,868,000	14,230,000	32,098,000	31,085,000	4,032,000	35,117,000
March 7th	18,178,000	13,260,000	31,438,000	30,579,000	4,048,000	34,627,000
April 4th	18,432,000	11,192,000	29,624,000	28,843,000	4,071,000	32,914,000
May 2nd	18,480,000	10,472,000	28,952,000	28,017,000	4,190,000	32,207,000
May 30th	18,419,000	10,422,000	28,441,000	27,572,000	4,423,000	31,995,000
June 27th	18,202,000	10,424,000	28,626,000	26,932,000	4,750,000	31,682,000
July 25th	18,261,000	10,672,000	28,933,000	26,727,000	5,226,000	31,953,000
August 22nd....	18,462,000	11,005,000	29,467,000	26,717,000	5,754,000	32,471,000
September 19th .	18,814,000	11,093,000	29,907,000	26,605,000	6,303,000	32,908,000
October 17th ..	18,716,000	10,501,000	29,217,000	25,316,000	6,856,000	32,172,000

An Account of the Aggregate Amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales by PRIVATE BANKS, and by JOINT-STOCK BANKS and their BRANCHES, from the Returns published in the *London Gazette*.

Quarters Ending.	Private Banks.	Joint-Stock Banks.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
28th Dec. 1833	8,836,803	1,315,301	10,152,104
29th March 1834	8,733,400	1,458,427	10,191,827
28th June ,, ...	8,875,795	1,642,887	10,518,682
27th Sept. ,, ...	8,370,423	1,783,689	10,154,112
28th Dec. ,, ...	8,537,655	2,122,173	10,659,828
28th March 1835	8,231,206	2,188,954	10,420,160
27th June ,, ...	8,455,114	2,484,687	10,939,801
26th Sept. ,, ...	7,912,587	2,508,036	10,420,623
26th Dec. ,, ...	8334,863	2,799,551	11,134,414
26th March 1836	8,353,894	3,094,025	11,447,919
25th June ,, ...	8,614,132	3,588,064	12202,196
24th Sept. ,, ...	7,764,824	3,969,121	11,733,945
31st Dec. ,, ...	7,753,500	4,258,197	12,011,697
31st March 1837	7,275,784	3,755,279	11,031,063
30th June ,, ...	7,187,673	3,684,764	10,872,000
30th Sept. ,, ...	6,701,996	3,440,053	10,142,049

LIST OF THE GENERAL ACTS

Passed in the THIRD *Session of the* TWELFTH *Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland— VII Gul. IV. & I VICT.*

VII WILL. IV.

I. An Act to suspend for a limited Time the Operation of Two Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament, for registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages in *England*, and for Marriages in *England*.

II. An Act to amend an Act passed in the Seventh Year of His present Majesty, for consolidating and amending the Laws relating to the Presentment of Public Money by Grand Juries in *Ireland*.

III. An Act for transferring to the Commissioners of the Admiralty all Contracts, Bonds, and other Securities entered into with the Postmaster Geral in relation to the Packet Service.

IV. An Act to continue, until the First Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, the Powers of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities in *England* and *Wales*.

V. An Act for amending an Act of His late Majesty, for restricting the Punishment of Leasing-making, Sedition, and Blasphemy, in *Scotland*.

VI. An Act to apply the Sum of Two Millions to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

VII. An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

VIII. An Act for the Regulation of His Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on Shore.

IX. An Act to amend several Acts relating to the Royal Mint.

X. An Act to alter, amend, and continue for a certain Period, an Act for repealing certain Acts relating to the Removal of poor persons born in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and chargeable to Parishes in *England*, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof.

XI. An Act to apply the sum of Eight Millions, out of the Consolidated Fund, to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

XII. An Act to indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, and for extending the Time limited for those Purposes respectively until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight; and for the Relief of Clerks to Attornies and Solicitors in certain Cases.

XIII. An Act to amend the Acts for regulating the General Penitentiary at *Millbank*.

XIV. An Act to explain and amend Two Acts relating to trial by Jury in *Scotland*.

XV. An Act to discharge His Majesty's Manor and Demesne Lands at *Newark*, in the County of *Nottingham*, from any Costs of rebuilding or repairing *Trent* and *Markham* Bridges, and to charge the same on the other Hereditary Revenues of the Crown.

XVI. An Act for raising the Sum of Eleven Millions by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

XVII. An Act for carrying to the Consolidated Fund certain Monies paid into the Exchequer, and usually applied as a Part of the annual Aids and Supplies; and for cancelling Stock transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Redemption of Land Tax.

1° VICT.

XVIII. An Act for continuing until the First Day of *June* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, and to the End of the then Session of Parliament, the several Acts for regulating

the Turnpike Roads in *Great Britain*, which will expire with the present or with the next Session of Parliament.

XIX. An Act to empower the Recorder or other Person presiding in Quarter Sessions in Corporate Cities and Towns, and Justices of the Peace for Counties, Ridings, or Divisions, to divide their respective Courts in certain Cases.

XX. An Act for transferring and vesting the Royal Military Canal, Roads, Towing Paths, and the Ramparts, and other Works belonging thereto, and all Estates and Property taken and occupied for the same, in the Counties of *Kent* and *Sussex*, and also the Rates and Tolls arising therefrom, in the principal officers of His Majesty's Ordnance.

XXI. An Act to amend the Acts for the Extension and Promotion of Public Works in *Ireland*.

XXII. An Act to explain and amend Two Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament, for Marriages, and for registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages, in *England*.

XXIII. An Act to abolish the Punishment of the Pillory.

XXIV. An Act to explain and amend an Act of the Seventh Year of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, to provide for improving and rebuilding Shire Halls, County Halls, and other Buildings for holding the Assizes and Grand Sessions, and also Judges' Lodgings, throughout *England* and *Wales*.

XXV. An Act to make more effectual Provisions relating to the Police in the District of *Dublin* Metropolis.

XXVI. An Act for the Amendment of the Laws with respect to Wills.

XXVII. An Act for granting to Her Majesty, until the Fifth Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, certain Duties on Sugar imported into the United Kingdom, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

XXVIII. An Act to amend an Act of the Third and Fourth Years of his late Majesty, for the limitation of Actions and Suits relating to Real Property, and for simplifying the Remedies for trying the Rights thereto.

XXIX. An Act for enabling Her Majesty to grant the Rank of General Officers to Foreigners now bearing Her Majesty's Commission, and to permit the Enlistment of Foreigners under certain restrictions.

XXX. An Act to abolish certain Offices in the Superior Courts of Common Law, and to make Provision for a more effective and uniform Establishment of Officers in those Courts.

XXXI. An Act for continuing Military Commissions and Commissions in the Royal Marines in force otwithstanding the Demise of the Crown.

XXXII. An Act to repeal the several Laws relating to the Post Office.

XXXIII. An Act for the Management of the Post Office.

XXXIV. An Act for the Regulation of the Duties of Postage.

XXXV. An Act for regulating the sending and receiving of Letters and Packets by the Post free from the Duty of Postage.

XXXVI. An Act for consolidating the Laws relative to Offences against the Post Office of the United Kingdom, and for regulating the judicial Administration of the Post Office Laws, and for explaining certain Terms and Expressions employed in those Laws.

XXXVII. An Act to continue until the First Day of *July* in the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act for the more effectual Administration of the Office of a Justice of the Peace in and near the Metropolis.

XXXVIII. An Act for raising the Sum of Thirteen millions six hundred and twenty-three thousand three hundred Pounds by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

XXXIX. An Act to interpret the Words "Sheriff," "Sheriff Clerk," "Shire," "Sheriffdom," and "County," occurring in Acts of Parliament relating to *Scotland*.

XL. An Act to continue an Act of the Fifty-fourth Year of His Majesty King *George* the Third, for rendering the Payment of Creditors more equal and expeditious in *Scotland*, until the First Day of *May* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and from thence to the end of the then next Session of Parliament.

XLI. An Act for the more effectual recovery of small Debts in the Sheriff Courts, and for regulating the Establishment of Circuit Courts for the

Trial of Small Debt Causes by the Sheriffs, in *Scotland*.

XLII. An Act to continue until the Thirty-first Day of *December* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act of the Ninth Year of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, for the Administration of Justice in *New South Wales* and *Van Dieman's Land*.

XLIII. An Act to amend the Laws for the recovery of Small Debts by Civil Bill in *Ireland*.

XLIV. An Act to provide for the Costs of Prosecutions for concealing the Birth of Children by secret burying or otherwise disposing of their Dead Bodies.

XLV. An Act to alter the Mode of giving Notices for the holding of Vestries, of making Proclamations in Cases of Outlawry, and of giving Notices on *Sundays* with respect to various Matters.

XLVI. An Act to vest the Rolls Estate in Her Majesty, and to provide for the future Payment of the Salary of the Master of the Rolls and the Expenses of the Rolls Chapel.

XLVII. An Act to repeal the Prohibition of the Payment of the Salaries and Allowances of the *East India* Company's Officers during their absence from their respective Stations in *India*.

XLVIII. An Act to appoint a Second Commissioner of Bankrupt in *Ireland*; and to amend an Act passed in the Sixth and Seventh Years of the reign of his late Majesty King *William* the Fourth, intituled, *An Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts in* Ireland.

XLIX. An Act to amend certain Laws of Excise relating to the Duties on Malt made in the United Kingdom.

L. An Act to facilitate the Conveyance of Lands and Buildings for the Purposes of Two Acts passed respectively in the Fifth and Sixth Years of his late Majesty King *William* the Fourth.

LI. An Act to authorize a further Issue of Exchequer Bills for Public Works and Fisheries and Employment of the Poor, and to amend the Acts relating thereto.

LII. An Act to suspend to the End of the next Session of Parliament the making of Lists and the Ballots and Enrolments for the Militia of the United Kingdom.

LIII. An Act to explain and amend an Act of the Sixth and Seventh Years of His late Majesty, for extinguishing the Secular Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Ely* in certain Liberties in the counties of *York*, *Nottingham*, and *Cambridge*.

LIV. An Act to provide more effectual Means to make Treasurers of Counties and Counties of Cities in *Ireland* account for Public Monies, and to secure the same.

LV. An Act for better regulating the Fees payable to Sheriffs upon the Execution of Civil Process.

LVI. An Act for amending the several Acts for the Regulation of Attornies and Solicitors.

LVII. An Act to impose certain Duties of Excise on Sugar made from Beet Root in the United Kingdom.

LVIII. An Act to revive and continue, until the Sixth Day of *April* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, an Act of the last Session of Parliament, for suspending Proceedings for recovering Payment of the Money advanced under the Acts for establishing Tithe Compositions in *Ireland*.

LIX. An Act to postpone until the First Day of *January* One thousand eight hundred and Thirty-nine, the Repayment of certain Sums advanced by the Bank of *Ireland* for the Public Service.

LX. An Act for correcting mistaken References to his late Majesty in Acts of this Session of Parliament.

LXI. An Act to extend an Exemption granted by an Act of the last Session of Parliament from the Duties of Assessed Taxes, in respect of certain Carriages with less than Four Wheels, and to amend the Laws relating to the said Duties.

LXII. An Act to authorize her Majesty, until Six Months after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament, to carry into immediate Execution, by Orders in Council, any Treaties, Conventions, or Stipulations made with any Foreign Power or State for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

LXIII. An Act to defray the Charge of the Pay, Clothing, and contingent and other Expenses of the Disembodied Militia in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; and to grant Allowances in certain Cases to Subaltern Officers, Adjutants,

Paymasters, Quartermasters, Surgeons, Assistant Surgeons, Surgeons Mates, and Serjeant Majors of the Militia, until the First Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred & thirty-eight.

LXIV. An Act for regulating the Coroners of the County of *Durham*.

LXV. An Act to render valid certain Acts done in the Performance of Duties in the Court of Exchequer in *Scotland* by the Lord Ordinary on the Bills in the Court of Session, and for the better Regulation of the said Court of Exchequer.

LXVI. An Act to extend to *Ireland* the Act of the Fifth and Sixth Years of his late Majesty's Reign consolidating and amending the Laws relating to the cruel and improper Treatment of Animals.

LXVII. An Act to amend an Act of the Fifth Year of his Majesty King *George* the Fourth, for consolidating and amending the Laws relative to the Arbitration of Disputes between Masters and Workmen.

LXVIII. An Act to provide for Payment of the Expenses of holding Coroner's Inquests.

LXIX. An Act to amend an Act for the Commutation of Tithes in *England* and *Wales*.

LXX. An Act to authorize the Commissioners for the Affairs of *India* and the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company to suspend the subsisting Enactments concerning the Fourfold System of Nomination of Candidates for the *East India* Company's College at *Haileybury*, and for providing during such suspension for the Examination of Candidates for the said College.

LXXI. An Act to continue until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and to the End of the then Session of Parliament, two Acts of the last Session of Parliament for suspending Appointments to certain Dignities and Offices in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, and to Sinecure Rectories, and for preventing the immediate Effects on Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions of the Measures in progress for the Alteration of Dioceses.

LXXII. An Act to provide for the Appointment of Lords Justices in the Case of the next Successor to the Crown being out of the Realm at the Time of the Demise of Her Majesty.

LXXIII. An Act for better enabling Her Majesty to confer certain Powers and Immunities on trading and other Companies.

LXXIV. An Act to restrain the Alienation of Corporate Property in certain Towns in *Ireland*.

LXXV. An Act to prolong for Ten Years Her Majesty's Commission for building new Churches.

LXXVI. An Act to impose Rates of Packet Postage on *East India* Letters, and to amend certain Acts relating to the Post Office.

LXXVII. An Act to assimilate the Practice of the Central Criminal Court to other Courts of Criminal Judicature within the Kingdom of *England* and *Wales*, with respect to Offenders liable to the Punishment of Death.

LXXVIII. An Act to amend an Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in *England* and *Wales*.

LXXIX. An Act to apply the Sum of Five millions two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds out of the Consolidated Fund to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

LXXX. An Act to exempt certain Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes from the Operation of the Laws relating to Usury.

LXXXI. An Act to provide for the levying of rates in Boroughs and Towns having Municipal Corporations in *England* and *Wales*.

LXXXII. An Act to amend the Law relating to Grand Juries in *Ireland*, so far as to empower the Grand Jury of the County of *Fermanagh* to reconstruct the Baronial Subdivisions of the said County.

LXXXIII. An Act to compel Clerks of the Peace for Counties and other Persons to take the Custody of such documents as shall be directed to be deposited with them under the Standing Orders of either House of Parliament.

LXXXIV. An Act to abolish the Punishment of Death in Cases of Forgery.

LXXXV. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Offences against the Person.

LXXXVI. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Burglary and Stealing in a Dwelling-house.

LXXXVII. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Robbery and Stealing from the Person.

LXXXVIII. An Act to amend certain Acts relating to the Crime of Piracy.

LXXXIX. An Act to amend the Laws relating to burning or destroying buildings and Ships.

XC. An Act to amend the Law relative to Offences punishable by Transportation for Life.

XCI. An Act for abolishing the Punishment of Death in certain Cases.

LOCAL AND PERSONAL ACTS,

Declared Public, and to be judicially noticed.

i. AN Act to enable the Corporation of *Leicester* to apply the Proceeds of their Real Estates in payment of Money borrowed for the Purchase and Enlargement of the Gaol and House of Correction for the Borough of *Leicester*.

ii. An Act for maintaining the Causeway and Turnpike Road from *Grigg's Quay* in the Parish of *Uly Lelant*, over *Hayle* River and Sands, and through *Hayle Foundry*, in the County of *Cornwall*, and for extending the said Turnpike Road from the Western End of the said Causeway towards *Penzance*.

iii. An Act to amend and enlarge the Powers of an Act passed in the First and Second Years of His present Majesty, for erecting a County Hall and Courts of Justice, and also for providing Accommodation for His Majesty's Justices of Assize in and for the County of *Worcester*.

iv. An Act for lighting with Gas the Town of *Runcorn* otherwise called *Higher Runcorn* and *Lower Runcorn*, and also the Township or Chapelry of *Halton*, both in the Parish of *Runcorn*, in the County of *Chester*.

v. An Act for making and maintaining a Turnpike Road along the South Side of the River *Dee* in the County of *Kincardine*.

vi. An Act for repairing, maintaining, and improving the Road from the Town of *Rochdale* to near *Hand Bridge*, near the Town of *Burnley* and other roads communicating therewith and for making and maintaining other roads also to communicate therewith, all in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*.

vii. An Act to extend the Powers and Provisions of an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, for the more easy and speedy recovery of Small Debts within the Borough of *Leicester*, to several other Towns, Parishes, and Places in the County of *Leicester*.

viii. An Act for the more easy and speedy recovering Small Debts within the Parish of *Hinckley* and other Places therein mentioned in the Counties of *Leicester* and *Warwick*.

ix. An Act for the more easy and speedy recovery of Small Debts within the Town of *Loughborough* and other Places therein mentioned, in the Counties of *Leicester* and *Nottingham*.

x. An Act for better paving, cleansing, lighting, watching, and improving the Town of *Whitby* in the North Riding of the County of *York*.

xi. An Act to enable the Company of Proprietors of the *Bridgewater* and *Taunton* Canal Navigation to continue the Line of the Canal below the Town of *Bridgewater*, and for varying the Powers of the several Acts relative to the said Canal.

xii. An Act to enable "The Licensed Victuallers and General Fire and Life Assurance Company," to sue and be sued in the Name of the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, or of any One of the Directors of the said Company, and for other purposes.

xiii. An Act for forming and regulating a Company to be called "The Patent Dry Gas Meter Company," and to enable the said Company to purchase certain Letters Patent.

xiv. An Act for making and maintaining certain Roads in the County of *Aberdeen*.

xv. An Act to enable the Duke of *Buccleuch* and *Queensberry* to make and maintain a pier at *Granton* in the parish of *Cramond*, and a Road therefrom to join the road leading from *Leith* to *Queensferry* in the County of *Edinburgh*.

xvi. An Act for more effectually repairing the Road from the Turnpike Road between *Gateshead* and *Hexham*, near *Lobly Hill* in the County of *Durham*, to *Butryford* in the Parish of *Stanhope* in the same County, together with several Branches therefrom.

xvii. An Act for amending an Act of His present Majesty, for repairing the Roads from *Sevenoaks Common* to *Woodsgate*, *Tunbridge Wells*, and *Kipping's Cross*, and from *Tunbridge Wells* to *Woodsgate*, in the County of *Kent*.

xviii. An Act for better paving, cleansing, lighting, and otherwise improving the Town of *Cardiff* in the County of *Glamorgan*.

xix. An Act for better lighting with Gas the Town of *Cardiff*, in the County of *Glamorgan*.

xx. An Act for better supplying with Water the Town and Borough of *Stadhope*, and Places adjacent thereto, in the Counties of *Northampton* and *Lincoln*.

xxi. An Act for making a Railway from *Sheffield* in the West Riding of the County of *York* to *Manchester* in the County of *Lancaster*.

xxii. An Act for making and maintaining a Railway from the Town of *Lancaster* to the Town of *Preston*, in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*.

xxiii. An Act to enable the North Midland Railway Company to alter the Line of the said Railway, and also to make Two Branches to communicate with the same.

xxiv. An Act for enabling the *Manchester* and *Leeds* Railway Company to vary the Line of such Railway, and for amending and enlarging the Powers and Provisions of the Act relating thereto.

xxv. An Act to enlarge and amend the Powers and Provisions of an Act relating to the *Whitby* and *Pickering* Railway in the North Riding of the County of *York*.

xxvi. An Act to amend an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, for making a Railway from *Birmingham* to *Gloucester*, to extend the Line of the said Railway, and to make Branches therefrom to the City of *Worcester* and the Town of *Tewkesbury*.

xxvii. An Act for enabling the *Liverpool* and *Manchester* Railway Company to raise more Money, and for amending and enlarging the Powers and Provisions of the several Acts relating to the said Railway.

xxviii. An Act to alter the Line of the *Preston* and *Wyre* Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

xxix. An Act for making and maintaining a Dock or Docks at *Wyre* in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*.

xxx. An Act for establishing a Company for the Purpose of laying out and maintaining an ornamental Park within the Townships of *Rusholme*, *Chorlton-upon-Medlock*, and *Moss-side*, in the County of *Lancaster*.

xxxi. An Act for building a Bridge over the River *Thames* from *Streatley* in the County of *Berks* to the opposite Shore in the Parish of *Goring* in the County of *Oxford*, and for making convenient Approaches thereto.

xxxii. An Act for continuing, altering, and amending, certain Acts for regulating the Police of the City of *Edinburgh* and the adjoining Districts, and for other purposes relating thereto.

xxxiii. An Act for widening and improving the Road from *Halifax* to *Sheffield* in the West Riding of the County of *York*, so far as relates to the Third District of the said Road; and for diverting the said District of Road, and making a new Line of Road therefrom.

xxxiv. An Act for improving and maintaining the Road from *Dryclough* through *Shaw*, *New Hay*, and *Milnrow*, to *Rochdale*, and other Roads in the County of *Lancaster*.

xxxv. An Act for more effectually repairing, improving, and maintaining certain Roads leading to and from the town of *Llanrust* in the county of *Denbigh*.

xxxvi. An Act for repairing, maintaining, and improving the Line of Road from *Leeds* to *Otley* in the West Riding of the County of *York*.

xxxvii. An Act for making and maintaining a Road from the Road leading from *Glasgow* to *Carntyne*, called *Duke Street*, to the East End of *Blackfriars Street* or *Regent Street* in the said City of *Glasgow*.

xxxviii. An Act for better maintaining the Road from *Gillow Hollow* in the Parish of *Biddulph* in the County of *Stafford* to the *Congleton* and *Leek* Turnpike Road, at *Park Lane* in the Township of *Congleton* in the County of *Chester*, with the Road therefrom at *Lick Lane* in the said Parish of *Biddulph*.

xxxix. An Act for further and more effectually repairing, amending, and maintaining, certain Roads in the County of *Roxburgh*, and other Roads connected therewith, leading into the

Counties of *Berwick, Northumberland* and *Durham.*

xl. An Act for more effectually improving the several Roads from *Newcastle-under-Lyme* to *Darlaston Bridge, Butt Lane,* and *Lindley Lane,* and through *Trent Vale* and *Stoke-uponTrent* to *Shelton Wharf,* all in the County of *Stafford.*

xli. An Act for maintaining, repairing, and amending Turnpike Roads from the Town of *Antrim* in the County of *Antrim* towards *Coleraine* in the County of *Londonderry.*

xlii. An Act for maintaining, repairing, and amending a Turnpike Road from *Belfast* to *Lisburne* by *Malone* and by the *Falls,* and Two Turnpike Roads leading from the *Falls Road* by *Dundrod* and *Castlerobin* respectively to *Crumlin,* in the County of *Antrim.*

xliii. An Act for more effectually amending the Roads from *Manchester* in the County of *Lancaster* through *Oldham* to *Austerlands* in the County of *York,* and from *Oldham* to *Ashton-under-Lyne,* and from *Oldham* to *Rochdale,* and other Roads, and for making and maintaining new Lines to communicate therewith all in the said County of *Lancaster.*

xliv. An Act for making and maintaining a Turnpike Road from *Butterhouse Green* in the County of *Chester* to *Thornley Lane End* in the County of *Lancaster.*

xlv. An Act for amending Two several Acts of the Seventh and Tenth Years of His late Majesty King *George* the Fourth, for repairing the Road from *Ashborne* in the County of *Derby* to *Leek* in the County of *Stafford,* and from *Ryecroft Gate* upon *Rushton Common* to *Congleton* in the County of *Chester.*

xlvi. An Act for repairing and maintaining the Road leading from *Elland Bridge* in the Parish of *Halifax* into the *Dewsbury* and *Elland* Turnpike Road near the Obelisk in the Parish of *Dewsbury,* all in the West Riding of the County of *York.*

xlvii. An Act to enable the Managers of the *Sun* Life Assurance Society to appropriate any part of the Profits thereof for the Benefit of any persons who have already effected or may hereafter effect Policies of Assurance with the said Society.

xlviii. An Act to continue for a limited Term of Years the Acts relating to the Police of the City of *Glasgow;* to vest the Management of the Statute Labour Conversion Money of the said City in the Board of Police thereof; and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

xlix. An Act to continue for a limited Term of Years the Police Act for the Barony of *Gorbals* in the County of *Lanark,* and for other purposes relating thereto.

l. An Act to enlarge the Powers of an Act passed in the Third Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, intituled *An Act for making a Railway from* London *to* Greenwich.

li. An Act for constructing a Harbour, Dock or Docks, Piers, and other Works at *Trinity,* in the Parish of *North Leith* and County of *Edinburgh.*

lii. An Act for better supplying with Water the Town and Borough of *Swansea* in the County of *Glamorgan.*

liii. An Act for making a Canal from the *Stourbridge* Navigation near *Brockmoor* in the Parish of *Kingswinford* in the County of *Stafford* to the *Oak Farm Colliery,* with a Branch to the *Standhills,* both in the said Parish of *Kingswinford* and County of *Stafford.*

liv. An Act for making and maintaining certain Reservoirs in the several Townships of *Holme, Cartworth, Austonley, Upperthong, Wooldale,* and *Hepworth,* in the several Parishes of *Kirkburton* and *Almondbury* in the West Riding of the County of *York.*

lv. An Act for better supplying with Water the Town of *Wakefield* and the Neighbourhood thereof in the West Riding of the County of *York.*

lvi. An Act to alter and amend an Act of the last Session of Parliament, intituled *An Act for making and maintaining a Pier, Wharf and other Works at* Greenwich *in the County of* Kent; and to extend the Powers of the said Act.

lvii. An Act for more effectually draining of certain Fen Lands and Low Grounds in the Honor, Manor, and Parish of *Wormegay* in the County of *Norfolk,* and other Lands and Grounds which are now drained by means of or through a certain Drain called "*Polver* Drain" in the said County.

lviii. An Act for removing the Markets held in the City of *Worcester* in the County of *Worcester* for the Sale of

Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Pigs, and for providing another Market Place in lieu thereof, and for providing for the better and more effectual draining of the said City.

lix. An Act to alter and amend an Act of the Sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, for opening certain Streets in the Burgh of *Dundee*, and for otherwise improving the said Burgh.

lx. An Act for building a Bridge over the River *Tweed* at or near to *Mertoun Mill* in the County of *Berwick*, and for making Avenues and Approaches thereto.

lxi. An Act for the uniform Valuation of Lands and Tenements in the County of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, for the Purpose of levying the County Rates therein.

lxii. An Act for the Recovery of Small Debts within the Southern Division of the Hundred of *Roborough* and within the Hundred of *Plympton* in the County of *Devon* and within the Southern Division of the Hundred of *East* in the County of *Cornwall*.

1° VICT.

lxiii. An Act for making a Railway from the City of *Chester* to join "The Grand Junction Railway" near *Crewe Hall* in the County of *Chester*, to be called "The *Chester* and *Crewe* Railway."

lxiv. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *London* and *Birmingham* Railway.

lxv. An Act to rectify a Mistake in an Act of the last Session of Parliament for making a Railway from the *London* and *Birmingham* Railway near *Birmingham* to *Derby*, to be called the *Birmingham* and *Derby* Junction Railway, with a Branch.

lxvi. An Act to enable the *Leicester* and *Swannington* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money.

lxvii. An Act to enable the *Durham* and *Sunderland* Railway Company to alter a Part of the Main Line of their Railway, to abandon another Part thereof, to make other Branches therefrom; and to amend and enlarge the Powers of the Act for incorporating the said Company.

lxviii. An Act to alter the Line of the *York* and *North Midland* Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

lxix. An Act for making a Railway from *Manchester* to join the Grand Junction Railway in the Parish of *Chebsey* in the County of *Stafford*, to be called "The *Manchester* and *Birmingham* Railway," with certain Branches therefrom.

lxx. An Act to enable the *Taff Vale* Railway Company to alter the Line of the said Railway and the Act relating thereto, and to make additional Branches.

lxxi. An Act to alter the Line of the *London* and *Southampton* Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

lxxii. An Act for regulating and improving the Borough of *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*.

lxxiii. An Act to amend the several Acts for paving, lighting, cleansing, and otherwise improving the Town of *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolk*, and for removing and preventing Encroachments, Obstructions, and Annoyances therein.

lxxiv. An Act to amend an Act of the Forty-fifth Year of the Reign of King *George* the Third, for improving and rendering more commodious the Port of *Ipswich*, and for constructing a Wet Dock there.

lxxv. An Act for improving, enlarging, and maintaining, the Pier, Harbour, and Market of *Brixham* in the County of *Devon*, and for the Formation of a Breakwater in *Torbay*.

lxxvi. An Act for the Formation of a new Cut or Channel, and for otherwise more effectually improving the Port and Harbour of *Belfast*.

lxxvii. An Act for forming a Harbour in the Parish of *Warkworth* in the County of *Northumberland*, by improving the Navigation of the River *Coquet*, and for rendering the same safe and commodious, and easy of Access.

lxxviii. An Act for amending an Act of the Second Year of the Reign of his late Majesty, King *William* the Fourth and for granting further Rates and Powers for improving the Port of *Hartlepool* in the County of *Durham*.

lxxix. An Act for making and maintaining Reservoirs upon the tributary Streams of the River *Etherow* otherwise the *Mersey* in the Parish of *Glossop* in the County of *Derby*, for more effectually and regularly supplying with Water, the Mills, Manufactories, and Works on the said tributary Streams and River.

lxxx. An Act to amend and enlarge the Powers of the several Acts relating to the *Ellesmere* and *Chester* Canal.

lxxxi. An Act to raise and apply Funds for the future Maintenance and Repair of the Banks of the River *Ouze* between *Denver Sluice* and the *Eau Brink Cut* in the County of *Norfolk*.

lxxxii. An Act for better supplying with Water the Town and Neighbourhood of *Barnsley* in the West Riding of the County of *York*.

lxxxiii. An Act for the better supplying with Water the Town and Neighbourhood of *Leeds* in the West Riding of the County of *York*.

lxxxiv. An Act for granting more effectual Powers for the Regulation of the Court of Conscience within the City of *Bristol*.

lxxxv. An Act for removing and preventing Encroachments within the City and County of *Bristol*, and for better regulating the Shipping, Rivers, Wharfs, Backs, and Quays, and the Markets within the same; and for other Purposes.

lxxxvi. An Act for the better assessing and collecting certain Parochial and other Rates within the City and County of *Bristol*.

lxxxvii. An Act to enable the *Shropshire* and *North Wales* Assurance Company to sue and be sued in the Name of the Managing Director for the Time being, or of any One of the general or local Directors of the said Company.

lxxxviii. An Act for amending and enlarging the Provisions of an Act passed in the Fourth Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, intituled *An Act to encourage the working of Mines and Quarries in* Ireland, *and to regulate a Joint Stock Company for that Purpose, to be called "The* West Cork *Mining Company."*

lxxxix. An Act to enable *Edward Joshua Cooper* Esquire to establish and protect a Salmon Fishery upon the Lakes and Rivers of *Owenmore* and *Arrow*, and also within the Bay of *Ballisodare*, in the County of *Sligo*, in *Ireland*.

xc. An Act for draining, inclosing, dividing, and allotting certain Lands in the Parish of *Over*, in the County of *Cambridge*.

xci. An Act to alter the Line of the Great Western Railway, and to amend the Acts relating thereto.

xcii. An Act to enable the Great Western Railway Company to extend the Line of such Railway, and for other Purposes relating thereto.

xciii. An Act to alter and extend the Line of the South-eastern Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

xciv. An Act to alter, amend, and enlarge the Powers of an Act for making the *Slamannan* Railway, passed in the Sixth Year of His present Majesty, and to enable the *Slamannan* Railway Company to make and maintain a Branch to *Bathgate* in the County of *Linlithgow*.

xcv. An Act for making and maintaining a Railway to connect the Great North of *England*, *Clarence*, and *Hartlepool* Railways, in the County of *Durham*.

xcvi. An Act for making and maintaining a Railway from the Town of *Dundalk*, in the County of *Louth* to the town of *Ballibay* in the County of *Monaghan*.

xcvii. An Act to authorise the *Durham* Junction Railway Company to make a Branch Railway from the *Durham* Junction Railway, to be called "The *Houghton-le-Spring* Branch."

xcviii. An Act for altering, amending, improving, and extending the Provisions of certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Town of *Liverpool* in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*.

xcix. An Act for improving the Harbour of the Burgh of *Montrose* in the County of *Forfar*.

c. An Act for further extending the Time for completing the *Wishaw* and *Coltness* Railway in the County of *Lanark*.

ci. An Act for making a Railway from the Town and Port of *Maryport* to the Borough of *Carlisle*, to be called "The *Maryport* and *Carlisle* Railway."

cii. An Act to enable "The Great North of *England* Railway Company" to extend the Line of their Railway, and to make two Branches therefrom; and for other Purposes relating thereto.

ciii. An Act to alter, amend, explain, and enlarge the Powers of the several Acts for making and maintaining the *Clarence* Railway.

civ. An Act for making aud maintaining a Railway from the City of *Dublin* to the City of *Kilkenny*, to be called the Great *Leinster* and *Munster* Railway.

cv. An Act to enable the *Kilmarnock*

and *Troon* Railway Company to raise a farther Sum of Money; to alter and amend the Line of the said Railway; and for other Purposes relating thereto.

cvi. An Act to alter the Line of the *Dublin* and *Drogheda* Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

cvii. An Act for making a Railway from the City of *Chester* to *Birkenhead*.

cviii. An Act for making a Railway from the City of *Cork* to the Town of *Passage*.

cix. An Act for the better paving, lighting, watching, and cleansing the Burgh of *Dundee*, and for maintaining and regulating the Police of the same and Places adjacent, and other Purposes relating thereto.

cx. An Act for improving the Piers and Harbour of *Bridlington* in the East Riding of the County of *York*, and for rendering the same more safe and commodious as a Harbour of Refuge.

cxi. An Act to make and maintain a Canal from the *Forth* and *Clyde* Canal in the County of *Lanark* to *Campsie* Alum Works in the County of *Stirling*.

cxii. An Act for enabling the Directors of the *Manchester* Gas Works to purchase Land, Buildings, and Apparatus for the Extension of their Works.

cxiii. An Act to increase the Tonnage, Rates, and Duties granted by an Act passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Fourth, for improving the Outfall of the River *Welland* in the County of *Lincoln*, and to alter and enlarge the Powers of the said Act.

cxiv. An Act to alter and amend an Act of the Fourth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, for erecting, establishing, and maintaining a Market in the Parish of *Saint George the Martyr* in the Borough of *Southwark*.

cxv. An Act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of *Liverpool*, to open and widen certain streets and places in the Town of *Liverpool*, and otherwise to improve the same; and to enable the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses to appropriate Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments for Public Purposes, and also to erect Public Buildings.

cxvi. An Act for making and maintaining a Railway from *Glasgow* to *Greenock* by *Paisley* and *Port Glasgow* to be called "The *Glasgow*, *Paisley*, and *Greenock* Railway."

cxvii. An Act for making a Railway from *Glasgow* to *Paisley* and *Ayr*, and from a Point on the said Railway near *Blairland* to *Kilmarnock*, to be called "The *Glasgow*, *Paisley*, *Kilmarnock*, and *Ayr* Railway," with Branches.

cxviii. An Act to continue, for certain Purposes, the Powers of Two Acts for making and maintaining the *Pollock* and *Govan* Railway.

cxix. An Act for making a Railway from the *London* and *Croydon* Railway to *Brighton*, with Branches to *Shoreham*, *Newhaven*, and *Lewes*.

cxx. An Act to enable the *London* and *Greenwich* Railway Company to take certain Tolls for Passengers, Cattle, and Carriages crossing the River *Ravensborne*, in pursuance of an Agreement entered into with "The *Deptford Creek Bridge* Company."

cxxi. An Act for making a Railway from *Bolton le Moors* to *Preston* in the County Palatinate of *Lancaster*.

cxxii. An Act for incorporating certain Persons for the making and maintaining a Railway from near the *Black Boy* Branch of the *Stockton* and *Darlington* Railway in the Township of *Saint Andrew Auckland* to or near to *Witton Park* Colliery, with a Branch therefrom; all in the County of *Durham*, to be called "The *Bishop Auckland* and *Weardale* Railway.

cxxiii. An Act for making Wet Docks and other Works on the South Side of the River *Thames*, at or near *Rotherhithe* and *Deptford* in the Counties of *Surrey* and *Kent*, to be called "The Grand Collier Docks."

cxxiv. An Act for improving the Harbour and Port of *Fishguard*, otherwise *Abergwain* in the County of *Pembroke*.

cxxv. An Act to make and maintain a Canal in the County of *Lanark* from the *Monckland* Canal to the Lands of *Dunchatton* on the North Side of *Duke Street* of *Glasgow*.

cxxvi. An Act for supplying the Royal Burgh of *Dundee* and Suburbs thereof with Water.

cxxvii. An Act to extend, alter, and enlarge the Powers of several Acts for enabling the Commissioners of Wide Streets in *Dublin* to widen and improve certain Ways, Streets, and Passages in the said City and County of *Dublin*, and for raising further Funds to enable the said Commissioners to carry the same into execution.

cxxviii. An Act for providing a Market Place and Market at the Village of *Dowlais* in the Parish of *Merthyr Tydfil* in the County of *Glamorgan*.

cxxix. An Act for improving and regulating the Borough of *Stockport* in the several Counties of *Chester* and *Lancaster*.

cxxx. An Act for establishing a Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead Westward of the Metropolis, by a Company to be called "The West of *London* and *Westminster* Cemetery Company."

cxxxi. An Act for establishing a general Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead in or near the City of *Bristol*.

cxxxii. An Act for forming and regulating the *London* Caoutchouc Company, and to enable the said Company to purchase certain Letters Patent.

cxxxiii. An Act to amend the Act relating to the Commercial Railway Company.

PRICES OF STOCK in each Month in 1837,

Highest and Lowest.

	Bank Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduced	3 per Ct. Consols.	3½ per Ct. 1818.	3½ per Cts. red.	New 3½ per Cts.	Long Annuit.	Old S. S. Annuit.	S.S. Stock.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Ex. Bills £.1000.
January ..	210¾	92⅛	91⅜	100	99¾	99⅝	15⅜	88⅛	102¼	262	3 p.m.	26 p.m.
	204¼	87½	88⅞	97⅝	97¼	96½	14⅞	86⅞	100⅝	254¾	12 p.m.	20 p.m.
February ..	208	91	90½	98⅞	98⅞	98⅜	15⅛			207½	28 p.m.	32 p.m.
	207¼	89⅞	89½		98⅛	97⅛	14⅞				18 p.m.	21 p.m.
March	207	90¼	90⅝	99⅞	98¼	98⅝	16	88	101½	257	29 p.m.	29 p.m.
	206½	90	89⅜	98¼	97¾	97½	15	88		256½	23 p.m.	26 p.m.
April	205½	90	91	99	98⅜	99⅛	15	88¾	102¾	258¾	40 p.m.	41 p.m.
	204	89⅜	90⅛	97	97	98¼	14½	88⅛	102⅛	257	30 p.m.	31 p.m.
May	207	90½	91½	99	98⅛	99½	14⅞	88⅝	102⅝	260¾	32 p.m.	32 p.m.
	203¾	89½	90⅛	97½	97¼	98½	14½	87½	102	258	25 p.m.	26 p.m.
June	207½	90⅝	91⅛		98	99⅛	14⅝	87⅛		260½	34 p.m.	37 p.m.
	203½	89⅜	90¾		97⅛	98⅞	14½			259½	33 p.m.	32 p.m.
July	210	92⅜	91⅞	99⅞	99⅞	99½	14⅞	90¼	101 ¾	258¾	49 p.m.	49 p.m.
	208	90⅜	90⅝	99⅛	98⅛	97⅞	14⅝	89⅜	101¾	255½	34 p.m.	34 p.m.
August....	211	92⅝	92	101	100¼	100	15⅛		103⅛	259¾		50 p.m.
	210	92⅛	91½	100	99¾	99⅛	15		102⅜	258		48 p.m.
September.	211½	92½	92	99¾	100	99⅞	15⅛	90⅞	103⅝	260	52 p.m.	48 p.m.
	211	92	91¼		99¾	99⅛	15⅛	90⅛		259	46 p.m.	44 p.m.
October ..	210¾	92¼	93⅛	99⅞	100	101	14⅞	89¾	104¼	263	52 p.m.	51 p.m.
	208	91¼	91⅞	99⅞	98⅝	99¾	14¾	89⅝	103½	260	50 p.m.	49 p.m.
November .	213	92¾	93¾	100	100⅛	101½	15	91	104⅞	273½	54 p.m.	51 p.m.
	211	91⅞	92¾	99⅞	99½	100⅛	14⅞	90⅛	104⅛	263	30 p.m.	45 p.m.
December .	212	92½	93¾	99⅞	99⅞	101¼	14⅞	89½		270	28 p.m.	47 p.m.
	203¼	90⅝	93⅜	99¾	98⅛	101⅛	14¾			267	26 p.m.	46 p.m.

AVERAGE PRICES OF BRITISH CORN.

FROM THE RETURNS.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Rye.		Beans.		Peas.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January 21	50	4	35	1	24	9	42	5	42	0	41	0
February 18 ...	57	11	35	2	24	1	40	6	40	2	38	11
March 25.....	56	5	33	5	23	6	38	0	38	6	37	4
April 14	55	5	31	0	22	8	33	11	36	11	37	0
May 19	54	7	29	3	23	4	35	6	37	9	37	7
June 16	56	4	29	5	25	0	35	11	39	8	40	6
July 21.....	61	2	27	5	23	11	35	11	39	7	41	1
August 18	59	5	28	7	24	12	37	3	40	9	38	7
October 20.....	56	1	29	9	22	0	33	0	40	1	36	6
November 24...	54	4	30	11	21	1	31	6	36	10	35	7
December 22...	53	5	29	2	20	11	30	9	35	7	34	7

AVERAGE PRICES OF HAY, CLOVER, & STRAW ℔ LOAD.

January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.
3 17 to 5 0	3 17 to 4 0	3 10 to 4 15	4 5 to 5 0	4 6 to 5 0	4 0 to 5 0
Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.
4 3 to 5 0	5 5 to 6 0	5 5 to 6 0	5 5 to 6 0	4 0 to 6 6	5 0 to 6 5
Straw.	Straw.	Straw.	Straw.	Straw.	Straw.
1 14 to 1 17	2 6 to 2 10	2 6 to 2 10	2 6 to 2 8	2 0 to 2 4	2 0 to 2 4

July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.	Hay.
4 0 to 5 15	4 10 to 5 8	4 5 to 5 10	4 5 to 5 5	4 0 to 4 17	4 0 to 4 15
Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.	Clover.
4 10 to 6 10	5 12 to 5 18	6 0 to 6 5	5 5 to 6 0	4 0 to 5 15	4 5 to 5 15
Straw.	Straw.	Straw	Straw.	Straw.	Straw.
2 0 to 2 5	1 18 to 2 2	2 0 to 2 10	1 8 to 2 0	1 10 to 1 16	1 10 to 1 16

AVERAGE PRICES OF BUTCHER'S MEAT.

Average Prices per Stone of 8lb. in Smithfield Market, in 1837.

	Beef.				Mutton.				Veal.				Pork.				Lamb.			
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Jan.	4	0	to 4	4	4	2	to 5	4	4	4	to 5	0	4	6	to 5	0	0	0	to 0	0
Feb.	3	4	to 5	0	4	0	to 5	0	4	6	to 6	0	3	8	to 5	0	4	0	to 5	6
March ...	2	4	to 4	2	3	6	to 5	0	4	4	to 5	8	3	6	to 5	0	7	6	to 8	8
April	3	4	to 4	4	3	10	to 5	2	4	4	to 5	6	3	6	to 4	8	5	6	to 6	6
May	3	8	to 4	6	4	0	to 5	6	4	0	to 5	4	3	8	to 4	8	5	6	to 6	8
June	3	8	to 4	8	3	10	to 4	10	4	6	to 5	6	4	0	to 5	0	5	4	to 6	4
July	4	0	to 5	0	4	0	to 5	0	4	6	to 5	4	4	0	to 5	4	4	8	to 5	6
Aug.	3	4	to 4	6	3	6	to 5	0	4	2	to 5	6	3	10	to 5	2	4	10	to 5	8
Sept.	3	10	to 4	6	3	0	to 4	8	4	0	to 5	4	3	2	to 5	10	4	0	to 5	6
Oct.	3	0	to 4	0	3	4	to 4	4	4	8	to 5	2	4	6	to 5	4	0	0	to 0	0
Nov.	3	4	to 4	4	3	4	to 4	2	4	4	to 5	2	4	4	to 5	2	0	0	to 0	0
Dec.	2	4	to 4	6	3	0	to 4	6	4	0	to 5	0	3	4	to 5	2	0	0	to 0	0

BILLS OF MORTALITY, *from December* 20, 1836 *to December* 26, 1837.

Christened	Males.. 18,171 Females 17,887	36,058		Buried	Males.. 10,572 Females 10,391	20,963

Increase in the Number of Burials this year 2,733.

WHEREOF HAVE DIED,

Under two years of age	4994	Sixty and seventy	2256
Between two and five	2001	Seventy and eighty	1847
Five and ten	775	Eighty and ninety	692
Ten and twenty.....	752	Ninety and a hundred	81
Twenty and thirty	1551	One hundred	2
Thirty and forty	1926	One hundred and two	2
Forty and fifty	2194	One hundred and three	1
Fifty and sixty	2047	One hundred and eight.....	1

TABLE of the Number of BANKRUPTS & DECLARATIONS of INSOLVENCY.

	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Bankrupts.	Declarations of Insolvency.
January	117	6	7	130	18
February	140	8	7	155	44
March	151	10	7	168	11
April.....	148	5	10	163	15
May	181	5	9	195	14
June	146	10	6	162	18
July	112	6	13	131	13
August	110	5	6	121	6
September	77	6	10	93	6
October.....	90	5	6	101	9
November.....	103	12	8	123	13
December.....	114	3	9	126	15
			Total.....	1,668	182

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1837.

Month.	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Number of Rainy and Snowy Days.
	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	
	In. Pts.	In. Pts.			
January.	30·35	29·30	52	32	20
February	30·34	29·20	54	38	10
March..	30·34	29·30	48	32	5
April ..	30·30	29·38	61	35	14
May....	30·28	29·60	68	42	8
June ...	30·30	29·60	76	56	7
July....	30·30	29·30	82	61	11
August..	30·35	29·40	81	61	10
Septem.	30·30	29·10	72	54	9
October.	30·66	29·25	71	49	7
Novem.	30·40	28·87	57	39	7
Decem.	30·98	29·00	57	37	6

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

EXAMINATIONS. TERM—PASCHAL, 1837.

In Literis Humanioribus.

CLASSIS I.

Bode, John E. *Christ Church.*
Burrows, Henry W. *St. John's.*
Haddan, Thomas, H. *Brasen-nose.*
Holden, Henry, *Balliol.*
Nesbitt, Cosby T. *Brasen-nose.*
Sleap, Edward, *Brasen-nose.*
Woollcombe, Edward C. *Oriel.*

CLASSIS II.

Baker, Abraham W. *Trinity.*
Buddicom, Robert, J. *Brasen-nose.*
Fitzgerald, William R. S. *Oriel.*
Gray, Horace F. *Corpus.*
Hatsell, James, *Oriel.*
Malan, Salomon, C. *St. Edmund's Hall.*
Milman, Robert, *Exeter.*
Newton, Charles T. *Christ Church.*
Robin, Philip R. *Brasen-nose.*
Salmon, Edward, *Exeter.*
Sheppard, Thomas, H. *Oriel.*
Smith, Edward B. *Queen's.*
Street, Alfred, W. *Magdalen Hall.*
Whipman, Theodore, W. *Balliol.*

CLASSIS III.

Baker, Sir George, Bart. *Christ Church.*
Cooper, John, *Wadham.*
Elliott, James, *Merton.*
Fowler, John, C. *Pembroke.*
Homfray, Charles, J. *Oriel.*
Legard Digby, C. *University.*
Menzies, Frederick, *Brasen-nose.*
Pole, William E. *Christ Church.*
Roberts, David, *Jesus.*
Robertson, Eben. W. *Worcester.*
Robinson, George, *Balliol.*
Rudd, Leonard, *Pembroke.*
Ryder, Thomas, D. *Oriel.*
Scott, George, *Worcester.*
Skrine, Henry D. *Wadham.*
Tufnell, Edward, *Wadham.*
Whateley, Charles, *St. Mary's Hall.*

CLASSIS IV.

Bridges, Charles B. *Oriel.*
Brooke-Jones, Richard, *Wadham.*
Burgess, William J. *Exeter.*
Chater, John R. *Magdalen Hall.*
Courtenay, hon. Chas. L. *Christ Church*
Dick, Frederick, L. *St. John's.*
Dixon, Dickson J. *Brasen-nose.*
Domville, Charles, *Wadham.*
Ellman, Edward B. *Wadham.*
Gore, Henry J. *Merton.*
Hackman, Alfred, *Christ Church.*
Hardinge, John, *Worcester.*
Hawtayne, William, *Magdalen Hall.*
Heitland, Henry, *Wadham.*
Jerram, Samuel J. *Worcester.*
Milman, William, *Brasen-nose.*
Piggott, John D. *Merton.*
Ripley, William, *University.*
Sealy, Edward U. *Christ Church.*
Shortland, John R. *Oriel.*

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

CLASSIS. I.

Ellman, Edward, *Wadham.*
Haddan, Thomas, H. *Brasen-nose.*
Smith, Edward B. *Queen's.*

CLASSIS II.

Burrows, Henry, W. *St. John's.*
Cox, Algernon, *Christ Church.*

CLASSIS. III.

Fitzgerald, William, R. S. *Oriel.*
Michel, Henry E. *New College.*
Stanley, Richard, *Brasen-nose.*

CLASSIS IV.

Courtenay, hon. Chas. L. *Christ Church.*
Dunn, John M. *Exeter.*
Knollys, William, F. E. *Merton.*
Sladen, Edward, H. M. *Balliol.*
Sparling, John, *Oriel.*
Stokes, William H. *Wadham.*
Twemlow, Thomas F. *Christ Church.*
Whitaker, Charles, *Brasen-nose*
Wintle, Thomas, D. *Pembroke.*

Term, Michaelmas, 1837. *In Literis Humanioribus.*

Classis I.

Balston, Henry, *Magdalen.*
Cornish, Thos. B. *Trinity.*
Crauford, Robert G. *Magdalen Hall.*
Haddan, Arthur W. *Trinity.*
Highton, Henry, *Queen's.*
Hodson, James S. *Merton.*
Lonsdale, James G. *Balliol.*
Phinn, Thomas, *Exeter.*
Randolph, John J. *Christ Church.*
Ridley, William, H. *Christ Church.*
Ryle, John C. *Christ Church.*
Stanley, Arthur P. *Balliol.*

Classis II.

Bernard, Thomas D. *Exeter.*
Courthope, William, *Christ Church.*
Dickinson, William, *Trinity.*
Furneaux, William D. *Exeter.*
Hessey, Francis, *St. John's.*
Hickley, John G. *Trinity.*
Lewis, David, *Jesus.*
Michell, Rowland D. *Wadham.*
Paige, John B. *Exeter.*
Phillott, Henry W. *Christ Church.*
Simeon, John, *Christ Church.*
Wilson, Charles T. *Magdalen Hall.*
Winchester, William, *Christ Church.*

Classis III.

Coope, Henry G. *Christ Church.*
Formby, Henry, *Brasen-nose.*
Harrison, Michael E. *Corpus.*
Howard, hon. William, *Christ Church.*
Lennard, Thomas B. *Merton.*
Lonsdale, William, *Oriel.*
Riddle, John B. *Wadham.*
Smith, George, *Magdalen Hall.*
Smith, Jeremiah F. *Brasen-nose.*
Stavordale, Lord, *Christ Church.*
St. John, Ambrose, *Christ Church.*
Twist, Joseph W. *Queen's.*
Witts, Edward F. *Magdalen Hall.*
Wrottesley, Edward J. *University.*

Classis IV.

Adair, Thomas B. *Exeter.*
Atty, George, *Lincoln.*
Burney, Charles, *Magdalen.*
Butt, George, *Christ Church.*
Child, George F. *Christ Church.*
Clarke, Charles, *Trinity.*
Collins, George W. *St. John's.*
Elton, Edward, *Balliol.*
France, George, *Exeter.*
Gossett, Isaac, H. *Exeter.*
Grenside, Charles K. *Brasen-nose.*
Haigh, John, *Queen's.*
Hutton, Selby, *Wadham.*
May, Edmund, *Merton.*
Moysey, Frederick L. *Christ Church.*
Seymour, Francis P. *Balliol.*
Taylor, Robert, *Magdalen Hall.*
Thornhill, Charles E. *Christ Church.*
Vernon, Edward, *Magdalen Hall.*
Wardale, William, R. *Corpus.*
Whitelegg, William, *Queen's.*

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

Classis I.

Childe, George F. *Christ Church.*
Lonsdale, William, *Oriel.*

Classis II.

Balston, Henry, *Magdalen.*
Dale, John A. *Balliol.*
France, George, *Exeter.*
Haddan, Arthur W. *Trinity.*
Highton, Henry, *Queen's.*
Lonsdale, James G. *Balliol.*
Randolph, John J. *Christ Church.*

Classis III.

Harrison, Michael E. *Corpus.*
Howard, hon. William, *Christ Church.*
Phillott, Henry W. *Christ Church.*
Ridley, William H. *Christ Church.*

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

English Essay. *The concurring Causes which assisted the Promulgation of the Religion of Mahomet.* P. C. Claughton, *Fellow of University.*

Latin Essay. *Quibus de Causis fiat plerumque ut Instituta ac Mores Orientalium ægrius mutentur quam nostra.* (Not awarded.)

POETICAL PRIZES.

Latin. *Marcus Crassus a Parthis devictus.* John J. Randolph, *Student of Christ Church.*

English. *The Gypsies* (*Newdigate.*) Arthur P. Stanley, *Scholar of Balliol.*

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

EXAMINATIONS. MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS, 1837.

Moderators. { James W. L. Heaviside, M. A. *Sidney.*
Edwin Steventon, M. A. *Corpus.*

Examiners. { Samuel Earnshaw, M. A. *John's.*
Henry Philpott, M. A. *Catherine.*

Wranglers.

Ds. Griffin ..... *John's.*
Sylvester ..... *John's.*
Brumell ..... *John's.*
Green ..... *Caius,*
Gregory ..... *Trinity.*
Ellis ..... *Trinity.*
Hemery .. } Æq. { *Trinity,*
Maitland .. } { *Trinity.*
Thacker ..... *Trinity.*
Raven ..... *Magdalen.*
Pulling ..... *Corpus.*
Barton ..... *Trinity.*
Reynolds ..... *Queen's.*
Hodgkinson ..... *Trinity.*
Craufurd ..... *Jesus.*
Blake ..... *Trinity.*
Elwyn ..... *Pembroke.*
Dalton .. } Æq. { *Caius.*
Holmes .. } { *Catherine.*
Rackham ..... *Jesus.*
Bell ..... *Clare.*
Windle ..... *Trinity.*
Gurney ..... *John's.*
Sadler ..... *Trinity.*
Sharpe ..... *John's.*
Sykes ..... *Trinity.*
Humphrey ..... *Trinity.*
Ebsworth ..... *Clare.*
Day ..... *Pembroke.*
Kennion ..... *John's.*
Ramsden ..... *John's.*
Shaw ..... *Catherine.*
Johnson ..... *Corpus.*
Osbourne ..... *Sidney.*
Conybeare ..... *Trinity.*
Stooks ..... *Trinity.*
Biggs ..... *Pembroke.*
Hodgson .. } Æq. { *Jesus.*
Niven .. } { *John's.*
M'Michael ..... *Trinity.*
Broom ..... *Trinity.*
Simpson ..... *Corpus.*
Fitzherbert ..... *John's.*
Mason .... } Æq. { *Christ's.*
Pierson.... } { *Clare.*
Marsh ..... *Pembroke.*
Clarkson ..... *Jesus.*
Brigham ..... *Pembroke.*
Hornman ..... *Pembroke.*
Routh ..... *Christ's.*
Heath ..... *Trinity Hall.*
Howson ..... *Trinity.*

Senior Optimes.

Ds. Haworth ..... *Queen's.*
Cotterill ..... *John's.*
Smalley ..... *John's.*
Watson ..... *Caius.*
Hickman ..... *John's.*
Fleming .. } Æq. { *Christ's.*
Grant .. } { *Trinity.*
Buckley ..... *Magdalen.*
Metcalfe ..... *Jesus.*
Grey ..... *Corpus.*
Upcher ..... *Trinity.*
Clarkson ..... *John's,*
Gilbert ..... *Emmanuel.*
Lacey ..... *Pembroke.*
Slack ..... *Queen's.*
Coombs ..... *John's.*
Freeman ..... *Peter's.*
Brown, J. L. ..... *John's.*
Gordon ..... *Pembroke.*
Smithson ..... *John's.*
Rowlands ..... *John's.*
Whytehead ..... *John's.*
Phillips ..... *Trinity.*
Smith ..... *Queen's.*
Reynolds ..... *John's.*
Bazett ..... *Trinity.*
Martin ..... *John's.*
Benson ..... *John's.*
Hargrave ..... *Trinity.*
Atkinson ..... *Magdalen.*
Carrington ..... *Caius.*
Clint ..... *Trinity.*

Junior Optimes.

Ds. Sheperd ..... *Pembroke.*
Bennett .. } Æq. { *Trinity.*
Cook .. } { *Corpus.*
Smyth .. } { *Trinity.*
Kirkpatrick ..... *Trinity Hall.*
Dennis ..... *Pembroke.*
Harris ..... *Trinity.*
Thurlow ..... *Trinity.*
Bromby ..... *John's.*
Jeffrey ..... *John's.*
Baker ..... *John's.*
Mayor ..... *Trinity.*

Dorrington .....*Emmanuel.*
Hawkins .. } *Æq.* { *Trinity.*
Bryan .. } { *Peter's.*
Laycock .....*Clare.*
Westmoreland ....*Sidney.*
Hawkins,R.....*Trinity.*
Lowe .. } *Æq.* { *Trinity.*
Townsend .. } { *Queen's.*
Scadding .....*John's.*
Kirke .....*Christ.*
Harper .....*John's.*
Sanders .....*Emmanuel.*
Hildyard .....*Pembroke.*
Greatheed .....*Christ's.*

Browne, F. H.....*John's.*
Tower .....*John's.*
Rodwell .....*Trinity.*
Scarth .....*Christ's.*
Herries .....*Trinity.*
Mungeam .....*John's.*
Thomson.....*Jesus.*
Coulson .....*Pembroke*
Beardsworth .....*John's.*
Roberts .....*Emmanuel.*
Watson .....*Corpus.*
Fraser .... } *Æq.* { *Trinity.*
Wood .... } { *John's.*

Classical Tripos, 1837.

Examiners. { Frederick Field, M.A. *Trinity.*
George Stovin Venables, M.A. *Jesus.*
Charles Merivale, M.A. *John's.*
John Gibson, M.A. *Sidney.*

First Class.

Ds. Humphrey .....*Trinity.*
Whytehead.....*John's.*
Conybeare .....*Trinity.*
Mayor .....*Trinity.*
Harper .....*John's.*
Howson .....*Trinity.*

Second Class.

Ds. Ellis.....*Trinity.*
Roberts .....*Emmanuel.*
Biggs .. } *Æq.* { *Pembroke.*
Phillips .. } { *Trinity.*
Sykes .....*Trinity.*
Harris .....*Trinity.*

Herries .....*Trinity.*
Hildyard .....*Pembroke.*
Hodgkinson.....*Trinity.*
Peirson .....*Clare.*
Tower .....*John's.*
M'Michael .....*Trinity.*
Hawkins .....*Trinity.*

Third Class.

Bromby .....*John's.*
Lacey .....*Pembroke.*
Fraser .....*Trinity.*
Brigham.....*Pembroke.*
Browne, F. H. ....*John's.*
Rodwell .....*Trinity.*

CHANCELLOR'S MEDALLISTS.

Thomas Whytehead .....*John's.*
William G. Humphry.....*Trinity.*

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZE.

Thomas Whytehead.....*John's.*

SIR W. BROWNE'S MEDALS.

Greek Ode, } Charles J. Vaughan.....*Trinity.*
Latin Ode, } Phillip Freeman .....*Trinity.*
Epigrams, Charles J. Vaughan .....*Trinity.*

PORSON PRIZE.

Charles J. Vaughan .....*Trinity.*

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

No prize Adjudged.

PATENTS.

Hamer Stansfield, of Leeds, York, merchant, for an invention, being the application to certain machinery of a tappet and lever action to produce a vertical or horizontal movement through the medium of ropes or bands working over, under, or round pulleys; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

William Cooper, of Picardy-place, Edinburgh, glass-merchant and stained glass-manufacturer, for an improved method of executing ornaments, devices, colours, or stains on glass.

Robert Griffiths, of Smethwick, Birmingham, machine-maker, and Samuel Evers, of Cradley Iron-Works, Stafford, iron-manufacturer, for improvements in the manufacture of burrs or nuts for screws.

Henry Adcock, of Summer-hill-terrace, Birmingham, engineer, for certain improvements in the construction of the furnaces employed in the reduction of iron-ores and other metallic ores, as also in some of the processes of the iron-manufacture of other metals, such furnaces being applicable to other purposes.

James Gardner, of Banbury, Oxford, ironmonger, for certain improvements in cutting Swedish and other turnips, mangel-wurzel, and other roots used as food for sheep, horned cattle, and other animals.

Charles Sheridan, of Ironmonger-lane, London, chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of soda.

John Paul Neumann, of 81, Great Tower-street, London, prussiate of potash maker, for improvements in the manufacture of prussiate of potash and prussiate of soda; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

George Goodlet, of Leith, Edinburgh, merchant, for a new and improved mode of distilling from wash and other articles; also applicable to general purposes of rectifying, boiling, and evaporating or concentrating.

Francis Gybbon Spilsbury, of Newman-street, Oxford-street, Middlesex, engineer, and William Maugham, of Newport-street, Lambeth, Surrey, chemist, for certain improvements in the manufacture of carbonate of soda.

John Macneill, of Parliament-street, Middlesex, civil engineer, for improvements in making or mending turnpike or common roads.

James Braby, of Duke-street, Stamford-street, Lambeth, Surrey, wheelwright and coach-maker, for certain improvements in the construction of carriages.

Robert Sewell, of Carrington, Basford, Nottingham, lace-manufacturer, for certain improvements in the manufacture of white lead.

Charles Thornton Coathupe, of Wraxhall, Somerset, glass-manufacturer, for certain improvements in the manufacture of certain descriptions of glass.

John Gall, of Aberdeen, carpenter and builder, for an improved mode of priming fire-arms, applicable to percussion locks.

Arthur Dunn, of No. 22, Nelson-street, City-road, Middlesex, manufacturing chemist, for an improved mode of dissolving silicious matter and compounds of silica, and of manufacturing soap.

William Gossage, of Stoke Prior, Worcester, chemist, for certain improvements in manufacturing oxide of lead, applicable to making paints

and other purposes; also, certain improvements in the process of bleaching and purifying oils suitable for mixing paints and other oils and fatty matters.

John Murray, of Fitzroy-square, Middlesex, gentleman, for certain improvements in the construction of carriages.

Moses Poole, of Lincoln's-inn, Middlesex, gentleman, for certain improvements in ordnance and other fire-arms; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Henry Needham Scrope Shrapnell, of Bayswater-terrace, Middlesex, esq. for certain improvements on snuffers.

William Stedman Gillett, of Guildford-street, Middlesex, gentleman, for improvements in trimming and facilitating the progress of vessels in water.

Julius Oliver, of Castle-street, Falcon-square, London, gentleman, for a certain improvement in the filters employed in sugar-refining; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Joshua Cuttel, of Hollingforth, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, woollen manufacturer, for improvements in producing slubbings of and in spinning wool; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Burns Smith, of Salford, Lancaster, cotton-spinner, for certain improvements in the machinery for roving, spinning, and twisting cotton and other fibrous substances.

John Roberts, of Prestolle, Prestwick, Lancaster, calico-printer, for certain improvements in the art of block-printing.

William Neal Clay, of West Bromwich, Stafford, manufacturing chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of sulphate of soda.

James White, of Lambeth, Surrey, engineer, for certain improvements on railways.

Baron Henry de Bode, major-general in the Russian service, of the Edgeware-road, for improvements in capstans.

William Sharp, of Glasgow, merchant, for a certain improvement in the treatment of cotton-wool in preparation for manufacturing the same into yarn and thread.

William Cooper, glass-merchant and stained-glass-manufacturer, of Picardy-place, Edinburgh, for an improved method of executing ornaments, devices, colours, or stains on glass.

Hamer Stansfeld, of Leeds, merchant, in consequence of a communication received by him from Christian William Schonherr, of Schneeberg, Saxony, for certain improvements in machinery for weaving, one of which improvements is applicable to other purposes.

Thomas Vaux, of Wordford-bridge, Wordford, Essex, land-surveyor, for a certain mode of constructing and applying a revolving-harrow for agricultural purposes.

Charles Thornton Coathupe, of Wraxall, Somerset, glass-manufacturer, for certain improvements in the manufacture of certain descriptions of glass.

John Ruthven, of Edinburgh, for an improvement in the formation of rails or rods for making railways, and in the method of fixing or joining them.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, for certain improvements in machinery, or apparatus for making or manufacturing metal screws, part or parts of which are also applicable to shaping metal for other purposes; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

James Hellewell, of Springfield-lane, Salford, Lancaster, dyer, and Aaron Fearn, also of Salford, dyer, for certain improvements in the process of dyeing and scouring piece goods and other fabrics, and in the machinery or apparatus whereby the same is performed.

John Springall, of Oulton, Suffolk, iron-founder, for improved shoes for horses and other animals.

James Cook, of Birmingham, gun-maker, for improvements in gas-burners.

William Geeves, of Old Cavendish-street, gentleman, for certain improvements on steam-engines,

Michael Linning, of Hill-street, Edinburgh, one of the clerks to the Signet in Scotland, for a certain improved method of operating for the purpose of converting peat moss and peat turf or bog into fuel, and obtaining from it tar, gas, and certain other substances or matters.

John Gemmell, of Stockwell-street, Glasgow, merchant, for certain improvements in steam-boats, ships, or other vessels, which are partly applicable to other purposes.

William Boarder, of Bradford, York, millwright, for certain improvements in steam-engines.

John Walker, of No. 3, Allen-street, Lambeth, Surrey, oven-builder, for an improved method of heating copper stills and boilers.

William Stedman Gillett, of Guildford-street, gentleman, for improvements in harness for draft and saddle horses.

Richard Burch, of Heywood, Lancaster, mechanist, for certain improvements in locomotive steam-engines to be used either upon rail or other roads; which improvements are also applicable to marine and stationary steam-engines.

Robert Smith, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in the means of connecting metallic plates for the construction of boilers and other purposes.

John Isaac Hawkins, of Chase Cottage, Hampstead-road, C.E., for certain improvements in the application of the products of combustion in generating and in aiding of steam for giving motion to steam-engines; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Henry Elkington, of Birmingham, gentleman, for improvements in covering or coating certain metals with platina, and also improvements in gilding certain metals, and in apparatus used in such processes.

Henry Elkington, of Birmingham, gentleman, for improvements in covering steam-engines, and in boilers and furnaces used therein, and for other purposes.

John Chanter, of Earl-street, Blackfriars, and of Upper Stamford-street, Surrey, esq., and John Gray, of Liverpool, engineer, for improvements in furnaces for locomotive-engines and other purposes.

Benjamin Baillie, of Henry-street, Cumberland-market, Regent's-park, metal frame-maker, for certain improvements in regulating the ventilation of buildings, which he intends to denominate Baillie's Patent Ventilation.

John Hardman, of Bradford, York, millwright, for a certain improvement or certain improvements in steam-engines.

Jasper Weston, of Dover, Kent, gentleman, for improvements in certain wheeled carriages.

John Thomas Betts, of Smithfield-bars, London, rectifier, for improvements in the process of preparing spirituous liquors in the making of brandy; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Thomas Bentley, of Cleckheaton, near Leeds, dyer, for improvements in fulling woollen cloths.

John Robinson, of North Shields, engineer, for a nipping lever for causing the rotation of wheels, shafts, or cylinders under certain circumstances.

David Stevenson, of Bath-place, New-road, gentleman, for a new method of preparing writing-paper, from which writing-ink cannot be expunged or abstracted without detection; being partly a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Thomas Bradshaw Whitfield, of New-street-square, Middlesex, lamp-manufacturer, for improvements in producing parallel motion to the piston-rods of pumps for lamps (?) and other purposes; which improvements are also applicable to machinery in general, where parallel motion is required.

Samuel Stocker, of Bristol, gentleman, for improvements in pumps.

Charles François Edward Aulas, of No. 38, Grande Rue Verte, Paris, in the kingdom of France, gentleman, but now of Cockspur-street, in the county of Middlesex, for an improve-

ment or improvements in preparing writing-paper, so as to prevent the discharge of the ink therefrom without detection, and to prevent the falsification of writing thereon.

Henry Backhouse, of Walmsley, Bury, calico-printer, and Jeremiah Grune, of Bury, Lancaster, engraver, for certain improvements in the art of block-printing.

John Shaw, of Rishworth, Halifax, book-keeper, for improved machinery in preparing wool, and also in preparing the waste of cotton-wool for spinning.

John Consitt, of Manchester, merchant, for certain improvements in the machinery used for spinning doubling, and twisting cotton and other fibrous substances.

Charles William Celarier, of St. Paul's-chain, London, esq., for certain improvements on lamps, particularly for causing the oil to ascend; which improvements or parts thereof are applicable to the raising of water and other liquids; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Neil Snodgrass, of Glasgow, in the county of Lanark, engineer, for improvements in steam-engines and other mechanism of steam-boats.

Henry Christopher Windle, of Walsall, Stafford, merchant, Joseph Gillott, of Birmingham, metallic pen-manufacturer, and Stephen Morris, of Birmingham, aforesaid, artisan, for improved means of giving elasticity, freedom of action, and durability to certain parts of pens or instruments used in writing, as also of obtaining a supply and flow of ink to the same.

Charles François Edward Aulas, of No. 38, Grande Rue Verte, Paris, gentleman, but now of Cockspur-street, for a new and improved method of cutting and working wood by machinery; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Richard Macnamara, of Hunter-street, Southwark, gentleman, for certain improvements in paving, pitching, or covering streets, roads, and other ways; which improvements are applicable to other purposes.

Henry Davies, of Stoke Prior, Worcester, engineer, for certain improved apparatus or machinery for obtaining mechanical power: also certain improved apparatus or machinery for impelling or raising fluids.

William Maughan, of Newport-street, Lambeth, chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of white-lead.

James Walton, of Sowerby, Bridge Mills, in Wavley, Halifax, woollen-manufacturer and frizier, for improvements in machinery for manufacturing and finishing of woollen and some other cloths.

Moses Poole, of Lincoln's-inn, gentleman, for improvements in making fermented liquors; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Robert Neilson, of Liverpool, gentleman, for a machine for preparing and cleaning coffee from the pod or husk, and separating the different qualities so as to render it better adapted for the purposes of roasting and consumption.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, mechanical draftsman, for certain improvements in machinery for heckling or combing, and preparing and roving hemp, flax, tow, and other vegetable fibrous materials; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

James Cook, of Birmingham, gun-manufacturer, for improvements in gas burners.

François de Tansch, of Percy-street, Bedford-square, military engineer to the king of Bavaria, for improvements in apparatus or machinery for propelling of vessels, for raising water, and for various other purposes.

John Isaac Hawkins, of Chase Cottage, Hampstead-road, civil engineer, in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for certain improvements in the application of the products of combustion in generating and in aiding of steam for giving motion to steam-engines.

William Wright, of Salford, Lancaster, machine-maker, for certain

improvements in twisting machinery, used in the preparation of spinning or twisting of cotton, flax, silk, wool, hemp, and other fibrous substances.

Peter Ascanius Tealdi, formerly of Mondoir, in Piedmont, but now residing in Manchester, merchant, in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for an invention of a new extract, or vegetable acid obtained from substances not hitherto used for that purpose, which may be employed in various processes of manufacture, and in culinary or other useful purposes, together with the process of obtaining the same.

John Burns Smith, of Salford, spinner, and John Smith, of Halifax, dyer, for a certain method or methods of tentering, stretching, or keeping out cloth to its width (made either of cotton, silk, wool, or any other fibrous substances.) by machinery.

Edmund Shaw, of Fenchurch-street, London, stationer, in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for an invention of an improvement in the manufacture of paper.

John Shaw, of Rishworth, Halifax, book-keeper, for improved machinery in preparing wool, and also in preparing the waste of cotton-wool for spinning.

George Bertie Paterson, of Peacock-street, Newington, Surrey, engineer, for certain improvements in the construction of meters or apparatus for measuring gas or liquids.

Thomas Theophilus Biggs, of Queen Ann-street, Cavendish-square, Middlesex, esq., in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner, and invention by himself, of improvements in certain descriptions of fire-arms.

John Leberecht Steinhaueser, of Upper-terrace, Islington, merchant, in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for an invention of improvements in hand and power-looms.

Fletcher Woolley, of York-street, East, Commercial-road, Middlesex, gentleman, for improvements in the manufacture or preparation of materials to be used as a substitute for bees'-wax; parts of which improvements are applicable to other purposes.

Neil Snodgrass, of Glasgow, engineer, for improvements in steam-engines and other mechanism of steam-boats; which were partly communicated by a foreigner residing abroad, and partly invented by himself.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, mechanical draftsman, in consequence of a communication from a foreigner residing abroad, for certain improvements in cleaning, purifying, and drying wheat and other grain or seeds.

Joseph Haley, of Manchester, machine-maker, for certain improvements in the machinery tools or apparatus for cutting, planing, and turning metals and other substances.

Joseph Whitworth, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in machinery tools or apparatus for turning, boring, planing, and cutting metals and other materials.

Henry Stephens, of Stamford-street, Blackfriars'-road, Surrey, writing-fluid manufacturer, for certain improvements in ink-stands or ink-holders and pens for writing.

Michel Berand Lauras, of Lyons, but now residing in Leicester-square, Middlesex, merchant, for certain improvements in steam navigation.

Henry Booth, of Liverpool, esq. for improvements in the construction of locomotive engine boiler furnaces, applicable also to other furnaces.

William Wynn, of Dean-street, Soho, Middlesex, clock-maker, for a certain improvement or improvements in apparatus for diminishing the evaporation of vinous, alcoholic, acetic, and other volatile vapours, and for preventing the absorption of noxious effluvia in vinous, spirituous, acetous, and other fluids, such as wines, spirits, malt liquors, cyder, perry, and vinegar.

Joseph Amesbury, of Burton Crescent, Middlesex, surgeon, for certain apparatus for the relief or correction of stiffness, weakness, or distortion in the human spine, chest, or limbs.

William Weekes, of King Stanley, Gloucester, clothier, for certain improvements in the dressing or finishing of woollen and other cloths or fabrics requiring such a process.

Joseph Lincoln Roberts, of Manchester, merchant, for a certain improvement or certain improvements in looms for weaving, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Reuben Bull, of Adam's-street, West, Portman-square, Middlesex, ironmonger, for certain improvements in chimney caps to facilitate the discharge of smoke, and to prevent its return.

Horatio Nelson Aldrich, of Rhode Island, in the United States of America, but now of Cornhill, London, merchant, for certain improvements in spinning, twisting, doubling, or otherwise preparing cotton, silk, and other fibrous substances, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Henry Stephens, of Charlotte-street, Marylebone, Middlesex, gentleman, and Ebenezer Nash, of Buross-street, St. George in the East, Middlesex, tallow-chandler, for certain improvements in manufacturing colouring matter, and rendering certain colour or colours applicable to dyeing, staining, and writing.

David Napier, of the York-road, Lambeth, Surrey, engineer, for improvements in letter-press printing.

Thomas Hancock, of Goswell Mews, Goswell-road, Middlesex, water-proof cloth-manufacturer, for an improvement or improvements in the process of rendering cloth and other fabrics partially or entirely impervious to air and water, by means of caoutchouc or India-rubber.

William Crofts, of New Radford, Nottingham, machine-maker, for improvements in the manufacture of figured or ornamented bobbin net, or twist lace or other fabrics.

Edmund Haworth, the younger, of Bolton, Lancaster, gentleman, (in pursuance of the report of the Judicial Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council, of the sole use, benefit, and advantage of William Southworth, formerly of Sharples, near Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster, bleacher, for certain improvements in certain machinery or apparatus adapted to facilitate the operations of drying calicoes, muslins, linens, or other similar fabrics, for the further term of five years.

Charles Farina, of Clarendon-place, Maida Vale, Middlesex, gentleman, for an improved process to be used in obtaining fermentable matter from grain, and in manufacturing the same for various purposes.

Lemuel Wellman Wright, of Manchester, Lancaster, engineer, for certain improvements in machinery or apparatus for bleaching or cleaning linens, cottons, or other fabrics, goods, or other fibrous substances.

William Gratrix, of Springfield-lane, Salford, Lancaster, silk dyer, for certain improvements in the process of bleaching or cleansing linens, cotton, and other fibrous substances, and also improvements in the process of discharging colours from the same, either in the raw material or manufactured state.

John Gottlieb Ulrich, late of Nicholas-lane, London, but now of Red-Lion-street, Whitechapel, Middlesex, chronometer maker, for certain improvements in chronometers.

Sir George Cayley, bart., of Brompton, near Walton, York, for certain improvements in the apparatus for propelling carriages on common roads or railways, part of which improvements may be applied to other useful purposes.

James Pim, jun. of College-green, banker, and Thomas Fleming Bergin, of Westland-row, Dublin, civil engineer, for an improved means or method of propulsion on railways.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, for certain improvements in machinery or apparatus for making or manufacturing bricks, tiles, and

such other articles, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, for certain improvements in machinery or apparatus for making or manufacturing horse shoes, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Samuel Tonkin Jones, of Manchester, merchant, for certain improvements in the tanning of hides and skins.

Charles Brandt, of Upper Belgrave-place, Middlesex, mechanist, for an improved method of evaporating and cooling fluids.

Charles Pierre Devaux, of Fenchurch-street, London, merchant, in consequence of a communication from a foreigner residing abroad, for a new or improved apparatus for preventing the explosion of boilers or generators of steam.

William Hancock, of Windsor-place, City-road, Middlesex, gent., for certain improvements in bookbinding.

Richard Burch, of Heywood, Lancaster, mechanist, for certain improvements in locomotive steam engines, to be used either upon rail or other roads, which improvements are also applicable to marine and other stationary steam engines.

Henry Backhouse, of Walmsley, calico printer, and Jeremiah Grime, engraver, both of Bury, Lancaster, for certain improvements in the art of block-printing.

William Nairne, of Millhaugh, near Methven, Perth, flax spinner, for a certain improvement, or certain improvements, in the machinery of reels used in reeling yarns.

Bennet Woodcroft, late of Ardwich, Manchester, but now of Mumps, Oldham, gent., for an improved mode of printing certain colours on calico and other fabrics.

Henry Huntley, of Walworth, Surrey, M.D., for an improvement in the manufacturing of fuel.

Thomas Henry Russell, of Handsworth, near Birmingham, for improvements in making or manufacturing welded iron tubes.

William Sneath, of Ison-green, Nottingham, lace maker, for certain improvements in machinery, by and of which improvements, thread-work ornaments of certain kinds, can be formed in net or lace, made by certain machinery commonly called bobbin net machinery, and other fabrics.

Henry William Craufurd, of No. 5, John-street, Berkeley-square, commander in the Royal Navy, for an improvement in coating or covering iron and copper, for the prevention of oxydation, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Alexander Dixon and James Dixon, of Cleckheaton, near Leeds, York, manufacturing chemists, for improvements in dyeing, by the application of materials not hitherto so used.

Joseph Barker, of Regent-street, Lambeth, artist, for certain improvements in the construction or making of umbrellas and parasols.

Jean Baptiste Mollerat, of No. 27, Leicester-square, manufacturing chemist, for an improvement or improvements in the manufacture of gas for illumination.

John Heathcoat, of Tiverton, Devon, lace manufacturer, for a new or improved method or methods of manufacturing, producing, forming or fashioning ornaments or ornamented work or figures, upon, or applicable to, gauze, muslin, and net, and divers kinds of cloth, stuff, or woven textures, and also certain machinery, tools, implements, or apparatus to be used in manufacturing, producing, forming, fashioning, and applying such ornaments or ornamented work.

Thomas Wells Ingrand, of Birmingham, Warwick, horn button manufacturer, for improvements in the manufacture of certain descriptions of buttons, and in the tools used to manufacture the same; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Thomas Baylis, of Tamworth, Stafford, civil engineer, for certain improvements in heating and evaporating fluids, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Henry Ross, of Leicester, worsted manufacturer, for improvements applicable to the combing of wool and goat hair.

George Hayman, of St. Sidwell-street, Exeter, coach builder, for improvements in two-wheel carriages.

William Angus Robertson, of Peterborough-court, Fleet-street, gentleman, for certain new or improved machinery for, or methods of, sculpturing, cutting, shaping, moulding, and otherwise figuring and working marble, stone, alabaster, and other substances suitable for sculpture; and for taking copies of the works produced thereby, or of similar works produced by the ordinary means; and also an improved process or method of taking casts of the living human face or figure, or other form, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Thomas Bell, of South Shields, Durham, manufacturing chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of sulphate of soda, which improvements, or parts thereof, are applicable to other purposes.

William Nairne, flax spinner, Millhaugh, near Methven, Perth, for a certain improvement, or certain improvements, in the machinery of reels used in reeling yarns, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Peter Steinkeller, of the London Zinc Works, Wenlock-road, gentleman, for certain plates or tiles made of zinc or other proper metal or mixtures of metals, applicable to roofs or other parts of buildings, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Spurgin, of Guildford-street, Russell-square, doctor of medicine, for an improvement in the mode or means of propelling vessels through water, and part of which means may be applied to other useful purposes.

John Hague, of Castle-street, Wellclose-square, engineer, for certain improvements on wheels for carriages.

James Boydell, junior, of Dee Cottage, near Hawarden, Flint, esq., for improvements in propelling carriages.

William Bell, of Edinburgh, esq., for improvements in heating and evaporating fluids.

Edward Austin, of Warwick-place, Bedford-row, for improvements in raising sunken vessels and other bodies.

Pierre Barthelemy Guinibers Debac, of Brixton, Surrey, civil engineer, for improvements applicable to railroads.

William Rhodes, gent., and Robert Hamingway, mechanic, both of Earls Heaton, near Dewsbury, York, for improvements applicable to machinery for carding and piercing wool, in process of manufacture in woollen mills.

George Nelson, of Leamington Priors, Warwick, gent., for a certain new or improved process or processes, by the use of which the qualities of a certain gelatinous substance, or certain gelatinous substances, called isinglass, may be improved.

Samuel and William Smith, of Luddenden Foot, near Halifax, York, worsted spinners, for improvements in machinery for combing or clearing sheep's wool and goat's hair.

Elijah Leak, of Hanley, Stafford, engineer and lathe maker, for certain improvements in the construction of shutters and sashes for windows of buildings, which improvements are also applicable to hot-houses or conservatories, carriages, and other purposes, and in the fitting of or using the same.

Charles Pierre Devaux, of Fenchurch-street, merchant, for a new or improved apparatus for preventing the explosion of boilers or generators of steam, being a communication from a foreigner abroad.

Charles Joseph Freeman, of Frederick-place, Surrey, for an improvement, or improvements, in the machinery or apparatus, called rolls for rolling iron or other metals, applicable to rails for roads and bars of various shapes for other purposes.

George Crane, of Yniscedywyn, iron works, near Swansea, iron master, for an improvement in the manufacture of iron.

Nathaniel Partridge, of Elm Cottage, near Stroud, Gloucester, gentleman, for a certain improvement, or improvements, in mixing and preparing oil paints, whereby a saving of ingredients commonly used will be effected.

James Hardy, of Wednesbury, Stafford, gentleman, for certain improvements in the manufacture of iron into cylindrical, conical, and other forms suited for axletrees, shafts, and other purposes.

Christopher Nichols, of Guilford-street, Lambeth, Surrey, gentleman, partly in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner resident abroad, and partly by his own invention, for improvements in preparing and manufacturing caoutchouc, applicable to various purposes.

William Coles, of Charing Cross, Middlesex, esq. for certain improvements applicable to locomotive carriages.

Moses Poole, Lincoln's-inn, Middlesex, gentleman, in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for improvements in making fermented liquors.

Joseph Bunnett, of Newington-causeway, Southwark, window blind maker, for certain improvements in window shutters, which improvements may also be applied to other useful purposes.

John Samuel Dawes, of Birmingham, Warwick, iron master, for certain improvements in smelting the ores or oxides of iron, copper, tin, lead, zinc, and other metals, and in remelting or refining the said metals.

Joseph Amesbury, of Burton-crescent, Middlesex, surgeon, for certain apparatus for the relief, or correction of stiffness, weakness, or distortion in the human spine, chest, or limbs.

John Gordon Campbell, of Glasgow, merchant, and John Gibson, of the same city, throwster, for a new or improved process or manufacture of silk, and silk in combination with certain other fibrous substances.

Henry William Craufurd, of John-street, Berkeley-square, Middlesex, commander in the Royal Navy, for an improvement in the coating or covering iron and copper, for the prevention of oxydation.

James Partridge Blake, of Little Queen-street, Middlesex, engineer, for certain improvements in machinery or apparatus for hulling, cleansing, preparing, or dressing paddy or rough rice, hulling, dressing, and preparing oats, and such other grain, part or parts of which are applicable to other purposes; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Joseph Woollams, of Wells, Somerset, gent., for certain improved means of obtaining power and motion from known sources.

Francis William Gerish, of East-road, City-road, Middlesex, smith and ironmonger, for improvements in the apparatus for closing doors, gates and shutters.

Richard Oke Millett, of Peupalls Hayle, Cornwall, gent., for improvements in instruments for extracting teeth.

Edward Schmidt Swaine, formerly of Bucklersbury, London, but now of Leeds, in pursuance of the Report of the Judicial Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council, for a method of producing and preserving artificial mineral waters, and for machinery to effect the same. For seven years, from the 9th October, 1837. The day of the expiration of the former letters patent.

Joseph Choild Daniell, of Limpley Stoke, Wilts, gent., for certain improvements applicable to stone masonry.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, mechanical draftsman, for a certain improvement, or certain improvements, in obtaining motive power for propelling or working machinery, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Kirkham, of Aldenham-terrace, St. Pancras-road, Middlesex, engineer, for an improved mode of removing the carbonaceous incrustation from the internal surfaces of retorts employed in the process of distilling coal for generating gas.

John George Bodmer of Bolton,

le-Moors, Lancaster, for certain improvements in machinery for spinning and doubling cotton, wool, silk, flax, and other fibrous materials.

Godfrey Woone, of Berkeley-street, Piccadilly, Middlesex, gent., for an improved method of forming plates with raised surfaces thereon, for printing impressions on different substances.

William Fothergill Cooke, of Breedsplace, Hastings, Sussex, esquire, and Charles Wheatstone, of Hanover-square, Middlesex, esquire, for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarums at distant places, by means of electric currents transmitted through metallic circuits.

Richard Roe, of Everton, near Bawtry, York, gent., for a certain improvement, or certain improvements, in machinery or apparatus for making bricks, tiles, and other articles made from earthy materials.

James Leonard Clement Thomas, of Covent-garden, Middlesex, esq., for an improvement applicable to steam engines and steam generators, having for its object economy of fuel; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

William Nicholson, of Manchester, Lancaster, engineer, for certain improvements in the construction and arrangement of preparation and spinning machinery; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

James Buckingham, of Great Randolph-street, Camden Town, Middlesex, engineer, for certain improved combinations of machinery, to be applied as mechanical agents in a great variety of situations, in which tooth gear and other mechanism have been hitherto employed.

Theophilus John Nash, of John-street, Downshire-hill, Hampstead, letter maker, and John Ross, of Wyld-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Middlesex, brass worker, for a method of manufacturing in metals, wood, and other substances and materials, letters, figures, and other devices, having a flat surface, presenting by the aid of colours the appearance of projection and domed letters, figures, and other devices made from the same materials without seam or joint.

William Yetts, of Yarmouth, merchant, for an improved mode of caulking ships and other vessels.

William Henry Crauford, of John-street, Berkeley-square, commander in the royal navy, for an improvement in the coating or covering iron and copper for the prevention of oxydation.

Charles Guynemer, of Manchester-street, Manchester-square, professor of singing, for certain improvements in piano-fortes, communicated to him by a foreigner residing abroad.

William Bridges Adams, of Porchester-terrace, Bayswater, coach maker, for certain improvements in the construction of wheels and in wheel carriages.

William Gossage, of Stoke Prior, Worcester, chemist, for certain improved apparatus for decomposing common salt, and for condensing and making use of the gaseous product of such decomposition; also certain improvements in the mode of conducting these processes.

John Joseph Charles Sheridan, of Ironmonger-lane, London, chemist, for certain improvements in the several processes of saccharine, vinous, and acetous fermentation.

Pierre Bartlemy Guinebert Debac, of Brixton, Surrey, for improvements applicable to railroads.

Joel Livsey, of Bury, Lancaster, cotton spinner, for certain improvements in machinery used for spinning, preparing, and doubling cotton and other fibrous substances.

Henry Augustus Wells, late of New York, but now residing in Threadneedle-street, hat manufacturer, for certain improvements in the manufacture of hats.

Freeman Roe, of Camberwell, Surrey, plumber, for an improvement in water closets.

John James Waterstone, of Millbank-street, Westminster, surveyor, for improvements applicable to the intercepting and directing of currents and waves of water.

William Pringle Green, of Fal-

mouth, Cornwall, lieutenant, R.N., for improvements in capstans and machinery employed in raising, lowering, and moving ponderous bodies and matters.

William Chubb, of Portsea, Hants, umbrella manufacturer, for improvements in night commode pans.

Thomas North, of Mitre-street, New-cut, Surrey, card maker and metal piercer, for an improvement in the manufacture of wire.

Whitmore Baker, of Dedham, Essex, veterinary surgeon, for an instrument or truss applicable to the tricking of horses' tails.

John Pearse, of Tavistock, Devon, ironmonger, for an improvement, or improvements, in the construction of wheels.

John Hartley Hitchin and Robert Oram, of Salford, Lancaster, engineers, for certain improvements in the construction and arrangement of cranes for lifting and removing goods, by which such machines are rendered more generally useful.

John Poad Drake, of Arundel-street, Strand, artist, for improvements in building ships, steam vessels, and boats, and also in the building of canal and river barges and lighters.

Sir James Caleb Anderson, of Buttevant Castle, Cork, baronet, for certain improvements in locomotive engines, which are partly applicable to other purposes.

Henry Goschen, of Crosby-square, Bishopsgate-street, London, merchant, for improvements in preparing flax and hemp for spinning, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Joseph Henry Tuck, of the Rainbow coffee house, London, gent., for certain improvements in apparatus or machinery for making or manufacturing candles.

John Melling, of Liverpool, Lancaster, engineer, for certain improvements in locomotive steam engines, to be used upon railways; parts of which improvements are applicable to stationary steam engines, and to machinery in general.

Alexander Macewan, grocer and tea merchant, Glasgow, for a process for the improvement of teas as ordinarily imported.

James Leonard Clement Thomas, of Covent-garden, Middlesex, esq., in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for an improvement applicable to steam engines and steam generators, having for its object the economy of fuel.

John Spurgin, of Guildford-street, Russell-square, Middlesex, M.D., for an improvement, or improvements, in the mode or means of propelling vessels through the water, and part of which means may be applied to other useful purposes.

George Nelson, of Leamington Priors, Warwick, gent., for a certain new or improved process or processes, by the use of which the qualities of a certain gelatinous substance, or certain gelatinous substances, called isinglass, may be improved.

Thomas Lutwyche, of Liverpool, manufacturing chemist, for certain improvements in the construction of apparatus used in the decomposition of common salt, and in the mode or method of working or using the same.

William Bell, of Edinburgh, esq., for improvements in heating and evaporating fluids.

James Dredge, Walcot, Bath, brewer, for certain improvements in the construction of suspension chains for bridges, viaducts, aqueducts, and other purposes, and in the construction of such bridges, viaducts, or aqueducts.

Joseph Bunnett, of Newington Causeway, Southwark, window-blind maker, for improvements in window-shutters, which improvements may also be applied to other useful purposes.

William Cole, of Charing Cross, Middlesex, for certain improvements in carriages for railways or tramroads.

George Crane, of Yuiscedysoyn iron works, near Swansea, iron-master, for improvements in the manufacturing of iron:

Nicholas Troughton, of Broad-

street, in the city of London, gent., for improvements in the process of obtaining copper from copper ores.

Bennett Woodcroft, late of Ardwick, Manchester, but now of Mumps, Oldham, for improvements in the method of printing certain colours on calico and other fabrics.

William Gossage, of Stoke Prior Worcester, for an improved apparatus for decomposing common salt, and for condensing and making use of the gaseous product of such decomposition, also containing improvements in the mode of conducting these processes.

Alexander M'Ewan, grocer and tea merchant, Glasgow, for a process for the improvement of teas as ordinarily imported.

Peter Spence, of Henry-street, Commercial-road, Middlesex, chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of Prussian blue, prussiate of potash, and plaster of Paris.

Charles Brandt, of Upper Belgrave-place, Middlesex, merchant, for an improvement in the mode of evaporating and cooling fluids.

George Goodlet, for an improved method of boiling, drying, or evaporating, concentrating and treating, also applicable to distilling spirits from grain, wash, or other articles, and rectifying.

John Spurgin, of Guildford-street, Russell-square, Middlesex, M.D., for an improvement in the mode or means of propelling vessels through water, and part of which means may be applied to other useful purposes.

William Armstrong, jun., of Hawnes, Bedford, farmer, for improvements in ploughs

John Joseph Charles Sheridan, of Ironmonger-lane, London, chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of soda.

John Hanson, of Huddersfield, York, leaden pipe manufacturer, and Charles Hanson, of the same place, watch-maker, for certain improvements in machinery, or apparatus for making or manufacturing pipes, tubes, and various other articles, from metallic and other substances.

James Neville, of Clap Hall, near Gravesend, Kent, civil engineer, for a certain apparatus or furnace, for economizing fuel, and for more effectually consuming the smoke or gases arising therefrom; the same being applicable for the generation of steam, and for heating or evaporating fluids.

William James Gifford, Gloucester-place, Middlesex, surgeon, for improvements in paddle-wheels.

Henry Vere Huntley, of Great Russell-street, Middlesex, lieutenant, R.N., for improvements in apparatus for facilitating the securing of ships masts.

Thomas John Cave, of Rodney-street, Pentonville, Middlesex, gent., for a great improvement in the construction of paddle-wheels, applicable to ship's boats, and vessels of all descriptions propelled by steam or other mechanical power.

Edmund Shaw, of Fenchurch-street, London, stationer, for an improvement in the manufacture of paper, by the application of a certain vegetable substance not hitherto used for that purpose, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad

Richard Davis, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Robert Crissop Wilson, of Gateshead, Durham, earthenware manufacturers, for an earthenware tile, slab, or plate.

Nevil Smart, of Bridge Wharf, Hampstead-road, Middlesex, wharfinger, for certain improvements in preparing the materials for making bricks, which improvements are also applicable to other purposes.

Samuel Cowling, of Bowling, Bradford, York, barber, for improvements in raising water, applicable to various purposes.

William Joseph Curtis, of Deptford, Kent, engineer, for an improved boiler, or apparatus for generating steam.

William Angus Robertson, of Islington, Middlesex, gent., and Thomas Simmons Mackintosh, of Coleman street, London, engineer, for certain improvements in steam engines.

Lemuel Wellman Wright, of Sloane-terrace, Chelsea, Middlesex, engineer, for certain improvements in machinery, or apparatus for bleaching and cleaning linens, cottons, and other fibrous substances.

Archibald Francis Richard Rosser, of New Boswell-court, Middlesex, esq., in consequence of a communication made to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad, for improvements in preparing manure and in the cultivation of land.

John George Hartley, of No. 11, Beaumont-row Mile-end-road, Middlesex, esq., for an improved application of levers, for the purpose of multiplying power.

James Hunter, of Leys Mill, Arbroath, Forfar, mechanic, for a machine for boring or perforating stones and other substances.

Henry Stephens, of Charlotte-street, Marylebone, gent., and Ebenezer Nash, of Buress-street, Saint George-in-the-East, Middlesex, tallow chandler, for certain improvements in manufacturing colouring matter, and rendering certain colour or colours, applicable to dyeing, staining, and writing.

Thomas Hancock, of Goswell Mews, Goswell-road, Middlesex, water-proof cloth manufacturer, for an improvement or improvements in the process of rendering cloth, and other fabrics, partially, or entirely impervious to air and water, by means of caoutchouc, or Indian rubber.

Henry Vere Huntley, of Great Russell-street, Middlesex, lieutenant, R.N., for improvements in apparatus for facilitating the securing of ships masts.

Francis Hoad, of Demerara, but now of Liverpool, esq., for improvements in making sugar.

Jonathan Dickson, of Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, engineer, for certain improvements in steam-engines, and in generating steam.

Thomas Clark, Doctor of Medicine, Professor of Chemistry, in Mareschall College, Aberdeen, for an improved apparatus to be used in manufacturing sulphuric acid.

Joseph Whitworth, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in machinery, tools, or apparatus, for turning, boring, plaining and cutting metals and other materials.

Ovid Topham, of Whitecross-street, Middlesex, engineer, for certain improvements in the construction of sluice cocks for water-works, and which improved construction of cocks, is also applicable to steam, gas, and other purposes.

John Loach, of Birmingham, brass-founder, for improvements in roller-blind furniture, and in the mode of manufacturing the same, part of which improvements are applicable also to other purposes.

John Thomas Betts, of Smithfield-bars, London, rectifier, for improvements in the process of preparing spirituous liquors in the making of brandy; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Antonin Pieux de Rigel, of Vienna, but now residing at Beaufort-buildings, Strand, Middlesex, engineer, for improvements in steam-engines.

Thomas Vaux, of Woodford, Essex, land-surveyor, for improvements in tilling and fertilizing land.

Henry Quentin Tenneson, late of Paris, but now residing in Leicester-square, Middlesex, gent., for an improved construction of the portable vessels used for containing portable gas, and of the apparatus or machinery used for compressing such gas therein; and of apparatus or mechanism for regulating the issue or supply of gas, either from a portable vessel or from a fixed pipe communicating with an ordinary gasometer; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Edouard François Joseph Duclos, late of Samson, Belgium, but now of Church, Lancaster, gent., for improvements in manufacturing iron.

Henry Robinson Palmer, of Great George-street, Westminster, civil engineer, for improvements in giving motion to barges and other vessels on canals.

John Frederick Grosjean, of Soho-square, Middlesex, musical instru-

ment maker, for certain improvements on harps, which improvements are applicable to other musical stringed instruments.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, C. E., for certain improvements in the preparation of palm oil, whereby it is rendered applicable to the woollen manufactures, lubricating of machinery, and other useful purposes to which it has not hitherto been applied, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, C. E., for certain improvements in machinery for heckling or combing, and preparing, and roving hemp, flax, tow, and such other vegetable fibrous substances, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Robert Smith, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in the means of connecting metallic plates for the construction of boilers and other purposes.

George Whitmore, of Austin-friars, London, merchant and underwriter, in consequence of a communication from a foreigner residing abroad, for a new method of combining, by means of machinery and adhesive compositions, all kinds of fibrous materials, such as cotton, silk, flax, hemp, tow, fur, wool, hair, &c., into manufactured articles, which may be applied to the purposes for which paper, pasteboard, millboard, papier maché, parchment, vellum, leather, woven fabrics, felt, floorcloth, tarpaulin, and the skins of animals are used.

Thomas Clarke, doctor of medicine professor of chemistry, in Marischall College, Aberdeen, for improved apparatus to be used in manufacturing sulphuric acid.

James Potter, of Manchester, Lancaster, for certain improvements in spinning machinery.

William Hearn, of Southampton-street, Pentonville, Middlesex, engineer; and William Davies, of Upper North-place, Gray's-inn-road, Middlesex, plumber, for a certain improvement, or certain improvements, in the construction of boilers for the generation of steam, and heating water or other fluids.

John Chanter, of Earl-street, Blackfriars, London, and of Upper Stamford-street, Surrey, esq.; and John Gray, of Liverpool, engineer, for improvements in furnaces and apparatus connected therewith, for locomotive engines, and for other purposes.

Joseph Whitworth, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in locomotive and other steam-engines.

Richard Burch, of Heywood, engineer, for certain improvements in manufacturing gas from coal.

Joseph Lockett, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in the art of printing calicoes and other fabrics of cotton, silk, wool, paper, or linen, separately or intermixed; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

James Gowland, of Leathersellers-buildings, London, watch and chronometer maker, for a certain improvement or improvements in the mechanism of time-keepers.

Richard Joshua Ironmonger, of Wherwell, Hampshire, esq., for an improved spring or arrangement of springs for wheel carriages.

John Upton, of New-street, Southwark-bridge, Surrey, engineer, for an improved method or methods of generating steam power, and applying the same to ploughing, harrowing, and other agricultural purposes; which method or methods is, or are also applicable to other purposes to which the power of steam is, or may be applied.

William Arthur, of Glasgow, machine maker, for improvements in spinning hemp, flax, and other fibrous substances.

Ernest Adolph Ortman, of Stockholm, Sweden, now of Ebenezer-place, Limehouse, Middlesex, for a method or methods of freeing, wholly, or partially, wooden, or other porous vessels from certain foreign matters or substances which they are liable to absorb, and of turning to a useful account the foreign matter

or substances so liberated or extracted.

George Deakin Midgley, of the Strand, Middlesex, chemist, and John Howard Kyan, of Cheltenham, Gloucester, esq., for an improved mode of extracting or obtaining ammoniacal salts from liquor produced in the manufacture of coal gas.

Charles François Edward Aulas, of No. 38, Grande Rue Verte, Paris, gent., now of Cockspur-street, Middlesex, for an improvement or improvements in preparing writing-paper, so as to prevent the discharge of the ink therefrom without detection, and to prevent the falsification of writing thereon; being partly a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Tobias Michell, of Kingsland-green, Middlesex, for improvements in washing, or purifying smoke and vapours evolved from furnaces of various descriptions.

Thomas Hughes, of High Holborn, Middlesex, truss-maker, for an improvement in stocks, cravats, or stiffners.

Charles François Edward Aulas, of 38, Grande Rue Verte, Paris, but now of Cockspur-street, Middlesex, gent., for a new and improved method of cutting and working wood by machinery; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Potter, of Ancoats, Manchester, cotton-spinner, for an improvement, or improvements in the process of preparing certain descriptions of warps for the loom.

James Slater, of Salford, gent., for certain improvements in steam-engines, and also in boilers and furnaces used for the generation of steam, or other useful purposes.

Charles Wye Williams, of Liverpool, gent., for certain improvements in the means of preparing the vegetable material peat moss or bog, so as to render it applicable to several useful purposes, and particularly for fuel.

Henry Crosley, of Hooper-square, Middlesex, civil engineer, for improved means to be employed in manufacturing beet-root, and other vegetable substances, for the purpose of obtaining saccharine matter therefrom; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

David Shaw and Benjamin Ledger Shaw, of Huddersfield and Holney, York, manufacturers, for improvements in preparing woollen and other warps.

Robert White, of Nottingham, lace maker, for improvements in the manufacture of ornamental lace.

Hamer Stansfield, of Leeds, merchant, for certain machinery of a tappet and lever action, to produce a vertical or horizontal movement, through the medium of ropes or bands working over, under, or round pullies; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

William Coles, of Charing-cross, Middlesex, esq., for improvements in gunnery, and in gun and other carriages, and in the means of connecting the same.

Robert Whitfield, of Hercules Buildings, Westminster road, Surrey, gent. for a composition which he denominates, "an indelible safety and durable black fluid writing ink."

John Jeremiah Rubery, of Birmingham, Warwick, umbrella furniture manufacturer, for certain improvements in the manufacture of part of the furniture of an umbrella; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Joseph Birch Mather, of Nottingham, mechanic, for certain improvements in machinery employed in manufacturing hosiery goods, or what is commmonly called frame work knitting.

William Neal Clay, of West Bromwich, Stafford, chemist, and Joseph Denham Smith, of St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, student in chemistry, for certain improvements in the manufacture of glass.

William Herapath, of Bristol, Somerset, philosophical chemist, and James Fitchew Cox, of the same place, tanner, for a certain improvement or improvements, in the process of tanning.

William Fournes, of Leeds, painter, for a certain improvement or improvements in ventilating pits, shafts, mines, wells, ships' holds, or other confined places.

James Buckingham, of Miner's hall, Strand, for certain improvement in the means of ventilating mines, ships, and other places, and in apparatus for effecting the same

Thomas Birch, of Manchester, machine maker, for certain improvements in carding engines, to be used in carding cotton and other fibrous substances.

Elisha Haydon Collier, of Globe Dock Factory, Rotherhithe, formerly of Boston, North America, for certain improvements in machinery, applicable to the raising fluids and other bodies.

Christopher Nickels, of Guildford-street, Lambeth, gent., for improvements in embossing or impressing the surfaces of leather and other substances, applicable to various purposes.

Elisha Wylde, of Birmingham, engineer, for certain improvements in locomotive and other engines.

James Matley, of Paris, and of Manchester, Lancaster, gent., for certain improvements in machinery for the operation of tiering, used in printing cotton, linen and woollen cloths, silks, papers, and other articles and substances, to which block printing is, or can be applied.

James Jamieson Cordes, of Totol-lane, London, merchant, for an improved mortar for dressing rough rice, or paddy, or redressing rice.

Henry Purser Vaile, of Oxford street, for improvements in rails for railroads.

Richard Tappin Claridge, of Salisbury-street, Strand, gent., for a mastic cement, or composition, applicable to paving, and road-making, covering buildings, and the various purposes to which cement, mastic, lead, zinc, or composition are employed; being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Samuel Cocker, of Porter Works, Sheffield, manufacturer, for improvements in making needles.

Thomas Moore, of Ison-green, Nottingham, lace manufacterer, for improvements in machinery for frame-work knitting.

Samuel Draper, of Basford, Nottingham, lace-maker, for certain improvements for producing ornamental lace or weavings.

John Dover, of Thames street, merchant, and William Jones, of Bartholomew-close, chemist, for improvements in filtering fluids.

Henri Quentin Tenneson late of Paris, but now residing in Leicester-square, Middlesex, gent., in consequence of a communication from a foreigner residing abroad, an improved construction of the portable vessels used for containing portable gas, and of the apparatus or machinery used for compressing such gas therein, and an apparatus or mechanism for regulating the issue or supply of gas, either from a portable vessel, or from a fixed pipe communicating with an ordinary gasometer.

James Matley, of Paris, and Manchester, gent., for a machine, called a tiering machine, upon a new principle for supplying colours to, and to be used by block printers, in the printing of cotton, linen and woollen cloths, silks, paper, and other substances and articles, to which block is, or may be, applied without the aid or assistance of a person to tier upon

Thomas Bell, of South Shields, Durham, manufacturing chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of sulphate of soda, which improvements, or parts thereof, are applicable to other purposes.

John Joseph Charles Sheridan, of Ironmonger-lane, London, chemist, for certain improvements in the several processes of saccharine, vinous, and acetous fermentation.

William Arthur, of Glasgow, machine maker, for improvements in spinning hemp, flax, and other fibrous substances.

Baron Henry de Bode, Major-general in the Russian service, of Ber-

ners-street, Middlesex, for improvements in apparatus for retarding and stopping chain, or other cables, or ropes, on board ships or vessels.

Hamer Stansfield, of Leeds, York, merchant, for having imported an invention, for the application to certain machinery of a tappet and lever action, to produce a vertical or horizontal movement, through the medium of ropes or bands, working over, under, or round pullies, as also of a new arrangement of mechanism for throwing certain wheels in and out of gear; communicated to him, by Christian William Schonherr, of Schneeberg, Saxony.

Frederick Burt Zincke, the younger, of Crauford-street Marylebone, esq., for the preparing, or manufacturing of the leaf of a certain plant, so as to produce a fibrous substance, not hitherto used in manufactures, and its application to various useful purposes.

John Hansom, of Huddersfield York, leaden pipe manufacturer, and Charles Hansom, of the same place, watch maker, for certain improvements in machinery, or apparatus for making or manufacturing pipes, tubes, and various other articles, from metallic and various other substances.

William Gilman, of Bethnal-green, Middlesex, engineer, for an improvement or improvements in steam boilers, and in engines to be actuated by steam or other power.

Miles Berry, of Chancery-lane, Middlesex, for improvements in cleansing purifying, and drying wheat and other grains and seeds.

Henry Stephens, of Charlotte-street Marylebone, and Ebenezer Nash, of Buross-street, St. George's in the east, tallow-chandler, for certain improvements in manufacturing colouringmatter, and rendering certain coloursapplicable to dyeing, staining, and writing.

John Gotleib Hartly, of . No. 11 Beaumont-row, Mile-end-road, for improvements in applying of levers for multiplying power.

William Henry Goshen, of Crosby-square, Bishopsgate, London, for improvements in preparing flax and hemp for spinning.

John Paul Newmann, of Great Tower-street, London, for improvements in the manufacturing of prussiate of potash, and prussiate of soda.

James Dowie, of Frederick-street Edinburgh, boot and shoe-maker for certain improvements in the construction of boots and shoes, or other coverings for the human foot.

William Occleshaw, of Manchester, Lancaster, leaden pipe manufacturer, for certain improvements in the machinery or apparatus for manufacturing pipes or tubes, or other similar articles from lead, or other metallic substances.

Thomas William Booker, of Merlin Griffith Works, Glamorganshire, iron master and tin-plate manufacturer, for improvements in preparing iron, to be coated with tin or other metals.

George Cottam, of Winsley-street, Oxford-street, Middlesex, engineer, for improvements in the construction of wheels for railway and other carriages.

Moses Poole, of Lincoln's-inn, Middlesex, gent., for improvements in looms for weaving figured and ornamented fabrics, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

Moses Pool, of Lincoln's-inn, gent. for improvements in printing, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Hall, of Nottingham, lace manufacturer, for certain improvements in machinery, whereby cloth or woven fabrics of various kinds may be extended or stretched, and dried in an extended state.

Joshua Taylor Beale, of Church-lane, Whitechapel, Middlesex, engineer for certain improvements in, and additions to, his former invention, known by the title of "a lamp applicable to the burning of substances not hitherto usually burned in such vessels or apparatus," and secured to him by letters patent, dated 4th February, 1834.

Samuel Mills, of Darlaston-green iron and steel works, near Wednesbury, Stafford, iron master, for improvements in machinery for rolling metals.

Jeremiah Bynner, of Birmingham, Warwick, lamp manufacturer, for improvements on lamps.

Benjamin Cook, of Birmingham, brass founder, for an improvement in gas burners, commonly called or known by the name of Argand Burners.

Cornelius Ward, of Great Tichfield street, Marylebone, Middlesex, musical instrument maker, for improvements on the musical instruments designated drums.

Thomas Vale, of Allen-street, Lambeth, Surrey, coach joiner, for improvements in hinges.

James Hunter, of Ley's Mill, Arbroath, Forfar, mechanic, for a machine for boring or perforating stones.

William Elliot, of Birmingham, button manufacturer, for improvements in the manufacture of covered buttons.

Thomas Joyce, of Camberwell, New Road, Surrey, gardener, for improved apparatus for heating churches, warehouses, shops, factories, hothouses, carriages, and other places requiring artificial heat, and improved fuel to be used therewith.

Joshua John Lloyd Margery, of Wellington-road, St. John's Wood, Middlesex, esq., for a new mode of preserving animal and vegetable substances from decay.

John Gray, of Liverpool, engineer, for certain improvements in steam engines, and apparatus connected therewith, which improvements are particularly applicable to marine engines, for propelling boats or vessels, and part or parts of which improvements are also applicable to locomotive and stationary steam-engines, and other purposes.

Edmund Butler Rowley, of Charlton-upon-Wedlake, Manchester, surgeon, for certain improvements applicable to locomotive engines, tenders, and carriages, to be used upon railways, and which improvements are also applicable to other useful purposes.

John White, of Manchester, engineer, for certain improvements in apparatus usually employed in lathes, for turning metals and other substances.

James Berington, of Winckworth-place, Saint Leonard's, Shoreditch, gent., and Nicholas Richards, of Camomile-street, London, builder, for certain improvements in curing, or preventing, smokey chimneys, which improvements are also applicable to the purposes of ventilation.

Christopher Nickels, of Guildford-street, Lambeth, Surrey, gent., and Henry George Collins, of Queen's-street, Cheapside, London, bookbinder, for improvements in bookbinding, parts of which improvements are applicable to the cutting of paper for other purposes.

John Robertson, jun., formerly of Tweedmouth, Berwick, now of Great Charles-street, Buckingham-gate, Middlesex, gent., for improvements of architecture, as regards its construction, or in the description or properties of the forms and combinations; and also of the superficial figures which may be employed; the application of these improvements or of the principles or method thereof, being also for supplying forms, figures, or patterns in various arts or manufactures; also for an improvement, or improvements, with regard to the surfaces of buildings, whether interior or exterior, for protecting them from decay, and also giving them a more finished appearance.

William Henry Pitcher, of the West-India Dock-house, Billiter-square, Middlesex, merchant, for improvements in the construction of docks and apparatus for repairing ships and vessels.

Neale Clay of West Bromwich, Stafford, manufacturing chemist, for improvements in the manufacture of iron.

William Sandford Hall, of Strathearn cottage, Chelsea, Lieutenant in the army, for improvements in paddle wheels.

William Henry James, of Birmingham, civil engineer, for certain improvements in telegraphic apparatus, and in the means of communicating intelligence by signals.

Charles Button, of Holborn-bars, chemist, and Harrison Grey Dyer, of Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, gent., for improvements in the manufacture of white lead.

William Brindley, of Birmingham, patent paper tray manufacturer, for improvements in the construction of presses.

William Losh, of Benton-hall, Northumberland, esq., for improvements in decomposing muriate of soda, (common salt), parts of which improvements are also applicable to the condensing vapours of other processes.

Jehiel Frankling Norton, of Manchester, merchant for certain improvements on stoves, or furnaces, being a communication from a foreigner residing abroad.

John Elvey, of the city of Canterbury, Kent, millwright, for improvements in paddle wheels.

John George Bodmer, of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster, civil engineer, for certain improvements in machinery for spinning and doubling cotton, wool, silk, flax, and other fibrous materials.

Richard Burch, of Heywood, Lancaster, engineer for certain improvements in manufacturing gas from coal.

Moses Poole, of Lincoln's-inn, Middlesex, gent., in consequence of a communication made to him by a foreigner residing abroad, for improvements in looms for weaving figured and ornamented fabrics.

Samuel Draper, of Basford, Nottingham, lace-maker, for certain improvements for producing ornamented lace or weavings.

Christopher Nickels, of Guildford-street, Lambeth, Surrey, gent., for improvements in embossing or impressing the surfaces of leather and other substances, applicable to various purposes.

Joseph Lockett, of Manchester, Lancaster, engraver, in consequence of a communication made to him by a foreigner residing abroad, for certain improvements in the art of printing calicoes and other fabrics of cotton, silk, wool, paper, or linen, separately or intermixed.

William Wilkinson, of Lucas-street, St. George's in the east, Middlesex, engineer, for a certain improvement, or certain improvements in the mechanism, or machinery, by which steam power is applied to give motion to ships, or other floating vessels, in, or through water.

Henry Blundell, of Hall, York, paint and colour manufacturer, in consequence of a communication by a foreigner residing abroad, for an improved method of operating upon certain vegetable and animal substances, in the process of manufacturing candles therefrom, and the application of certain products resulting from this method to various useful purposes.

John Hall, of New Ratford, Nottingham, lace manufacturer, for certain improvements in machinery, whereby cloth, and other woven fabrics of various kinds, may be extended, or stretched, and dried, in an extended state.

John Upton, of Horsleydown-lane, Surrey, engineer, for an improved method or methods of generating steam power, and applying the same to ploughing, harrowing, and other agricultural purposes, which method or methods, is, or are, also applicable to other purposes, to which the power of steam, is, or may be, applied.

William Herapath, of Bristol, Somerset, philosophical chemist, and James Fitchew Cox, of the same place, tanner, for certain improvement or improvements in the process of tanning.

Joshua Taylor Beale, of Church-lane, Whitechapel, Middlesex, engineer, for certain improvements and additions to his former invention

known by the title of a "lamp applicable to the burning of substances not hitherto usually burned in such vessels or apparatuses," and secured to him by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, the 4th day of January, in the fourth year of the reign of his late majesty, King William the Fourth.

William Fothergill Cook, of Breed-place, Hastings, Sussex, esq., and Charles Wheatstone, of Conduit-street, Hanover-square, Middlesex, esq., for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarums at distant places, by means of electric currents transmitted through metallic circuits.

James Leonard Clement Thomas, of Covent-garden, Middlesex, esq., in consequence of a communication from a foreigner residing abroad, for an improvement applicable to steam engines, and steam generators, having for its object, economy of fuel.

Thomas Joyce, of Clerkenwell, New Road, Surrey, gardener, for improved apparatus for heating churches, warehouses, shops, factories, hothouses, carriages, and other places requiring artificial heat, and improved fuel to be used therewith.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.—DOMESTIC.

Civil List.

The Select Committee to whom the Accounts of Income *and* Expenditure *of the* Civil List, *from the 1st of January, 1831, to the 31st of December, 1836, with an Estimate of the probable future Charge of the Civil List of Her Majesty, were referred, have, pursuant to the Order of the House, taken the same into their Consideration, and agreed to the following Report:—*

In the performance of the duties intrusted to them by the House, your Committee have found their inquiries much abridged and simplified by reason of the arrangements made by Parliament on the accession of his late Majesty. By the act of 1 William 4th, c. 25, the civil list of the crown was relieved from those expences which had no immediate connexion with the royal dignity or personal comfort of the Sovereign, but which belonged rather to the civil government of the state. Under this distribution, a sum of upwards of 600,000*l.*, which, during the reign of his late majesty George 4th, had been charged on the civil list and the hereditary revenues of Scotland, was provided for in supply, or from the consolidated fund. Your committee see every reason to approve of this arrangement. The House is aware, that in the surrender of the hereditary revenues made by his late majesty were included several branches of casual revenue, which had, in former times, been left at the sole disposal of the crown. The sums by which the public have thus benefited amount to 70,684*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*, which, under previous settlements of the civil list, would have been applicable to the privy purse of the King, but which, by 1 William 4th, c. 25, have been appropriated to the public service. This amount has been received, it is observable, at a time of profound peace: in time of war, the total amount would have been much more considerable. The civil list of his late majesty was apportioned for the following purposes:—

1st class.	Privy purse	£110,000
2nd class.	Salaries of the several departments of the Royal Household, and superannuation and retired allowances ..	130,300
3rd class.	Tradesmen's bills	171,500
4th class.	Royal bounty .. .. } Special and secret service .. .. }	23,200
5th class.	Pensions	75,000
		£510,000

It is satisfactory to your committee to be enabled to state, that it has not been found necessary during the two last reigns to apply to Parliament for the means of defraying any increased expenditure beyond the amount originally fixed as the income of the civil list. The importance of this strict attention to the due and careful appropriation of the funds provided for the support and dignity of the Sovereign is so obvious as to require no further observation on the part of your committee; and the necessity of avoiding all debt or excess of expenditure for the future is no less essential to the best interests of the crown, than to the reasonable hopes and expectations of the people.

Class I.

The privy purse of the Sovereign has been for upwards of half a century fixed at 60,000*l*. During the late reign, there being a queen consort, a further sum of 50,000*l*. was allotted to this class. Under existing circumstances, your committee recommend that an annual sum of 60,000*l*. be provided for this branch of the royal expenditure.

Class II.

The second class comprehends the salaries of the great officers of state, those of the officers and menial servants of the royal household, and the superannuation and retired allowances payable to persons of the latter class. The committee, concurring in the opinion expressed in the report of 1831, "that it was not consistent with the respect due to her majesty to scrutinize the details of her domestic household," have not undertaken any minute investigation into that branch of the subject; but they have received, as already stated, a very full analysis of the whole of this branch of expenditure.

The principal officers of state in attendance on the person of the Sovereign, are the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, and the Groom of the Stole.

The report of the select committee of 1831 recommended that the salaries of these officers should be reduced in the following proportions:—

	Original Salary.	Salary recommended.
Lord Steward ..	£2,436 10 0	.. £2,000 0 0
Lord Chamberlain ..	3,085 0 0	.. 2,000 0 0
Master of the Horse ..	3,350 0 0	.. 2,500 0 0
Groom of the Stole ..	2,163 0 0	.. 1,500 0 0

In the proposed estimate submitted to them, your committee perceive, that it is not only intended that the reductions recommended in the salary of the three first officers should be carried into immediate effect, but that it is not proposed to fill up the office of Groom of the Stole, or to create any analogous office in the household of her majesty.

It is also proposed to reduce the number of lords in waiting from twelve to eight, and of grooms in waiting to eight from thirteen.

As the duties of the attendants upon her majesty will be augmented by reason of the reduction of their number, whilst your committee approve of the reduction of the salaries of the great officers of state, they see no reason to suggest that any reduction in the salaries of the other members of the household should take place.

During the late reign, the ladies in attendance on her majesty were provided for out of the sum of 50,000*l.* allotted to the queen consort, and which has been already omitted from the first class of the civil list. It, therefore, becomes necessary, during the reign of her majesty, that provision should be made for the ladies of her majesty's household.

Two offices appear on the civil list of his late majesty, which were formerly borne on the army estimates—the governor and constable of Windsor Castle, who receives a salary of 1,120*l.*, and the lieutenant-governor, whose emoluments amount to 173*l.* After the principle was laid down, that military governments should be abolished, and military pensions substituted for such appointments, the above-mentioned officers were transferred to the civil list, as more particularly appertaining to the state of the Sovereign, and connected with the royal residence. On these grounds, your committee are induced to recommend, not the abolition of these offices, but their consolidation, when a vacancy shall arise.

In considering the amount to be recommended for this class, your committee feel it their duty to call the attention of the House to the fact, that no application is now made to Parliament for the grant of pensions for the servants of the late king. With these explanations, your committee recommend the estimate of 131,260*l.* for the second class of the civil list.

Class III.

Considering the disbursements which have taken place in the late reign under the head of "Bills of Tradesmen," your committee recommend the proposed estimate of 172,500*l.* for this branch of the royal expenditure.

Class IV.

The fourth class of the civil list of his late majesty included the following heads:—

	£.
Royal Bounty	9,000
Home Secret Service	10,000
Alms and Charity	4,200
	£23,200

After much consideration, your committee have determined to recommend that the sum of 10,000*l*., now charged on the civil list for secret service, may be transferred to the consolidated fund by Act of Parliament, to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same authority, as heretofore.

The provision for this class will consequently be reduced, as a charge on the civil list to 13,200*l*.

Considering that the sum distributed annually as alms and charity is applied in a manner suited rather to ancient than to modern times, and is attended with some expense, it may not be inexpedient to consider, whether the purposes of the royal benevolence might not be more fully attained, if some other and better mode of distribution were in future adopted.

Class V.

The committee approached the consideration of the pensions charged on the fifth class of the civil list with a full sense of the attention which the subject has exacted. Your committee refer to the following passage in the report of 1831:—The House must recollect, that the principle on which the sum is allotted by Parliament for the purpose of the civil list, is as a payment for the personal advantage of the Sovereign, and for the support of the dignity of the crown, in lieu of the hereditary revenue, which, at the commencement of each reign, the Sovereign sacrifices for the benefit of the public; some provision ought, in all cases, to be made for such payments, as it might be presumed the Sovereign would have been desirous of making, had he remained in possession of the hereditary revenue. That one class of such payments would be pensions to those of his subjects whom he wished to favour, cannot be doubted." In conformity with this opinion, your committee recommend that the provision for the grant of pensions should continue to form a part of the civil list of her majesty.

But in order to guard against the supposition that an enactment founded on this principle, should, in any degree, interfere with the inquiry into pensions, of which notice has been given in the House of Commons (if it appears fitting that such inquiry should be instituted), it is the opinion of your committee that, in place of granting a sum of 75,000*l*. for civil list pensions, her majesty should be empowered to grant, in every year, new pensions on the civil list to the amount of 1,200*l*.; these pensions to be granted in strict conformity with the following resolution of the House of Commons, passed on the 18th of February, 1834:—

"That it is the bounden duty of the responsible advisers of the crown to recommend to his majesty for grants of pensions on the civil list such persons only as have just claims on the royal beneficence, or who, by their personal services to the crown, by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in science, and attainments in literature and the arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign, and the gratitude of their country."

Your committee recommend, that this resolution shonld be engrafted in the Civil List Act, and that annual returns of the pensions granted, and the names of the several parties, should be laid before Parliament.

Your committee feel it to be their duty to add, that, by this arrangement, it is far from their intention to prejudge the question which is likely to come before Parliament, or, in any respect, to prejudice the just claims of the parties in the receipt of pensions granted by former Sovereigns. When the inquiry is completed, your committee feel every confidence that provision will be made for such pensions as, upon full examination, it is thou ht expedient to empower her majesty to continue.

Your committee do not, however, consider that it would be proper to delay the settlement of the civil list of her majesty till such inquiry shall be completed.

Your committee entirely approve of the principle acted on in all the branches of the ordinary public service, by which sinecures of all descriptions have been abolished on the termination of the existing interests: the committee consider this principle to be equally applicable to the departments of the civil list: they, therefore, express their hope, that, with the permission of her majesty, such inquiries may be instituted by the treasury and the department of the household, and that such directions may be given, as will enforce the application of this salutary principle from time to time.

Her majesty has stated, in the speech from the throne, that, whilst her majesty is desirous that the expenditnre of the "civil list, as of every other department of the government, should be kept within due limits, her majesty is confident, that the House of Commons will gladly make an adequate provision for the honour and dignity of the crown:" it has been in the spirit of this recommendation, that your committee have proceeded, and they are of opinion, that the civil list of her majesty be fixed according to the subjoined estimate, founded on the recommendations contained in the present report:—

	£.
Class 1.—Privy Purse	60,000
Class 2.—Retired Allowances, Salaries, and Wages ..	131,260
Class 3.—Expenses of Household	172,500
Class 4.—Royal Bounty, Alms, and Special Services ..	13,200
Class 5.—Pensions (Her Majesty to be empowered to grant Pensions in every year to the extent of 1,200*l.* per annum.)	
Unappropriated Monies	8,040

New Arrangements Concerning Convicts.—The following are extracts from the periodical report prepared for parliament by John Henry Capper, esq., superintendant of ships and vessels employed for the confinement of offenders under sentence of transportation.

"Whitehall, Feb. 15.

"My Lord—The behaviour of the convicts confined on board the respective hulks has been generally orderly during the last year, although a desperate attempt to escape was made by a few notorious London offenders, prior to their sailing for the Australian settlements, in which great violence was used. Happily, however, the plan was frustrated, and

the ringleaders forthwith embarked for their ultimate destination. Indeed, the alteration which has during the last few years been acted upon, for rendering transportation a more effective punishment, and the consciousness of the prisoners that they are to be doomed to actual labour in the colonies for a certain period of their sentences, seem to have had the effect of rendering many hardened offenders desperate, and ready to attempt escape at all hazards. The number of boys confined on board the hulk specially appropriated for their reception has been very materially reduced during the past year by transportation to the Australian settlements; one ship having sailed for those colonies with juvenile transports only; it having been deemed advisable to try that course experimentally, in preference to the usual mode of sending out a few boys in each vessel with the adults; and when arrangements are made for the removal of the remainder to the Penitentiary or elsewhere, the hulk in which they are at present confined will be immediately abolished. All the young convicts who are fit to be sent abroad, are transported to Australia, according to their sentences, in pursuance of your lordship's directions. I cannot but consider the ultimate disposal of juvenile offenders a subject deserving of the most serious consideration, as there can be no doubt that many, from their extreme youth, might hereafter be made good members of society. Some children were last year received on board the Euryalus under ten years of age, much too young to admit of their being sent abroad, in pursuance of their sentences, and at the same time, not of a description likely to be benefited by imprisonment in the Penitentiary, under its present regulations.

"Within the last two or three years, a considerable influx of prisoners on board the hulks has taken place, from two causes. The first is the great increase in the number of soldiers who are now transported for various offences against military discipline, compared with former years; and the second, is the continued arrivals in this country of numbers of the black population from the West-Indies, who are now convicted in the colonies of various offences, and sent to England, to be thence transported beyond the seas.

"I continue to receive the most satisfactory accounts from Bermuda of the behaviour and industry of the prisoners employed on the public works; and as these under the naval department are now fast approaching to completion, I am looking forward to further reductions in the establishment at an early date. It may not be amiss to remark, that the total cost of each convict in that colony is under 1*s.* per diem, and that the labour they perform is more equal to that of free labourers, many of the prisoners performing extra work beyond the usual hours of labour. The great bulk of them have been taught stone quarrying, and masonry; the usual pay for which, to free labourers, is 6*s.* per diem, and for the men employed in the diving bells double that sum; and as the last description of labour is now performed by the prisoners, a considerable saving has been effected in carrying on the public works at Bermuda, by the employment of convicts.

"On the 1st of January, 1836, there were 2,202 prisoners on board the respective hulks in England; from which time to the 31st of December, 4,102 transports have been received from the various civil and military authorities at home and in the colonies. During the same period 3,851 convicts have been transported to New South Wales, and Van Dieman's land; 325 have been discharged; 74 have been transferred to the Penitentiary; 117 have died; 2 have escaped; and 1,935 prisoners remained on board the hulks on the 1st of January last. Of the number received during the year, 155 were military prisoners, 118 of whom were convicted by courts martial in the colonies, and 37 in this country; 126 prisoners have also been received from the colonies, in pursuance of sentences passed upon them by the civil authorities, 93 of whom were blacks, Four prisoners were received under 10 years of age; 110 between that age and 15; 1,190 were between 15 and 20 years; 1,795 between 20 and 30; and 866 were above 30 years of age. Of the total number received, 2,085 have been either previously convicted or in prison; 3,215 were natives of England; 54 natives of Wales; 261 were Scotch; 287 Irish; 108 natives of British colonies; and 40 were foreigners.

"JOHN H. CAPPER."

"To Lord John Russell,"

Slavery Abolition Act.

Return to an Address of the Hon. the House of Commons, dated December 4, 1837; for an Account of the Averages of Sales in the several Colonies affected by the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, upon which the sum of 20,000,000*l.*, voted as Compensation to the Owners of Slaves, was apportioned among the several Colonies; of the Periods for which those Averages were taken; and of the Rate of Compensation per Head which was allotted to each.

COLONY.	Averages of Sales of Slaves from 1822 to 1830.	Rate of Compensation per Slave.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bermuda	27 4 11¾	12 10 5
Bahamas	29 18 9¾	12 14 4¾
Jamaica	44 15 2¼	19 5 4¾
Honduras	120 4 7½	53 6 9½
Virgin Islands	31 16 1¾	14 2 10¾
Antigua	32 12 10½	14 12 3
Montserrat	36 17 10¾	16 3 6¾
Nevis	39 3 11¾	17 2 7¼
St. Christopher's ...	36 6 10¼	16 13 0½
Dominica	43 8 7½	19 8 9¼
Barbadoes	47 1 3½	20 13 8¼
Grenada	59 6 0	26 1 4¾
St. Vincent's	58 6 8	26 10 7¾
Tobago	45 12 0½	20 3 7¼
St. Lucia	56 18 7	25 3 4
Trinidad	105 4 5¼	50 1 1¼
British Guiana	114 11 5¾	51 17 1½
Cape of Good Hope ...	73 9 11	34 11 7¼
Mauritius	69 14 3	31 10 6

James Lewis.
Hastings Elwin.
Henry F. Stephenson.

Office of Commissioners of Compensation, Dec. 11, 1837.

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM AND SALE OF CROWN LANDS IN THE WEST INDIES.—*Copy of a Circular Despatch addressed by Lord Glenelg to the Governors of the West India Colonies, &c.*

Downing-street,
Jan. 30, 1836.

Sir,—The accounts which I have received, from time to time, of the conduct and industry of the apprentices, appear to prove that cultivation may be profitably carried on in the West Indies as long as the apprenticeship lasts, and afford much encouragement to hope that full and complete emancipation will be attended with beneficial results, both to the employers and the labouring population. Some precautionary measures, however, seem to be required, in order to guard against that degree of danger to the value of property, or the more permanent interests of society, which can scarcely fail to attach to so great and important a transition.

It must not be forgotten, that, the conditions under which society has hitherto existed will, on the expiration of the apprenticeship, undergo an essential change. During slavery, labour would be compelled to go wherever it promised most profit to the employer. Under the new system it will find its way wherever it promises most profit to the labourer. If, therefore, we are to keep up the cultivation of the staple productions, we must make it the immediate and apparent interest of the negro population to employ their labour in raising them.

There is reason to apprehend, that, at the termination of the apprenticeship, this will not be the case. Where there is land enough to yield an abundant subsistence to the whole population in return for slight labour, they will probably have no sufficient inducement to prefer the more toilsome existence of a regular labourer, whatever may be its remote advantages, or even its immediate gains. Should things be left to their natural course, labour would not be attracted to the cultivation of exportable produce, until population began to press upon the means of subsistence, and the land failed (without a more assiduous and economical culture) to supply all its occupants with the necessaries of life. As soon as a natural labouring population should thus arise, and the growing necessity of making the most of the land should insure the proper application of their labour, it might be expected that, the present staples would again be brought into cultivation. But the depreciation which would take place in property, and the rude state into which society would fall back, in the mean time, make it desirable to adopt measures to check this apparently natural course.

How far it may be possible to check it effectually it is not easy to determine; but by diminishing the facilities of obtaining land, it may certainly be impeded. It is true, that where so much unoccupied land belongs to private persons, it is difficult to make any arrangement which will insure the proper distribution of it; nor am I prepared at present to recommend any definite measure for that purpose which may be free from inconvenience. But it is of great importance in the mean time that the evil should not be aggravated by the inconsiderate neglect or the incautious distribution of those

lands which are at the disposal of the Crown.

In order to prevent this, it will be necessary to prevent the occupation of any "Crown lands" by persons not possessing a proprietary title to them; and to fix such a price upon all Crown lands as may place them out of the reach of persons without capital. The specific regulations by which this may be best effected will probably vary with the local circumstances of each colony. It is my present object to explain to you the nature and grounds of the measure, that you may be enabled to examine those circumstances in their true bearing upon the question, and to arrange the details accordingly.

It would appear, that a country is, then, in its most prosperous state when there is as much labour in the market as can be profitably employed. In new countries, where the whole unoccupied territory belongs to the Crown, and settlers are continually flowing in, it is possible, by fixing the price of fresh land so high as to place it above the reach of the poorest class of settlers, to keep the labour market in its most prosperous state from the beginning. This precaution, by insuring a supply of labourers at the same time that it increases the value of the land, makes it more profitable to cultivate old land well than to purchase new. The natural tendency of the population to spread over the surface of the country, each man settling where he may, or roving from place to place in pursuit of virgin soil, is thus impeded. The territory, expanding only with the pressure of population, is commensurate with the actual wants of the entire community. Society, being thus kept together, is more open to civilising influences, more directly under the control of Government, more full of the activity which is inspired by common wants, and the strength which is derived from the division of labour; and altogether is in a sounder state, morally, politically, and economically, than if left to pursue its natural course.

This policy has of late years been pursued with very good results in our North American and Australian colonies; and there is no doubt that it may be applied with advantage in the West Indies also. It cannot, indeed, be expected to be either so simple or so effectual in its operation, owing to the existing relations of West Indian society, contracted under a different system, to the alternately neglected and exhausted state in which the long operation of an opposite policy has left the already appropriated territory to the unnatural condition of the labouring population, and to the artificial channels in which productive industry has hitherto been confined. It is probable that, the particular regulations which have been found to answer in the possessions alluded to, may not be applicable to so different a state of things. Of this, however, within the limits of your government, you are the most competent judge. I have, therefore, to request, that you will take the matter into your earliest consideration, and that you will then submit to me, in detail, the arrangements which you may recommend as best calculated to carry the views of his Majesty's Government into effect in the colony under your care.

One general regulation, however, I am prepared immediately to enforce—that, in future, no Crown land shall be disposed of to private individuals otherwise than by public sale, a *minimum* price being fixed, but this price not to be accepted until, upon proper notice, it shall appear that no one is prepared to offer more, the highest bidder being, in all cases, entitled to the preference; ten per cent. upon the whole purchase-money to be paid down at the time of sale, and the remainder at an early period after the sale, and previously to possession being granted.

The rules to be observed in surveying and portioning out the lands, the number of acres which should make up a lot, and the amount of the *minimum* price, it will be for you to suggest. It is not impossible, that different parts of the colony under your charge may require different sets of regulations, according to the quality or produce of the soil, the vicinity of towns or rivers, the advancement of the population in the refinements of civilised life, and its greater or less density. On these points I can offer you no other guide than a reference to the object which the proposed measure is intended to effect. That objeet is not to force the cultivation of the present staples by depriving the negroes of every other resource for subsistence, but merely to condense and keep together the population in such a manner, that it may always contain a due proportion of labourers. When that is the case, the most profitable produce will always afford the highest wages, and the highest wages will always draw the largest supply of labour. To discourage the extension of cultivation, or to confine it to any particular field, is by no means desirable. But some security should, if possible, be taken, that all the territory which is cultivated at all shall be cultivated well. The *minimum* price of land, therefore should be high enough to leave a considerable portion of the population unable to buy it, until they have saved some capital out of the wages of their industry, and, at the same time, low enough to encourage such savings by making the possession of land a reasonable object of ambition to all.

I have already intimated, that the large tracts of unimproved and unoccupied land which belong to private persons, though they will interfere with the efficacy of the measure, do not diminish its necessity. I am, therefore, unwilling to encumber the subject with a reference to matters which may be reserved for separate consideration. Many of those persons must, however, be deeply interested in the success of the policy which I have pointed out, and may probably be induced to enter into the views of Government, and to make such cessions or adopt such regulations as may be advantageous to all parties. In pursuing your inquiries on the immediate subject of this despatch, you will naturally be drawn into communication with them; and you will not fail to recommend any practicable arrangements by which you think the speedy and effectual operation of the measure may be promoted.

In many cases serious difficulties will occur in securing unsold lands for the future from the intrusion of usurpers and squatters. You will not omit to notice the

nature and extent of those difficulties in the colony under your care, and the measures by which they may be most conveniently overcome.

I have further to request, that your communications on this subject may be accompanied by the best information which you can obtain, as to the extent and value of the Crown lands under your government, and the proportion of them which is already occupied by persons without legal title.

GLENELG.

MARRIAGES UNDER THE NEW ACT.—This act extends to every case of marriage to be solemnised in England according to the rites of the Church of England (unless by licence or bans), as also to Quakers, Jews, Roman Catholics, and all Dissenters, according to such form and ceremony as they may see fit to adopt; and every entry of marriage that takes place in England, including those in the Established Church, will be forwarded quarterly to the Registrar-General of births, deaths, and marriages, at his office, in London. The act provides, in 35th section, "That every marriage solemnised under this act shall be cognisable in like manner as marriage before the passing of this act, according to the rites of the Church of England." Persons can now be married in the *Established Church without banns*, by giving twenty-one days' notice to the superintendent-registrar of the district in which they reside. The fee for notice and certificate is 2*s*. The registrar's attendance is not required in churches or chapels licensed by the bishop. Dissenters, on giving the like notice (if not by licence), can be married *in any registered* dissenting place of worship in England, whether they reside in such district or not, by describing such building at the time of giving notice. If by licence, seven days' notice only is required, and such marriage must be solemnised within the superintendent-registrar's district, in which one of the parties has resided for at least fifteen days immediately preceding the day of the grant of such licence. The fees for marriage in a registered building are as follow:—To the superintendent-registrar for notice and certificate, 2*s*.; to the registrar attending, if not by licence, 5*s*.; if by licence, 10*s*.; to the superintendent-registrar for marriage licence, 3*l*.; stamps on licence, 10*s*.; on affidavit, 2*s*. 6*d*. The above fees relate alone to the civil registration, no fees being appointed to be paid for the religious part of the service. Every marriage of which such notice has been entered, must be solemnised within three calendar months after such entry, or the notice must be renewed.

PENALTIES FOR UNDULY REGISTERING BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES. — Every registrar who shall refuse, or without reasonable cause, omit to register any birth, death, or marriage, of which he shall have had due notice, is liable to a penalty of 50*l*. And every person who shall wilfully make or cause to be made, for the purpose of being inserted in any register of birth, death, or marriage, any false statement touching any of the particulars therein required, shall be subject to the same pains and penalties as if guilty of perjury.

Births.—It will not be lawful for a registrar to register the birth of any child after the expiration of six calendar months following the day of such birth, and every registrar will be liable to a penalty of 50*l.* for every such offence. He will also be subject to the like penalty should he register a birth after the expiration of forty-two days following such birth, unless a solemn declaration of the particulars required to be known touching the birth of such child is first made by some person present at the birth, or the father or guardian of such child, when it shall thereupon be lawful for the registrar, in the presence of the superintendent-registrar, to register such birth according to the information of the person making the declaration. The superintendent-registrar will be entitled to a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the registrar 5*s.*, from the person requiring the same to be registered. The time allowed by law for registration is within forty-two days after the birth, when no fee is demanded.

Baptism.—The birth of a child may be registered before baptism, and the name given in baptism may be registered within six months after registration of birth, and within seven days after baptism, on payment of a fee of 1*s.* to the minister, and the like fee to the registrar.

Burials.—Every person who shall bury, or perform any funeral or religious service for the burial of any dead body, for which no certificate shall have been duly made and delivered, either by the registrar, or (in cases of inquest) by the coroner, and who shall not within seven days give notice thereof to the registrar, shall forfeit 10*l.* for every such offence.

Marriages. — Every person who shall knowingly and wilfully make any false declaration, or sign any false notice or certificate, for the purpose of procuring any marriage, and every person who shall forbid the issue of any superintendent-registrar's certificate, by falsely representing himself or herself to be a person whose consent to such marriage is required by law, knowing such to be false, shall suffer the penalties of perjury. And if any valid marriage shall take place by means of any such false representation made by either party to such marriage, it shall be lawful for her Majesty's Attorney-General or Solicitor-General to sue for a forfeiture of all estate and interest in any property accruing to the offending party by such marriage; and the proceedings and the consequences will be the same as are provided in the like case with regard to marriages by licence before the passing of the act according to the rites of the Church of England.

Persons also failing to do that which is by an act of parliament enjoined, are indictable for a misdemeanour, although no specific penalty is imposed by the act which they have so disobeyed.

Criminal Statistics.

The Statistical Tables of Crime give the following results :—

	England and Wales.	Ireland.	Scotland.
Population	13,897,187	7,767,401	2,365,114
Total number of offenders	20,984	23,891	2,922
Offences against the person	1,956	7,769	795
Offences against property, committed with violence ...	1,310	671	351
Offences against property, committed without violence ...	16,167	6,593	1,458
Malicious offences against property ...	168	500	28
Forgery, and offences against the currency	359	214	90
Other offences not included in the above classes	1,024	8,144	198
Convicted	14,771	18,110	2,152
Sentenced to death ...	494	175	2
Executed	17	14	1

A Comparative View of the Nature of the Crimes which are classified as above may, to some extent, afford the means of estimating the habits of the people of each country, and the degree of civilization to which they have attained.

	England and Wales.	Ireland.	Scotland.
Murder	73	340	6
Assaults with intent to murder	0	127	0
Shooting at, stabbing, administering poison, with intent to murder	118	65	12
Manslaughter ...	201	280	26
Assaults	700	6,401	674
Assaults on peace-officers in the execution of their duty	477	132	10
Abduction	3	34	0
Rape, assault with intent, &c.	183	298	34
Unnatural Offences ...	109	6	4

In the class of offences against property, four descriptions appear in Ireland of which the criminal calendars of England and Scotland last year furnish no example —namely, taking and holding forcible possession, in number, 133; attacking and injuring dwelling-houses, lands, &c., in number, 209; robbery of arms, in number, forty-four; and mail robbery, in number two.

Of larcenies of all kinds there were 14,272 cases in England and Wales; 5,057 in Ireland; 1,243 in Scotland.

Out of seventy-three persons charged with murder in England and Wales, twenty were convicted; whilst of 340 charged with the same crime in Ireland, only sixty-six were convicted; and of these, forty-one were discharged without punishment, one was fined, one was imprisoned for six months, one for a year, eleven were transported for life, and twelve executed.

Executions.

A Return of the Number of Executions which took place for London and Middlesex, in three years ending 31st December, 1830; in three years ending 31st December, 1833; and in three years ending 31st December, 1836; together with the number of Commitments in each of those periods respectively, for Offences that were Capital on the 1st of January, 1830:—

NUMBER OF EXECUTIONS.

In the three years ending	31st December, 1830	52
Ditto	31st December, 1833	12
Ditto	31st December, 1836	nil.

NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS.

For Offences that were Capital on the 1st of January, 1830:—

In the three years ending	31st December, 1830	. 960
Ditto . .	31st December, 1833	. 896
Ditto . .	31st December, 1836	. 823

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF MUNICIPAL INQUIRIES.—THE CITY COMPANIES.—The following is a copy of the report of the commissioners upon the City Companies.:—

"The companies, which are sixty-nine in number, are to be considered in a twofold capacity; first, as connected with the corporation of London by conferring municipal rights, and furnishing the supply of freemen and liverymen, in whom the elective and other franchises are vested; and, secondly, as bodies constituted for the government of the concerns of peculiar classes of citizens, and for other purposes not appertaining to the municipal community at large. No company, except the Carmen, is now exclusively composed of persons belonging to the trade from which the company takes its name, and in few of them is the majority so composed. The apothecaries form the chief exception.

"As far as concerns the supply of freemen by and through the companies, the common council, when the commissioners were engaged in their inquiry, were understood to contemplate allowing parties to come in as redemptioners, without previously taking up their freedom in a company; but this change would not affect the rights of parties claiming by patrimony or servitude, and the elective functions of the livery given by statute of 11th of George 1st can, of course, be altered only by legislative authority. Unless such alteration be made, redemptioners cannot acquire the right of voting in common hall, without resorting to a company to obtain their franchise.

"With respect to the reason for rendering the livery an element in the franchise, the object appears to have been the establishment of something in the nature of a property qualification. An order of the court of aldermen, of the 27th July, 1697, that no person should be allowed to take upon himself the clothing of any of the twelve companies, unless he have an estate of 1,000*l.*, of the inferior companies unless he have an estate of 500*l.*, is decisive as to this point; and the whole tenor of this institution shews, that it was intended to designate a superior and leading order of citizens.

"The livery is obtained, so far as pecuniary payments are concerned, upon unequal terms, but upon payment of the required sum it is fairly accessible to every freeman in the great majority of companies. The principal exceptions are the apothecaries, who adhere to their limited numbers; the clothworkers, in which the access to the livery is guarded with a certain degree of jealousy, and the stationers, where a renunciation in the participation of the trading stock of the company is required. Of the rejection of a candidate for the livery, only two instances are found,—viz., in the cases of clothworkers. Neither instance occurred at a recent period. In form the grant is discretionary, but in effect it is yielded to most applicants without discussion; for whatever may be the disposition of

the larger companies, it is evident that in the smaller companies by whom the great bulk of the liverymen is supplied, no qualification whatever is required, provided the party pays his fine, and that they look to the livery merely as a source of revenue, and do not insist on any test of the fitness of the party. Much is said in every company, about the necessity of respectability, and that no person of bad character would be admitted ; but after this saving clause, the statements, with a few most scanty exceptions, agree, by acknowledging that no refusal of an applicant is recollected. This question, therefore, with respect to the utility of the livery as a civic qualification, is reduced to the inquiry whether it be expedient to annex a money fine to a municipal franchise. Constituted as the livery now appears to be, the only argument which could be raised in its favour is, that this condition may raise the standard of the voter, being indirectly a property qualification, inasmuch as he must at least be in a situation to spare a sum not less than 15*l.* or 20*l.* But if such a qualification be thought desirable, it could be better obtained by more direct means, and we can therefore see no disadvantage in severing the guild franchise and the municipal franchise, and in permitting all the privileges of the city to be obtained independently of the companies.

" The practice prevailing in the drapers' fishmongers' and other companies, of granting allowances or pensions to decayed members of the court, is liable to very great objections, however remote or contingent such an allowance or pension may be. A pecuniary interest and value are thus annexed to a seat in the court which never ought to be attached to the character of a trustee. Considered as distinct or special committees, the companies were probably, in their original conformation, not so much trading societies, instituted for the purpose of protecting the consumer or the employer against the incompetency or fraud of the dealer or the artisan, and equally with the intent of securing a maintenance to the workman trained to the art, according to the notion of early times, by preventing his being undersold in a labour market filled by an unlimited number of competitors. Furthermore, the companies acted as domestic tribunals, adjudicating, or rather arbitrating, between master and man, and settling disputes, thus diminishing hostile litigation and promoting amity and goodwill.

" They were also in the nature of benefit societies from which the workman, in return for the contributions which he had made when in health and vigour to the common stock of the guild might be relieved in sickness, or when disabled by the infirmities of age. This character speedily attracted donations for other charitable purposes from benevolent persons who could not find any better trustees than the ruling members of these communities ; and hence arose the numerous charitable gifts and foundations now intrusted to their care.

" They also possessed the character of modern clubs. They were institutions in which individuals of the same class and their families assembled in social intercourse ; so important was this object deemed, that several of the companies now actually hold their

banquets under their royal charters. The annual feasts of the skinners, haberdashers, clothmakers, &c., for instance, are legal and corporate franchises.

"Such were the original attributes of these societies, of which the first, their power as trade societies, is now almost extinct, for at the present day very few comparatively exercise any substantial control over their proper art or mystery, or retain more than a nominal connexion with it. Those which are in anywise connected with a trade may be divided into three classes:—

"1. Companies still exercising an efficient control over their trade or mystery.

"2. Companies exercising the power of searching for defective wares, or proving or marking the article, or executing any legislative enactment bearing some relation to their original objects, by virtue of powers which have been superinduced upon the company by statute.

"3. Companies into which individuals carrying on certain occupations in the city, are compelled to enter themselves as members.

"1. In the first class we can find only two, the goldsmiths and the apothecaries. With respect to the manner in which the goldsmiths exercise their functions we have no evidence.

"The apothecaries, as far as we are able to judge, execute their trust with great vigilance and activity, but they are enabled to do so only by means of the powers confirmed by statute, by which a new body has been engrafted upon the original community.

"2. In the second class are the following:—The apothecaries as above. The stationers perform important duties under the copyright act, and, as alleged, at some disadvantage to themselves. The gunmakers, having recently received a confirmation of their powers, may be considered as having satisfied the legislature that they have been found qualified to perform the functions assigned to them, though, to be enabled to act with efficiency, further powers would be required. But the marking of weights by the founders, the power of search exercised by the saddlers, the trade price-list issued by the painters, the assays made by the pewterers and plumbers, though insisted upon in the evidence given by the companies, cannot be practically of any real importance in the present state of trade in the metropolis.

"3. The third class comprehends the following companies:—Apothecaries, brewers, pewterers, butchers, barbers, bakers, saddlers, painters, stainers, plumbers, innholders, founders, poulterers, cooks, weavers, scriveners, farriers, spectacle makers, clock makers, silk throwsters, distillers, tobacco-pipe makers, and carmen. With respect to these, the advantages resulting to the members, if any there be, must be confined to such as may be derived from the opportunities afforded to the more substantial classes, of occasionally being brought into contact with each other at the meeting of the companies, on account of their exclusive privileges. Advantages to the community at large there are none, and the disadvantage to those who are compelled to come into the companies on account of their exclusive privileges, is measured by the extent of the fine paid upon admission.

"It may not be irrelevant to remark, that several of the rules

in the bye laws of the companies —as for instance the limitation of the number of apprentices—are entirely analogous to those which workmen often attempt to force upon their employers by means of their trade union. Whether these practices are more or less mischievous when sanctioned by charters comprising legal incorporation, or when insisted on by unauthorised associations, is a question not unworthy the attention of the legislature; but it is evident, that in the present enlarged state of the metropolis, any powers which are confined to the city and liberties must, from that circumstance alone, be inefficacious, and that no exertion upon the part of the companies under the imperfect powers granted by their charters could have enabled them to retain whatever utility they may be supposed to have formerly possessed. Qualified, therefore, only in particular instances by the greater or lesser extent of the duties exercised by the first and second classes, (for those of the third class are absolutely null,) the only useful functions which remain to the companies, and more particularly to the larger and more opulent of these bodies, are the management of the charities which are vested in them as specific trusts, and the dispensation of the voluntary benevolences which issue from their own funds.

"The ruling bodies are in effect mere trustees for charitable purposes or chartered festivals. The freemen and liverymen, or commonalty, are persons entitled to participate in these charities, to partake of the feasts of the companies, and qualified to be promoted to the office of trustees; and in this light alone are the different orders of the companies to be viewed.

"In form the governing bodies are the rulers of the commonalty, but this is a mere shadow, and the only authority which they really exercise with respect to the commonalty, except as above, consists in their ministerial duties appertaining to the admission of the members. The analogy which, when the companies were really trade societies, existed between them and municipal corporations, is by the change of circumstances wholly destroyed. There is no connexion between the governors and the governed, because there is no matter out of which such a connexion can arise; and the responsibility of the governing bodies is not as towards the commonalty of their companies, who are now no longer governed by them, and render to them no obedience, but as towards the law, for the due execution of their trusts.

"The conduct of the ruling leaders, in their capacity of charitable trustees, has not been made a subject of inquiry by us, but has been reported on by the commissioners of public charities.

"All which we humbly submit to your majesty's consideration.

"JOHN BLACKBURNE, (L.S.)
"FRA. PALGRAVE, (L.S.)
"D. JARDINE, (L.S.)
"J. F. ELLIS, Jun. (L.S.)
"J. E. DRINKWATER BETHUNE, (L.S.)"

II.—FOREIGN.

Commerce of France, 1836.

The *Administration of Customs has published a volume on the external commerce of France, from which we have extracted several interesting facts.*

The Imports and Exports from 1831 to 1836 inclusive, were as follow :—

IMPORTS.

Years.	General Commerce.	Special Commerce.
1831 . .	736,254,620f.	594,873,944f.
1832 . .	652,872,241	505,093,488
1833 . .	693,275,752	491,137,471
1834 . .	720,194,336	503,933,043
1835 . .	760,726,696	520,270,553
1836 . .	905,575,359	564,391,553

EXPORTS.

Years.	General Commerce.	Special Commerce.
1831 . .	645,836,104f.	484,202,754f.
1832 . .	696,282,132	507,414,974
1833 . .	766,316,312	559,425,054
1834 . .	714,705,038	509,992,377
1835 . .	834,422,218	577,413,633
1836 . .	961,284,756	628,957,480

The duties paid on the above Imports were—

Years.	Duty.	Years.	Duty.
1831 .	91,823,481f.	1834 .	101,398,967f.
1832 .	100,897,988	1835 .	102,512,926
1833 .	101,636,816	1836 .	105,395,522

From the imports for 1831 there ought to be deducted 223,000,000 of bullion; when the remainder, compared with the imports of 1836, will show an increase in favour of the latter year of more than 400,000,000.

The general trade of France with foreign countries has increased in a much quicker ratio than the special trade, which exports the produce of the country, and imports objects only for home consumption. Thus, in 1832 the general imports amounted to 652,000,000f., and in 1836 to 905,000,000f.; the general exports for the same years to 696,000,000f., and 961,000,000f. respectively. The special imports in 1832 were 505,000,000f.; in 1836, 564,000,000f.; and the special exports, 507,000,000f., and 628,000,000f. respectively. The amount of special imports for 1836 may be thus divided — Raw materials for manufactures, 395,786,794f.; objects of consumption, 116,289,649f.; manufactured objects, 52,222,110f. This small relative amount of foreign manufactures is to be attributed solely to the obstacles offered by the legislature to a system of free trade, and, in some part, to those arising from foreign nations, where similar restrictions also exist. The amount of special exports for 1836 was—Raw materials, 172,274,000f.; objects of consumption, 40,917,000f.; manufactured objects, 415,766,000f.

The trade of France, in imports to be re-exported, or the transit trade, has considerably increased within a few years; its value in 1832 being 90,544,672f.; and in 1836 presenting a total of 204,278,796f., giving an augmentation of 120 per cent. There is no doubt that, had the customs' regulations of the country allowed of it, the trade of France in objects for her own consumption would have increased in a similar proportion.

In the following table will be found the imports and exports of France for 1835 and 1386, classed according to the countries to which they relate.

IMPORTS.

	1835.	1836.
United States . .	71,545,000f.	81,464,000f.
Belgium . . .	60,381,000	76,383,000
Sardinia	66,943,000	57,741,000
England	31,668,000	35,304,000
Spain	25,509,000	28,379,000
Germany	26,230,000	27,003,000
Switzerlan . . .	14,431,000	19,184,000
Two Sicilies . . .	8,965,000	19,005,000
Prussia	13,153,000	16,113,000
Russia	17,283,000	16,257,000
Colonies	59,000,000	57,000,000

EXPORTS.

	1835.	1836.
United States . .	145,251,000f.	158,738,000f.
Belgium	34,906,000	34,794,000
Sardinia	26,597,000	31,019,000
England	59,688,000	66,051,000
Spain	39,935,000	52,548,000
Germany	32,486,000	32,575,000
Switzerland . . .	32,841,000	33,390,000
Two Sicilies . . .	3,943,000	6,346,000
Prussia	8,578,000	7,097,000
Russia	8,806,000	8,693,000
Colonies	50,000,000	51,400,000

The commerce with the United States, which is the most considerable outlet for French productions, has increased 173 per cent. within the last five years. Trade with most European nations has also been augmented within the same period; that with Spain, however, having suffered much damage from the political condition of the country; and that with Turkey not having received any notable increase. It had been expected, that the system of customs lately adopted in Germany would cause a diminution in the exports of France to that part of Europe. On the contrary, an increase has taken place, but not to so great an amount as would have been the case if the regulations of that system had not come into force.

The movement of shipping in the ports of France for 1835 and 1836 was as follows:—

ENTERED.

	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Values.
1835 . .	10,361 . .	1,174,032 .	479,759,320f.
1836 . .	11,791 . .	1,374,331 .	577,930,986f.

CLEARED.

	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Values.
1835 . .	9,486 . .	871,946 .	613,195,194f.
1836 . .	10,896 . .	997,090 .	716,864,124f.

The total number of merchant-vessels belonging to France in 1836 was 15,249, measuring 685,011 tons, giving an average of 44 tons to each vessel. Out of this number there were only 17 vessels of 500 tons and upwards; about 2,000 of from 100 to 500 tons; 10,000 from 30 to 100 tons; and the rest below 30 tons. Havre possessed in 1836 only 371 vessels, with a total of 71,899 tons; Bordeaux, 385 vessels, of 70,627 tons; and Marseilles, 795 vessels, of 69,910 tons. The proportion of the number of French vessels entering French ports to that of Foreign vessels in 1836, was about four to seven; whence the importance of her own coasting trade to France may be easily deduced.

STATE PAPERS.

Speech of the Governor-general of Lower Canada, on the opening of the Provincial Parliament, August 18, 1837.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,—Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

In obedience to the royal command, signified to me through the principal secretary of state for the colonies, I have convened you at this unusual period, for the purpose of communicating to you the proceedings that, since your last session, have taken place in the imperial parliament, and the resolutions that have been adopted on the affairs of this province.

This course has been prescribed to me, in order to afford the House of Assembly, before that resolution which relates to the payment of the arrears now due for the civil service of the government, shall have assumed the binding shape of a law, an opportunity of reconsidering the course which, for the last few years, they have thought it expedient to pursue with respect to the financial difficulties of the province, and in the earnest hope that by the timely intervention of the legislature the exercise of the power intended to be intrusted to the head of the local government may be rendered unnecessary — a result, for the attainment of which her majesty's government would willingly make every sacrifice, save that of the honour of the crown and the integrity of the empire.

Since the receipt of the instructions which I have alluded to, the mournful intelligence has reached us of the demise of our late deservedly beloved monarch.

Few kings have reigned more in the affections of their subjects than William IV. The warm and lively interest he always took in every matter connected with the welfare of his Canadian subjects cannot fail to increase their feelings of regret for their loss.

The succession of our present gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria to the throne of the British empire has not produced any alteration in the course that had been previously prescribed for my adoption.

The reports of the royal commissioners on the several subjects which came under their investigation during their stay in Lower Canada, having been laid before the two houses of parliament; a series of resolutions, ten in num-

ber, was shortly afterwards introduced by Ministers relative to the affairs of this province, copies of which I shall transmit to you, in the usual way, at the earliest opportunity.

The principal objects of these resolutions are to declare—

1st. That in the existing state of Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to make the legislative council elective, but that it is expedient to adopt measures for securing to that branch of the legislature a greater degree of public confidence.

2d. That while it is expedient to improve the composition of the executive chamber, it is unadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the house of assembly.

3d. That the legal title of the British American Land Company to the land they hold under their charter, and an act of the imperial parliament ought to be maintained inviolate.

4th. That as soon as the legislature shall make provision by law for discharging lands from feudal dues and services, and for removing any doubts as to the incidents of the tenures of lands in free and common soccage, it is expedient to repeal the Canada Tenures act and the Canada Trade act, so far as the latter relates to the tenures of land in this province, saving, nevertheless, to all persons, the rights vested in them under or by virtue of these acts.

5th. That for defraying the arrears due on account of the established and customary charges of the administration of justice and of the civil government of the province, it is expedient that after applying for that purpose such balance as should on the 10th day of April last be in the hands of the receiver-general, arising from the hereditary, territorial, and casual revenue of the crown, the governor of the province be empowered to issue, out of any other monies in the hands of the receiver-general, such further sums as shall be necessary to effect the payment of such arrears and charges up to the 10th of April last.

6th. That it is expedient to place at the disposal of this legislature, the net proceeds of the hereditary, territorial, and casual revenue arising within the province, and in case the said legislature shall see fit, to grant a civil list for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and for the maintenance and unavoidable expense of certain of the principal officers of government of the province; and

Lastly, that it is expedient that the legislatures of Lower and Upper Canada respectively be authorised to make provision for the joint regulation and adjustment of questions respecting their trade and commerce, and other questions wherein they have common interest.

Having laid before you an outline of the measures contemplated by the resolutions, which were passed after full discussion in the House of Commons, by large majorities in the House of Peers without a division, I proceed, in obedience to the royal commands, to assure you that it was with the deepest regret and reluctance that her majesty's government yielded to the necessity of invoking the interference of parliament, in order to meet the pressing difficulties which other resources had failed to remove in the administration of the affairs of the province.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

The accounts showing the payments that have been made since the close of the session in March, 1836, out of the revenues at the disposition of the crown, in part liquidation of the large arrears then due in respect to the civil establishments of the province, shall, as soon as possible, be submitted to you, with every explanation you may desire and I can supply. I have likewise, in obedience to the injunctions I have received, directed that an account of the balance of arrears, owing on the 10th of April last, for official salaries and other ordinary expenditure of the local government, be made out and laid out before you, with the estimate of the current half-year; and in recommending, as I do most earnestly, these matters to your early and favourable consideration, I am commanded to express to you at the same time, the anxious hope that the governor of this province may not be compelled to exercise the power with which the imperial parliament has declared its intention of investing him, in order to discharge the arrears due in respect to public services, for the payment of which the faith of the crown has been repeatedly pledged. The chief object therefore for which you are now called together, is to afford you an opportunity, by granting the requisite supplies, of rendering unnecessary, on the part of the imperial parliament, any further action on the 8th of the series of resolutions to which I have alluded; and it will, I can assure you, be to me matter of unmixed satisfaction, should you resolve to concede to the united voice of the British people, as expressed through the several branches of the legislature, that which you have not thought it expedient to yield to the solicitations of the executive government alone.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,—Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I am further commanded to express to you the earnest desire of her Majesty's government to cooperate with you in the removal of every obstacle to the beneficial working of the existing constitution, and in the correction of every defect which time and experience have developed in the laws and institutions of the province, or in the administration of its government; and I am also to assure you of a prompt attention on the part of her Majesty's government to every representation which may proceed from you, tending to effect improvements of this nature, calculated to strengthen the connexion subsisting between Great Britain and Lower Canada, by the promotion of the welfare and the interests of all classes of her Majesty's subjects in the province.

At the time the summons was issued for assembling you on this day, I had every reason to believe that it would have been in my power to announce to you, as effected, those alterations which you may gather from the resolutions of which I have spoken it is intended to effect in the composition of the executive and legislative councils; but the interruption occasioned by the demise of his late Majesty to the progress of public business in the imperial parliament, and the prospect of its early dissolution, have prevented the ministers of the crown from

at once perfecting the measures they have in contemplation. These measures, therefore, are not forsaken, but only unavoidably suspended for a season; and I trust I shall at no very distant period be enabled to appeal to the changes introduced into the two councils, as well as to the other salutary arrangements, as a proof of the sincerity with which her Majesty's government are disposed to carry into effect the intentions they have expressed on these points.

Since the end of the last session several local acts have expired, and I would suggest for your consideration the expediency of renewing such of them as may have proved useful. I would, moreover, especially invite your attention to the acts relating to the district of St. Francis, the duration of which is limited to the end of the session of the provincial parliament next after the 1st of May last.

The severe distress which, in consequence of the partial or total failure of the crops, was experienced during the last winter in several parts of the province, induced me, upon the urgent representations I received on the subject, and in order to avoid the approaches of famine, to grant out of the public funds that succour which the means of the suffering inhabitants were inadequate to afford. Nor did I hesitate in the pressing emergency of the case to assume this responsibility, encouraged by the liberality you have displayed on similar occasions. In granting, however, such assistance, security was in each case taken for the repayment of the money so advanced, in the event of your declining to sanction the transaction. These advances amount in the whole, to about 5,600*l.*, for which, as well as for the sums I have issued for the preservation of the public works on the Chambly canal, and for the maintenance of the quarantine establishment, I trust you will see no objection to grant an indemnity. Such of the documents and vouchers connected with these several disbursements as are not already before you shall be submitted to you with as little delay as possible.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I shall repeat my determination to adhere to those principles which I laid down for my guidance when I first addressed you. They are calculated, I conscientiously believe, to promote the real interests of the country, and to secure to all classes of her Majesty's Canadian subjects, those rights, privileges, and liberties which the spirit of the constitution was intended to impart, and which every friend to that constitution is bound to support and maintain.

Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, Aug. 18, 1837.

KINGDOM OF HANOVER.—LETTERS PATENT *concerning the* DEATH *of* HIS MAJESTY KING WILLIAM IV., *and the* ASCENSION *of* HIS MAJESTY KING ERNEST AUGUSTUS.

"Ernest Augustus, by the grace of God, king of Hanover, royal prince of Great Britain and Ireland, duke of Cumberland, duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, &c.

"It has pleased the Almighty to call out of the world on the 20th of this month our late revered brother the most mighty and most puissant prince William IV., king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., also king of Hanover, duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, &c., and thereby to plunge us, our royal house and all faithful subjects, in the most profound affliction.

"Now as, by virtue of the right of primogeniture, prevailing in our royal house, the succession to the government of our kingdom of Hanover has fallen to us, and we have already entered upon it with all our hereditary rights, we are pleased hereby to make the same known, and have full confidence in all our loyal, spiritual, and temporal servants, vassals, and subjects, that they will pay to us their bounden duty, fidelity, and obedience, and always be devoted to us with sincere attachment.

"On the other hand, we assure all of our royal benevolence and favour, and of our sovereign protection, and shall make it the constant object of our earnest wishes and efforts paternally to promote in every possible manner, the happiness and prosperity of the subjects confided to us by Divine Providence. This being the object of our endeavours, we have been convinced that in many points the constitution does not correspond with our wishes, which are solely directed to the promotion of the good of our faithful subjects. Being resolved shortly to make known to our faithful people our views on this most important subject, we do not hesitate to declare that we cannot find in the constitution, which neither in form nor substance is binding on us, a sufficient guarantee for the permanent prosperity of our faithful subjects. Your welfare it will be our most earnest endeavour to promote according to the duties imposed on us by Divine Providence. Meantime, it is far from our intention to take our royal resolution on this important matter without a careful examination of all the circumstances. It is, on the contrary, our royal will to devote the most careful consideration to the question, whether and how far a modification of the constitution must take place, or whether the constitution should be brought back to what it was before the promulgation of the present constitution; after which we shall convoke the general assembly of the States, and impart to them our royal resolution. Our faithful subjects formerly enjoyed happiness and satisfaction under the ancient hereditary constitution of the kingdom; a bond of attachment and loyalty and confidence in their sovereign descending from generation to generation, promoted the happiness of the sovereign, and the welfare of the

subjects. We most earnestly wish to establish such a happy state of things.

"We have not required our state and cabinet ministers, who took their oaths according to the constitution, to circulate these letters patent, but have caused them to be counter-signed by our state and cabinet minister, N. Schele, who will cause them to take the oath to us, omitting the obligation to observe the constitution. We trust to the ancient affection and loyalty of our Hanoverian people to their sovereign, that all our beloved subjects will await calmly, and with full confidence in our benevolent intentions, our consideration of the above question, and be convinced that in this consideration we shall seek their advantage. At the same time, that till further orders all shall continue in our kingdom of Hanover in its present course, and we command that this our proclamation shall be posted up in all public places, and afterwards sent back to our cabinet ministry, with a certificate of its having been published as above.

"Ernest Augustus.
"G. Von Schele.
"Hanover, June 5, 1837."

"Royal Letters Patent of the 1st of Nov., 1837. Ernest Augustus, by the grace of God, &c.

"By our letters patent on our accession, dated the 5th of July, this year, we announced to our faithful subjects our Royal intentions to submit to the most careful inquiry and examination, the question whether and how far changes must be made in the constitution of the 26th of September, 1833, or whether the constitution should be restored to the same footing on which it was before the said year. Our faithful subjects may be convinced that we have sought the fulfilment of a sacred duty due to our paternal heart to give the most careful attention in this investigation to all the interests to be consulted, and that our wishes have been constantly directed to the welfare and conteutment of our faithful subjects,

"That investigation being ended, we hasten to acquaint our faithful subjects with our resolution.

"We cannot consider the constitution of 1833 as in law binding on us, —it was made in a manner totally invalid.

"The General Assembly of the States, according to the letters patent of December 7, 1819, in their letter to the Cabinet Ministry of April 30, 1831, proposing the introduction of a constitution, laid down the principle that so important a work could be accomplished only by the unanimous cooperation of the King and the Estates. The Government adopted this principle, consequently the question was not of a constitution to be given by the King, but of one to be introduced by a compact between the King and the Estates.

"But the principle of a joint co-operation was violated in several points; for several of the proposals made by the General Assembly of the Estates relative to the new constitution did not receive the approbation of the royal Government, but it was promulgated by the King on the 26th of September, 1833, with the changes which the Government judged to be necessary and useful, without their having been first communicated to the General Assembly of the Estates, and approved by them.

" It is therefore evident, that the unanimous co-operation of the Sovereign and the Estates with respect to those points contained in the new constitution by which the constitution of 1819, which had till then been recognized as in effective operation, was to be abolished.

" The manner of introducing the constitution evidently contains an actual violation of the positive enactments of article 56 of the final act of the Vienna Congress of 1820. But the constitution is not only invalid, and consequently not binding upon us, generally speaking, when its origin is considered, but it contains several enactments and decisions which appear as perfectly invalid and not binding upon us, because they deeply prejudice our rights as a collateral, and even essentially impair our rights as a sovereign.

" But the want of validity inherent in the constitution has not been removed by a recognition of it on our part, for we have publicly declared our opposition to the constitution, and repeatedly refused to sign it.

" Now, as we do not consider the constitution as valid and binding upon us, we cannot treat in any way with Estates convoked by virtue of this constitution, respecting the establishment of a new one.

" Under these circumstances, we thought it our duty on the 30th of October this year, to dissolve the general assembly of the Estates prorogued by us on the 29th of June, and now hereby declare, that the legal authority of the constitution of the 26th of September, 1832, is henceforth extinct. It naturally follows, from the ceasing of the said constitution, that the general and provincial constitution, which was in force till its promulgation, is again restored.

" In order, however, to prevent any injurious consequences, we are induced by affection for our beloved subjects hereby to declare, that the abolition of the constitution shall have no influence whatever on the legality of the laws and ordinances promulgated since its publication; that, on the contrary, these laws and ordinances shall retain their full power and validity till they shall have been abolished in a legal way.

" Likewise the mode of administering the affairs of the country shall remain wholly unchanged till we shall judge alterations in it to be necessary or adviseable.

" Now, as the hitherto existing constitution is declared by us to be abolished, it follows, of course, that all persons in the Royal service from whom we mean time confidently expect the most punctual fulfilment of our commands, are fully released from their oaths to the constitution. We, however, hereby expressly declare that they are released from this part of their official oath.

" Now, though we cannot recognise the constitution of 1833, we are very willing to complete, and more accurately to fix in several points, by new regulations, the constitution which was in force till 1833.

" But in order to accomplish in a valid manner this important object, which we have so much at heart, we have resolved immediately to convoke and to communicate our proposals to the general assembly of the Estates of the kingdom, according to the Royal letters patent of the 7th of December, 1819, which were in full ac-

tivity till the introduction of the constitution which we have now abolished. Animated by the lively wish immediately to remove as far as possible, all doubts which might arise, we will acquaint our faithful subjects with some outlines of the many proposals which will be submitted to the Estates of 1819, immediately on their assembling, for their approbation and adoption.

"1. From the revenues of our domains, the legal relation of which is firmly established by family laws and customs, we intend, according to regulations hereafter to be adopted, to advance such sums for the public expenditure as shall convince our faithful people that, as is besides manifest from the remission of taxes which we intend, we do not think of increasing the burdens of our beloved subjects. We shall communicate to our faithful Estates which are to be convoked, our resolutions on this head.

"2. To avoid the annual meetings of the Estates of the kingdom, which, in fact, impede the government by their long duration, we shall propose that they shall be convoked only once in three years, and that their session shall then be no longer in general than three months.

"It will, however, depend on our judgment to convoke an extraordinary assembly of the Estates of the kingdom during the three years' interval.

"3. The provincial assemblies shall have subjects suitable to discussion laid before them, as we shall determine to a greater extent than has hitherto been done. Laws, however, which relate to the taxes and institutions of the kingdom, or to subjects which, according to our decision, require general legislative enactments, and cannot be left for provincial legislation, belong to the operations of the general assembly of the Estates of the Kingdom.

"This will essentially contribute to curtail the sittings of the general assembly, and thereby the real interest of our faithful subjects will be promoted.

"We indulge the hope that our faithful subjects will recognize in these slight outlines of the future constitution our earnest endeavours to remove as far as possible all the hindrance to the government and the administration, which arose, and arose necessarily, from the constitution of the 26th of September, 1833.

"If in the new constitution the rights of the King and the Estates are fixed in a suitable manner, and if in this manner the basis of the genuine German monarchial constitution is consolidated, the welfare of our faithful subjects must necessarily be advanced.

"As nothing is so pleasing to our paternal heart as to diminish as far as possible the burdens of our beloved subjects, it affords us very especial joy that the state of the finances will allow a reduction of the taxes as early as next year.

"We accordingly announce to our faithful subjects that we have resolved *to abate from the* 1*st of July*, 1838, *the tax on persons and trades by the sum of* £100,000 *per annum.*

"We shall communicate the details to our faithful Estates.

"As we set the highest value on the love, the confidence, and the devoted attachment of our beloved subjects, the manifold proofs that we have received of them since our accession have filled us with sincere joy, and we

truly express to our faithful people our unbounded gratitude for them.

"In all the parts of our kingdom that we have hitherto had occasion to visit, we have received proofs of probity and attachment, and found that loyalty and fidelity which the Hanoverians have from time immemorial cherished for their sovereigns, and which they maintained in so high a degree during the French occupation.

"This has made an impression on our mind too profound ever to be erased, and our faithful subjects may be assured, on the other hand, that our feelings for them are those of a father for his children, and that we have taken the unalterable resolution to do everything that the constitution can establish in such a manner that the old confidence between the sovereign and his people may be more and more strengthened, which ill-disposed persons have of late years endeavoured to destroy; but we have been convinced, the Almighty be thanked for it, from the sentiments that have been manifested to us since our accession, that we possess the confidence of our subjects, whose happiness will be the constant object of our most zealous endeavours.

"We hope that evil-minded persons, who pursue selfish objects without regard to the true interests of the people, will never reduce us to the melancholy necessity of causing the entire rigour of the laws to be applied to them.

"Given in our capital city of Hanover, on the 1st day of November, in the year 1837, the first of our reign.

"Ernest Augustus.
"G. Von Schele."

Hanoverian Gazette. Nov. 4th.

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and the Netherlands.

"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part, and his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, on the other part, being equally desirous of affording every facility and encouragement to their subjects engaged in commercial intercourse with each other, and being of opinion that nothing will more contribute to the attainment of this desirable object than a reciprocal abrogation of all discriminating and countervailing duties levied upon the ships of the high contracting parties, or upon the cargoes of such ships in the ports of either kingdom in Europe, have appointed their plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention for that purpose.

"Art. 1. There shall be a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation between and amongst the subjects of the two high contracting parties, and the subjects of the two sovereigns respectively shall not pay in the ports, harbours, roads, cities, towns, or places whatsoever, in either kingdom, any other or higher duties, taxes, or imposts, under whatsoever names designated or included, than those which are there paid by the subjects of the most favoured nation, and the subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall enjoy the same rights, privileges, liberties, favours, immunities, and exemptions in matters of commerce and navigation, that are granted, or may hereafter be granted, in either kingdom, to the subjects of the most favoured nation.

"No duty of customs or other imposts shall be charged upon any

goods the produce of one country, upon importation by sea or by land from such country into the other, higher than the duty or impost charged upon goods of the same kind the produce of or imported from any other country; and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, do hereby bind and engage themselves not to grant any favour, privilege, or immunity in matters of commerce and navigation to the subjects of any other state, which shall not be also, and at the same time, extended to the subjects of the other high contracting party, gratuitously if the concession in favour of that other state shall have been gratuitous, and on giving as nearly as possible the same compensation or equivalent in case the concession shall have been conditional.

"Art. 2. No duties of tonnage, harbour, lighthouses, pilotage, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties of whatever nature or under whatever denomination, shall be imposed in either country upon the vessels of the other in respect of voyages between the two countries if laden, or in respect of any voyage if in ballast, which shall not be equally imposed in the like cases on national vessels; and in neither country shall any duty, charge, restriction, or prohibition be imposed upon, nor any drawback, bounty, or allowance be withheld from any goods imported from, or exported to, the other country, in the vessels of that other country, which shall not be equally imposed upon or withheld from such goods when so imported or exported in national vessels.

"Art. 3. In order to avoid any misunderstanding with regard to the regulations that determine the conditions which constitute a British or a Dutch vessel, it is hereby agreed that all vessels built in the dominions of her Britannic Majesty, and all vessels, which having been captured from an enemy by her Majesty's ships of war, or by the subjects of her said Majesty, furnished by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty with letters of marque, shall have been regularly condemned in one of her said Majesty's prize courts as a lawful prize, and all vessels which shall have been condemned in any competent court for a breach of the laws made for the prevention of the slave trade, shall, provided they are ordered, navigated, and registered, according to the laws of Great Britain, be considered as British vessels, and that all vessels built in the territories of the King of the Netherlands, or which having been captured from an enemy by his Majesty's ships of war, or by the subjects of his said Majesty furnished with letters of marque, shall have been regularly condemned in one of the prize courts of the kingdom of the Netherlands as a lawful prize, and all vessels which shall have been condemned in any competent court for a breach of the laws made for the prevention of the slave trade, shall, provided they are wholly ordered by any subject or subjects of the king of the Netherlands, and provided that the master and three-fourths of the crew are Netherland subjects be considered as Netherland vessels.

"Art. 4. It is further agreed, that in all cases where in either kingdom the duty to be levied upon any goods imported shall be

not a fixed rate, but a proportion of the value of goods, such *ad valorem* duty shall be ascertained and secured in the following manner—that is to say, the importer shall on making his entry for the payment of duty at the custom-houses of either country sign a declaration, stating the value of the goods at such amount as he shall deem proper; and in case the respective officer or officers of the customs should be of opinion that such valuation is insufficient, he or they shall be at liberty to take the goods on paying to the importer the value according to his declaration, together with the addition of ten per cent., and on returning the duty paid.

"The amount of these sums to be paid by the said officer or officers on the delivery of the goods to him or them, which must be within fifteen days from the first detention of the goods.

"Art. 5. Forasmuch as all merchandise, of whatever origin, whether admissible for home consumption or not, may be received and warehoused in all the ports of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland which are by law appointed to be warehousing ports for such articles pending the entry of the same, either for home consumption or for re-exportation, as the case may be, under the regulations appointed for this purpose; and without such articles being liable in the mean time to the payment of any of the duties with which they would be charged if upon arrival they were entered for consumption within the United Kingdom—in like manner the king of the Netherlands consents and agrees that all the ports of his Netherland majesty's dominions, which are now, or which shall hereafter become warehousing ports by law, shall be free ports for the reception and warehousing of all merchandise imported in British ships, and of all articles whatever the produce or manufacture of the British dominions, in whatsoever ships imported, either for home consumption or for re-exportation as the case may be, and the articles thus received and warehoused, subject to due regulations, shall not be liable in the mean time to any of the duties with which they would be charged if they were entered for consumption on their arrival in the Netherlands.

"Art. 6. If any ships of war or merchant vessels shall be wrecked on the coasts of either of the high contracting parties, such ships or vessels, or all parts thereof, and all furniture and appurtenances belonging thereto, and goods and merchandise which shall be saved therefrom, or the produce thereof, if sold, shall be faithfully restored to the proprietors, on being claimed by them or by their duly authorised factors; and if there are no such proprietors or factors on the spot, then the said goods and merchandise, or the proceeds thereof, as well as all the papers found on board such wrecked ships or vessels, shall be delivered to the British or Netherland consul in whose district the wreck may have taken place, and such consul, proprietors, or factors, shall pay only the expenses incurred in the preservation of the property, together with the rate of salvage, which would have been payable in the like case of a wreck of a national vessel, and the goods and merchandise saved from the wreck

shall not be subject to duties unless cleared for consumption.

"Art. 7. The present treaty shall be in force for the term of ten years from the date hereof, and further until the end of twelve months after either of the contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same, each of the high contracting parties reserving to itself the right of giving such notice to the other at the end of the said term of ten years.

"And it is hereby agreed between them that at the expiration of twelve months after such notice shall have been received by either party from the other, this treaty, and all the provisions thereof, shall altogether cease and determine.

"Art. 8. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the Hague within one month from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

"In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

"Done at the Hague, this 27th day of October, 1837.

"EDW. CROMWELL DISBROWE."

DUTCH STATES-GENERAL.—ROYAL SPEECH, DELIVERED BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION, AT THE HAGUE, OCTOBER 16.

"*Noble and Mighty Lords,*—

"The king has commissioned us to open in his name this session of the States-general.

"We execute this commission with profound sorrow, as we have at the same time to announce to you the grievous loss that hi majesty, by the will of Divin Providence, sustained on the 12th of this month.

"This sad event, by which the king and his family are plunged in profound affliction, hinders him from appearing among you as usual on the opening of the session.

"You will, with us, deeply lament the loss of a universally beloved and highly venerated queen, whose truly princely virtues and noble qualities are indelibly impressed on the hearts of all.

"The king has commissioned us to open this session with the following speech:—

"'*Noble and Mighty Lords,*

"'The marks of friendship which I receive from foreign powers still contribute to alleviate the wounds which the Belgian insurrection has inflicted on the country. On more than one side it experiences the beneficial influence of my constant care to found our foreign policy, without any deviation, on strict respect for the rights of others and a proper maintenance of those which we ourselves claim.

"'A convention lately concluded between the Netherlands and Prussia has regulated the navigation between them to their material advantage, and opened the prospect of an extension of our commerce with the states of the German Commercial Union.

"'There is reason to expect that the trade and navigation of the Netherlands to Great Britain will be placed under the guarantee of a treaty which

is now negotiating for that purpose.

"'Though the latest steps taken on my part to settle the Belgian question have not led to the desired result, my attention is still directed to all means and opportunities of putting an end to a difference which is equally to be lamented by the Netherlands and all Europe. My minister for foreign affairs shall again lay before you the political events since the last communication made to your assembly on the subject, so far as this kingdom is concerned. In the course of the journey which I have taken this year, I have convinced myself that our internal affairs are encouraging.

"'I reflect with pleasure on this journey; I everywhere received the most unequivocal proofs of attachment and confidence, and behold the traces of the manifold blessings which a kind Providence continues to bestow on the Netherlands, blessings which should fill all hearts with joy and gratitude.

"'Our manufacturers flourish, and some branches have improved.

"'Agriculture has in general been favourable. Notwithstanding the abundant crops of the fruits of the earth, it is a matter of congratulation that the prices of the principal article of produce have not declined.

"'Some provinces have suffered from a malignant disorder among the cattle, but the government does every thing possible to repair the losses that have been sustained. The fisheries promise no unfavourable result.

"'Trade and navigation are in some parts more active.

"'Desirable improvements in our *waterstaat*, in roads and canals, have been submitted to a special inquiry, as well as a more rapid communication with the Rhine by an iron rail-road; and I hope to be able to apply to you during this session for your co-operation in measures to this effect.

"'The sanatory state of the kingdom is in general favourable. Heaven has graciously preserved us from the prevailing disease which affects other countries.

"'Our colonial possessions continue to enjoy order and tranquillity. The produce of our East India possessions is increasing. The situation of those countries and the national prosperity have a salutary influence on the finances of the state. The revenue covers the expenditure. It will be possible in the next year again to reduce the public burdens, especially such as affect the necessaries of life.

"'The financial measures adopted last year with your concurrence have produced the desired results. Amidst the pecuniary crisis which has been generally felt in other commercial countries our public credit has suffered no shock, thanks to the solid basis on which it is founded.

"'Independently of the budget, and of a law for improving one of those on the excise, a project of law will be presented to you containing some modifications which have become necessary in the tariff of import, export, and transit duties.

"'I have a well-founded hope that the new legislature may be entirely carried into effect in the course of next year.

"'In this expectation mea-

sures have already been taken to be able, before it expires to proceed to the organization and introduction of the system of the courts of justice. The legislative measures which may be necessary for the purpose will be laid before you during this session.

"'The committee of legislation is still actively engaged in examining the changes which may be made in the present code. I flatter myself that I shall be enabled to submit to your deliberations the projects of law on this subject during the present session.

"'*Noble and Mighty Lords*,

"May your deliberations continue to be distinguished by calmness and goodwill. May your concurrence continue to support and strengthen the action of the government. The present session of the states-general, with the blessing of the Most High, will then again produce good fruits. The Netherlands may look to the future with confidence, and I may indulge the hope of seeing success crown my constant efforts for the happiness and prosperity of the people whom Divine Providence has committed to my care.'"

ALLOCUTION OF POPE GREGORY XVI. TO THE SECRET CONSISTORY, HELD ON THE 10TH OF DECEMBER.

"*Venerable Brethren*,

"Placed in a position where it is not sufficient to deplore evil, we are overwhelmed with sadness by the melancholy state of the affairs of the Catholic Church. Whilst applying our thoughts to the remedy of these plagues of Israel, according to the power received by us from God, a new cause of grief has started up, and from a quarter, too, where it was least expected. You are not ignorant of this, nor of the cause which brings us together this day. It is no obscure event, learned by private accounts; it has been, on the contrary, officially communicated. We complain of the grave injury committed against the venerable archbishop of Cologne, who has been deprived of his pastorial jurisdiction by order of the king, been driven from his seat by the force of arms, and sent out of his diocese. Such is the calamity which has fallen upon this prelate, however anxious he has been to render to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, though not at the same time forgetting his duty in preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church. He sought to observe no other rule in the matter of mixed marriages than that contained in the apostolical letters addressed to the prelates of Western Prussia by Pius VIII., our predecessor of happy memory, bearing date the 25th of March, 1830. And yet in those letters, the Holy See carried indulgence to the extreme limit. You are not ignorant, that our predecessor was brought to these concessions with regret, and solely from the necessity of saving the Catholic clergy of those countries from the two certain evils with which they were menaced. Who would have foreseen, that this pontifical declaration, indulgent as it was, and assented to by the king's envoy at Rome, would be executed in a manner to overthrow the inflexible principles of the Catholic church, and contrary to the intention of the Holy See? Yet this very

thing, impossible to imagine or believe, and to suspect which would have been a crime, has been done by the artful influence of the secular power. No sooner had we been warned of this, than we sent remonstrances, declaring that our apostolical mission obliged us to tell the faithful not to consider a rule to proceed from the Holy See which it held in horror. We received for answer, that our complaints were without foundation, and at the same time came a letter from the bishop of Liege, who, at the point of death, and about to render an account before the Supreme Judge, declared, that the instruction addressed to the bishops, and subscribed by them at the instigation of the civil government, would be the occasion of great evils, and would infringe the holy canons. Enlightened by the divine intelligence, he acknowledged his error, and of his own accord retracted his adhesion. Immediately we sent this to the king, and stated how we disapproved of the interpretation put upon the letters of our predecessor, which, though accepted by the bishops, were entirely opposed to the principles and laws of the church. You may thus see, venerable brethren, that we have neglected nothing in this affair. Nevertheless, we say it with feelings of the most profound horror, whilst we werewaiting the answer to our remonstrance, it was signified to the archbishop of Cologne, that he must conform himself to the interpretation of the late pope's letter concerning mixed marriages, of which we disapprove; or if he refused, that he must abandon his pastoral functions. If he resisted, a decree of the government would interdict him from his episcopal jurisdiction. The archbishop resisting, in accordance with his duty, those menaces were fulfilled. And mark the conduct observed towards us: the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires warned us of the event as about to take place on the 1st of the following month, whilst it was in reality perpetrated ten days sooner. In this occurrence, venerable brethren, we owe to God, the church, and ourselves, to raise our apostolic voice against this violation of ecclesiastical liberty, this usurpation of a sacred jurisdiction, this outrage against the Holy See. Let us not either forget to give to a prelate endowed with so many virtues, the praise due for his devotion to the cause of religion and to his many sacrifices. Since the occasion offers, we publicly and solemnly declare, that we entirely disapprove of the practice which prevails in the kingdom of Prussia, contrary to the declaration of our predecessor respecting mixed marriages."

The Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy proclaimed in Madrid on the 16th of June, 1837.

Donna Isabel the Second, by the grace of God and the Spanish Monarchy, Queen of Spain; and in her royal name, and during her minority, the Queen Dowager, her mother, Donna Maria Christina de Bourbon, regent of the empire; to all those to whom these presents may come, be it known, that the Cortes General have decreed and approved, and that we in due form have accepted the same, as follows:—It being the will of the nation to revise, in virtue of its sovereignty, the political constitution promulgated in

Cadiz on the 19th day of March, 1812, the Cortes General assembled for this purpose, decree, and approve the following constitution of the monarchyof Spain :

"Art. I. Spaniards are—1st. All persons born in the Spanish dominions. 2d. The children of Spaniards, though born out of Spain. 3d. Strangers who have obtained letters of naturalization. 4th. Those persons who without letters of naturalization obtain a right of settlement in any part of the monarchy of Spain. The rights of Spanish citizenship are forfeited by naturalization in a foreign country, and by accepting employment under any other Government without the permission of the Sovereign of Spain.

"2. All Spaniards may print and publish their thoughts freely without a previous censorship, but subject to the laws. The determination of offences by the press belongs exclusively to juries empanelled for that purpose.

"3. Every Spaniard has the right of petitioning in writing to the Cortes and the King, as the laws prescribe.

"4. The same code of law shall govern in all parts of the monarchy, and in them shall be recognized by all Spaniards but one right in common trials of a civil or criminal nature.

"5. All Spaniards are eligible to public offices according to merit and capacity.

"6. Every Spaniard is obliged to defend the country with arms in his hands whenever he may be called upon to do so by the law, and to contribute according to his abilities to the expenses of the state.

"7. No Spaniard can be detained, imprisoned, or taken from his family, nor his house entered, except in those cases according to the forms determined by the laws.

"8. If the security of the state require, in extraordinary circumstances, the temporary suspension in whole or in part of the Spanish monarchy, the provisions of the preceding article are to be determined by the law.

"9. No Spaniard can be prosecuted or sentenced, except by a judge or competent tribunal, in conformity with laws enacted anterior to the commission of the offence, and in the manner laid down by them.

"10. The confiscation of property is abolished, and no Spaniard is to be deprived of his property except in cases justified by public utility, and with a previous indemnification of losses sustained.

"11. The nation is obliged to maintain the public worship and ministers of the Catholic religion professed by the Spaniards.

"OF THE CORTES.

"12. The power of enacting laws resides in the Cortes in conjunction with the King.

"13. The Cortes is composed of two co-legislative bodies equal in powers—The Senate and the Congress of Deputies.

"OF THE SENATE.

"14. The number of senators shall be equal to three-fifths of the whole number of the deputies.

"15. The senators are appointed by the King from a triple list proposed by the electors of each province who elect the deputies.

"16. To each province belongs the right of proposing a number of senators proportional to its population; but each is to return one senator at least.

"17. To be a senator it is necessary to be a Spaniard, to be 40 years of age, and to be possessed of the income and other qualifications which may be defined in the electoral law.

"18. All Spaniards possessed of these qualifications may be proposed for the office of senator in any of the provinces of the monarchy.

"19. Each time that there is a general election of the deputies, whether in consequence of their term of office having expired, or of a dissolution of the Congress, the third part of the Senate, in the order of seniority, is to be renewed, those going out being reeligible.

"20. The sons of the King and the immediate heir to the throne are senators of right at the age of 25 years.

"OF THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES.

"21. Each province shall appoint one deputy at least for every 50,000 souls of the population.

"22. The deputies are elected by the direct method, and may be re-elected indefinitely.

"23. To be a deputy it is necessary to be a Spaniard, in the secular state to have completed the 25th year, and to possess all the other qualifications prescribed by the electoral law.

"24. Every Spaniard possessing these qualifications may be named a deputy for any of the provinces.

"25. The deputies shall be appointed for three years.

"OF THE MEETING AND FACULTIES OF THE CORTES.

"26. The Cortes are to assemble each year. It is the right of the King to convoke them, to suspend and close their meetings, and dissolve the Cortes; but under the obligation, in the latter case, of convoking and reassembling another Cortes within the period of three months.

"27. If the King should omit to convoke the Cortes on the 1st of December in any one year, the Cortes are notwithstanding to assemble precisely on that day; and in case of the conclusion of the term of the Congress holding office happening to occur in that year, a general election for the nomination of deputies is to commence on the first Sunday of the month of October.

"28. On the demise of the Crown, or on the King being incapacitated to govern through any cause, the extraordinary Cortes are immediately to assemble.

"29. Each of the co-legislative bodies is to form rules for its own internal regulation, and to scrutinize the legality of the election, and the qualifications of the individuals who compose them.

"30. The Congress of the Deputies is to name its president, vice president, and secretaries.

"31. In each legislature the King shall appoint from amongst the members of the senate the president, and vice-president of that body, the latter appointing its own secretaries.

"32. The King shall open and conclude the sittings of the Cortes in person, or by his ministers.

"33. One of the legislative bodies cannot be convoked for business without the other being assembled at the same time, except in the case in which the senate sits in judgment on the King's ministers.

"34. The legislative bodies are not to deliberate in conjunction, nor in the presence of the King.

"35. The sessions of the Senate

and of the Congress shall be public, and only in cases requiring reserve can private sittings be held.

"36. The King and each of the co-legislative bodies possess the right of originating the laws.

"37. Laws relating to taxes and public credit shall be presented first to the Congress of Deputies; and if altered in the Senate contrary to the form in which they have been approved by the Congress, they are to receive the Royal sanction in the form definitely decided on by the Deputies.

"38. The resolutions of each of the legislative bodies are to be determined by an absolute plurality of votes; but in the enactment of laws the presence of more than half the number of each of these bodies is necessary.

"39. If one of the co-legislative bodies should reject any project of law submitted to them, or if the King should refuse it his sanction, such project of law is not to be submitted anew in that Legislature.

"40. Besides the legislative powers which the Cortes exercise in conjunction with the King, the following faculties belong to them: —First, to receive from the King, the immediate successor to the throne, from the Regency or Regent of the empire, the oath to observe the constitution and the laws. Second, to resolve any doubt that may arise of fact or of right with respect to the order of succession to the crown. Third, to elect the Regent, or appoint the regency of the empire, and to name the tutor of the sovereign while a minor, when the constitution deems it necessary. Fourth, to render effective the responsibility from the ministers of the Crown, who are to be impeached by the deputies and judged by the senators.

"41. The senators and deputies are irresponsible and inviolable for opinions expressed and votes given by them in the discharge of their duties.

"42. Senators and deputies are not to be proceeded against or arrested during the sessions without the permission of the legislative body to which they may belong, if not taken in the act of committing flagrant crime; but in this case, and in those in which they are prosecuted or arrested whilst the cortes are closed, they are to give immediate information to their respective co-legislative bodies for their cognizance.

"43. Deputies and senators who receive from the Government or from the royal family, pension, employment which may not be an instance of promotion from a lower to a higher office of the same kind, commission with salary, honours or titles, are subject to re-election.

"OF THE KING.

"44. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable, and is not subject to responsibility. His ministers are responsible.

"45. The power of executing the law resides in the king, and his authority extends to all matters which conduce to the preservation of public order in the interior, and to the security of the state abroad, in conformity with the provisions of the constitution and the laws.

"46. The king sanctions and promulgates the laws.

"47. Besides the prerogatives granted to the crown by the constitution, he possesses the following:—1. To issue decrees, regulations, and instructions which may

be conducive to the execution of the laws.—2. To provide that justice be promptly and efficiently dispensed throughout the empire. —3. To pardon criminals according to the provisions of the law.—4. To declare war and make peace, afterwards giving an account and documents to the Cortes.—5. To dispose of the military forces of the country, distributing them as may be most convenient.—6. To conduct diplomatic and commercial relations with other states.—7. To provide for the coinage of money, on which is to be impressed his bust and name.—8. To decree the application of the funds destined for each branch of the public administration.—9. To appoint public officers, and to confer honours and distinctions on all classes, in conformity with the law.—10. To name and dismiss his ministers without restriction.

" 48. The king is obliged to be authorized by a special law—1. To alienate, to grant, or exchange any part of the Spanish territory. —2. To admit foreign troops into the kingdom.—3. For the ratification of treaties of offensive alliance, of special treaties of commerce, and those which stipulate to give assistance to any foreign power.—4. To absent himself from the kingdom.—5. To contract matrimony, and to permit those who may be called to the throne to enter into that state.—6. To abdicate the throne in favour of his immediate successor.

" 49. The income of the king and royal family is to be settled by the Cortes at the commencement of each reign.

" OF THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN.

" 50. Donna Isabel II. de Bourbon is the legitimate queen of Spain.

" 51. The succession to the throne of Spain shall be in the regular order of primogeniture and representation, always preferring the anterior to the posterior line of succession; in the same line also preferring the nearer degree of kindred to the more remote; in the same degree, the more remote to the female line of descent; and in the same sex the eldest to the younger branches of the family.

" 52. The line of the descendants of Donna Isabel II. de Bourbon becoming extinct, her sister and her uncles by the father's side, male as well as female, and their legitimate descendants shall succeed, if not excluded specially by law.

" 53. If the lines of succession pointed out become extinct, the Cortes shall name the sovereign as may be best for the interests of the nation.

54. " The Cortes shall exclude from the succession, such persons as are incompetent to govern, or who have done anything which should cause them to deserve forfeiting their rights to the throne.

" 55. During the reign of a female, her husband is to take no part whatever in the government of the kingdom.

" OF THE MINORITY OF THE SOVEREIGN; AND OF THE REGENCY.

" 56. The sovereign to be considered a minor until he is 14 years of age.

" 57. When the king is incapacitated from exercising his functions, or the Crown is vacant in consequence of the minority of the immediate successor, the Cortes shall appoint a regency for the govern-

ment of the kingdom, consisting of one, three, or five persons.

" 58. Until the Cortes shall appoint the regency, the kingdom shall be governed provisionally by the father or mother of the king; and in their absence by a council of the ministers.

" 59. The Regency shall exercise all the functions of royalty, in whose names shall be published all the acts of the government.

" 60. The guardian of the king, while a minor, shall be the person appointed in the will of the deceased sovereign, always providing that such guardian shall be a Spaniard by birth; if the deceased king should not have appointed such guardian of the successor, a minor, to the throne, then the father or mother, being in the state of widowhood, shall be the guardian. In the absence thereof, the Cortes shall appoint: but the offices of guardian and regent cannot be discharged by the same individual, except in the case of a father or mother.

" OF THE MINISTERS.

" 61. All commands or dispositions issued by the sovereign shall be signed by the respective ministers; and no public functionary is to execute such orders if not thus signed.

" 62. The ministers may be senators or deputies, and take part in the discussions of the two legislative bodies; but they are permitted to vote in that body only to which they belong.

" OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

' 63. To the tribunals and judges alone belong the power to apply the laws in civil and criminal cases, and without exercising any other functions than those of judges and of ministers of justice.

" 64. The laws are to determine the nature of the tribunals and judgments which are to exist, the organization of each, its faculties, the mode of proceeding, and the qualifications of the officers belonging to them.

" 65. Judgments in criminal cases to be public, and in the form prescribed by the laws.

" 66. No magistrate or judge can be deposed for a shorter or longer period, except by a written sentence, nor suspended from the discharge of the duties of his office, except by a judicial act, or in consequence of the order of the king, after he, on sufficient grounds, commands him to be tried by a proper tribunal.

" 67. Judges are personally responsible for all infractions of the law committed by them.

" 68. Justice is to be administered in the name of the king.

" OF THE PROVINCIAL DEPUTATIONS AND CORPORATIONS.

" 69. In each province there shall be a provincial deputation, composed of a number of persons specified by law, and appointed by the same electors who return the deputies to Cortes.

" 70. For the internal government of towns a corporation shall exist in each, to be elected by the inhabitants to whom this right pertains by law.

" 71. The law shall determine the organization and duties of the provincial deputations and corporations.

" OF TAXES.

" 72. Each year the government shall submit an estimateof the expenses of the state for the

following year, and a schedule of the contributions and of the means of raising them; and in like manner the accounts of the collection and disbursement of the public revenues for the examination and approval of the Cortes.

"73. No tax or contribution is to be imposed or collected which has not been authorized by the law of the estimates or other special authority.

"74. A similar authorization is necessary to dispose of the property of the state, and for raising money by loans on the public credit.

"75. The public debt shall be under the special protection of the nation.

"OF THE NATIONAL MILITARY FORCES.

"76. The Cortes, at the proposition of the king, shall each year determine the number of the permanent military forces by sea and land.

"77. In each province there shall be corps of national militia, whose organization and duties are to be defined by a particular law; and the king may, in case of necessity, dispose of these forces within their respective provinces, but not out of them without the express authorization of the Cortes.

"ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

"1. The laws shall define the time and manner in which judgments by juries for every class of offences are to be established.

"2. The provinces beyond the seas shall be governed by special laws.

"Palace of the Cortes in Madrid, June 8, 1837."

Here follow the names of all the deputies, next those of the queen regent and of her ministers, with a decree for the observance and publication of the constitution throughout the Spanish dominions.

SPEECH OF THE QUEEN REGENT TO THE GENERAL CORTES OF THE SPANISH NATION ON THE 18th OF JUNE, ON SWEARING TO THE CONSTITUTION DECREEDBY THEM.

Gentlemen Deputies,—The new fundamental law which you give to the monarchy is sworn to by me and by you likewise. By this solemn act you have already fully performed the work with which you had been charged by the national confidence; and Spanirads are relieved from the doubtful and uneasy position in which every state finds itself when passing from one political system to another of a different nature.

This transition is ever perilous and arduous. Our common enemies believing already that we should not be able to overcome these difficulties, chanted triumph in their invincible opinions beforehand, and prophesied to us a shameful dissolution into the most absolute anarchy. Foolish hopes, which are vanishing into smoke by the ever undeniable sensibility of the Spanish people, and by the steadiness of your prudent conduct, gentlemen deputies!

In proceeding to the reform of the political law of Cadiz, you have neither listened to the presumptuous suggestions of the spirit of privilege, nor attended to the ill-secured illusions of a pernicious popularity. Thus the said code has naturally, and without any violence, received the forms and conditions it still wanted, and

which belong to every monarchial representative government. By the sanction of the laws, and the faculty of calling together and dissolving the Cortes, you have given to the Royal power all the force it requires to maintain order, and leaving for the remainder the executive action of the Government unshackled, you restrain abuses which this faculty could be employed in, by imposing upon it the obligation of at least once a-year convoking the Cortes. By dividing the legislative body into two different sections, you do it at least with the greatest dignity and circumspection in its deliberations, and their success becomes therefore the more probable in its results, and gives public opinion all the influence possible in the election of the legislators, and opens a wider field to the expression and necessities of the nation in the tribune of Parliament. With the firmness and zeal of posing these principles the economical arrangements in the rest of the affairs worthily correspond. I have told you, gentlemen, at the opening of the Cortes, that nothing was proposed or counselled to you by me as Queen, and that I did not ask anything of you as a mother, because, confident in your wisdom and generosity, I hoped every thing from you. Your wisdom and generosity have gone far beyond my fondest hopes, and exceeded my most anxious desires.

Faithful to the principle I then proposed to myself, my first care was, that the constitutional reform should bear the impress of the national will. As my Government has abstained as much as possible from taking any part in your debates, whether in preparatory labours of reform, or in subsequent deliberations, occasionally only, and to illustrate some points, have you heard its voice; but the decision has always remained free, and been completely yours.

I have thought it necessary, nevertheless, to show you sometimes my assent to the dispositions you were making, and this manifestation of my Ministers I have repeated, and repeat now with the greatest pleasure. Here, before you, and in the face of Heaven and earth, I declare afresh my spontaneous adhesion, free and entire acceptation, of the political institutions I have just sworn to in the name and presence of my august daughter, whom you have before you, and whose setiments I hope will never differ from mine.

The Queen of Spain, though of so tender an age, ought to assist at this solemn act, reason beginning already to radiate in her, and so noble and grand a spectacle will impress itself with some viracity on her tender fancy in proportion as her innocence and graces add interest and give, if possible, a greater force to our reciprocal oaths. Placed in the midst of the national representatives, surrounded and defended by Spanish loyalty, she is as if she was in the presence of her people, proclaimed on the ancient shield of the kings her forefathers.

Let her accustom herself to live among you, to hear your counsels, to enter into your good, and to further it with all her soul; she is the heiress Heaven has granted to the wishes of all Spaniards; she is the child of liberty, educated under the shade of its protecting laws. Let her first sentiment be to venerate them, her principal duty to fulfil them, and her incessant desire to defend them.

There being established thus the most perfect union between the nation and the throne, the fundamental law of the Spanish monarchy, there remains no motive for uncertainty, no pretext for disunion. As a flag of peace and concord let this law serve all Spaniards henceforward as the insignia and guide to the prosperity to which they aspire, and which they so justly deserve; and, seeing it wave over the throne of the Queen, which they defend with so much heroism, let them consider the throne as the cement of liberty and independence, and as the firmest pillar of glory and prosperity.

Finally, gentlemen deputies, your loyalty and wisdom have not only shone in the disposition relative to the constitution of the state, but also in every thing else you proposed for the conservation of the state. Acknowledging the salutary support you considerately give my Government, I cannot omit expressing my warmest gratitude, hoping that you will continue the same with that zeal and prudence which have marked your conduct heretofore. No doubt our circumstances are difficult, but whilst this happy concert subsists between the Cortes and Crown, neither the agitation of passions, nor the opposition of opinions and interests, nor the vicissitudes of fortune itself, can prevail against you; and, with the help of the Omnipotent, Spain will triumph and save herself.

SPEECH OF THE QUEEN REGENT OF SPAIN ON OPENING THE SESSION OF THE CORTES, NOV. 19.

"Gentlemen Senators and Deputies,—I ever feel the most lively satis faction when surrounded by the representatives of the nation, whom I consider the firmest support of the throne, and the laws and liberties of the people of Spain.

"For the second time I have thought it expedient to make my youthful daughter, the Queen Donna Isabel II., assist at this solemn act, to impress on her mind love of the institutions which are to insure the happiness of her reign and of the nation she is called upon to rule over.

"I continue to receive from foreign Powers that have recognised the Queen testimonies of amity and of good understanding.

"Although I deplore the death of his Majesty, the King of England, William IV., it is a consolation to me, that his august successor, the Queen Victoria, animated by the sentiments of her illustrious uncle, is closely united with his Majesty the King of the French and the Queen of Portugal, who signed the treaty of quadruple alliance.

"These monarchs still favour our cause with as much interest as ever. To their generous assistance we owe, in a great degree, the safety of our frontiers, and of the vast extent of our coast secured by the vigilance of the allied squadrons, exclusive of other efficacious and opportune aid which daily merits my most profound gratitude. Amongst the measures of the greatest advantage for our cause are those adopted by his Majesty the King of the French, to prevent the exportation of warlike stores and provisions to the rebels on the extensive line of the Pyrenees, as well as the permission given in some instances to some of our troops to pass through the French territory.

"The cabinets with whom we are not upon the same terms of amity do not show themselves positively hostile to Spain, and it is to be hoped, that better informed by recent events so favourable to our arms, and the unanimous determination of all Spaniards to support to the utmost the throne of their Queen, will change their policy, especially when they shall have learned the atrocious conduct of the Pretender during his invasion of the centre of the monarchy.

"The Crown being competently authorised by a special law from the Cortes to conclude treaties of alliance and peace with the states of Spanish America, on the basis of acknowledging their independence, I am happy to communicate to you, in the Queen's name, that the treaty concluded towards the end of December between Spain and the Mexican republic has been ratified. I flatter myself, that the reconciliation between two people who ought to look upon each other as brethren will produce incalculable benefit to both.

"I am animated with the same desires towards the other states of America; in proof of which I have opened the ports of Spain to merchant vessels from Venezuela and Montevideo.

"I have likewise ratified the treaty of peace, protection, and commerce, granted by the captain-general of the Philippine islands to the Sultan and Dattes of Sooloo.

"The differences which had arisen between the military government of Ceuta and the Moors of the frontier camp have been terminated in a satisfactory way.

"I am sorry that the refusal of the cabinet of Turin to grant the royal exequatur to Spanish consular agents should have occasioned an interruption of our mercantile intercourse with that country, but desirous to re-establish those matters on their former footing, I shall not neglect the first opporunity which invites me thereto, provided the honour of the Crown and the dignity of the nation permit it.

"My government have endeavoured, and are still endeavouring, to remedy the damages caused by the invasion of the rebel prince, in places the inhabitants of which have given such signal proofs of valour and loyalty. To those efforts are due the preservation of industry and commerce in those countries. The injuries sustained by agriculture, the arts, roads, and canals, have been attended to with anxiety and zeal.

"The charitable institutions and the Department of Public Instruction have received all the aid government can give to them. All the branches of the administration are in a less state of suffering than the present position of Spain would warrant us to hope for.

"In the ultra-marine provinces the greatest tranquillity prevails, and the vast majority of that peaceable population feels happy in being governed by special laws ensuring their prosperity and aggrandisement.

"The government protects those important possessions by armed vessels, indispensable at the islands of Cuba and Puerto, where, as well as in the Gulf of Mexico, our navy displays its proverbial zeal and constancy at all times, and likewise protects, in the most satisfactory manner, the north coasts of the Peninsula and Catalonia. The minister of that department will present to you a

project of law for the amelioration of the navy, and also a new code of commerce.

" Duly sensible that justice is the basis of social order, I flatter myself with being able to overcome the obstacles opposed by the present practice of our courts to the more free and disembarrassed administration of justice. As the civil code is already settled, and the criminal code nearly so, the government will hasten to present to the Cortes projects of law for the organisation of tribunals, defining their powers and exercise, as well as the responsibility of their members.

" Since the opening of the last legislature, the military operations have been more active and important than at any other period of the civil war. The rebels, vanquished in the country which was the cradle, and is still the principal theatre, of the war and insurrection, sought in the provinces that fortune which had abandoned them there; but, pursued continually, and beaten in Catalonia and Valencia, they came at last, and received under the walls of this capital, the heaviest blow and most bitter disappointment. Many of you have witnessed the imposing spectacle which Madrid displayed when the enemy dared to present himself in sight thereof. I also have witnessed that imposing spectacle. Never will the lively acclamations of patriotic enthusiasm be effaced from my memory with which loyalty manifested itself when, with my august daughter, I traversed the ranks of the gallant men who were so anxious to engage. You know the result. Fear and despair seized the enemy's mind, who, routed, sought to hide his despair in his former haunts. In his flight and dispersion some provinces were infested by his gangs of banditti, who, under favour of the mountainous ground, annoyed some towns and interrupted communications, but the government has ordered such energetic measures in respect of them as must produce the desired effect—their extermination.

" The army and navy, under the orders of the enlightened and distinguished chiefs who command them, have acquired new titles to my gratitude and to that of the nation, by the ardour they displayed, and the sufferings they endured in that short, but arduous, campaign.

" I owe, also, honourable mention of the efficacious co-operation which the naval forces of her Britannic Majesty afforded me, with that intrepidity and decision which characterize them.

" If for a moment military discipline was relaxed in some corps of the army, and that deplorable crimes were committed, their principal authors were promptly and severely punished, and my government will take care that such frightful excesses shall not recur.

" The ministers will concur in the examination of, and in the deliberations upon, the bills which have lain over since last session.

" Owing to the difficulty occasioned by that civil war, the duration of which sadly afflicts my heart, the financial department is not yet able to present to you as flattering a prospect as could be desired. The former Cortes granted generously to my government all the means which the situation of the country placed within their power, to meet the public obligations, and the demands for the

service of the state, and in particular to fill up the deficit which it is anticipated will appear in the public treasury at the end of the present year. But, although my government endeavours, and will continue those endeavours, to realize our resources, it must be borne in mind, that the very nature of those resources opposes their susceptibility of being rendered productive as early and as completely as the necessities of the Treasury require.

"My government will continue to occupy itself sedulously with improving the administration of all the existing taxes, with augmenting their receipts, and with diminishing the public expenditure, with regulating the distribution of the public funds, and with introducing into every branch of the public service such economies as are compatible with its welfare. Finally, my government shall not (in proportion as circumstances improve) lose sight of the internal and foreign debt of the country, the interest due upon which, owing to the difficulties and distressed state of the Treasury, have, since last year, been unavoidably and painfully suffered to remain unpaid.

"Senores! such is the summary of the state of the nation. If it is not so prosperous as my heart ardently desires, it must be attributed to the cruel evils of the civil war. But I assure you, that its speedy termination is, and ever will be, the object of my most anxious desire, and that my government will, with all the solicitude, zeal, and energy of which it is capable, labour to that end.

"I have no doubt, that I shall always experience from you the assistance and co-operation so necessary for the attainment of that important object; also for the maintenance of public order, and to cause to be inviolably observed the constitution to which we have sworn fidelity—objects which can only be attained by the most perfect union and harmony of all the powers of the state."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 25TH CONGRESS.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—

The act of the 23d of June, 1836, regulating the deposits of the public money, and directing the employment of state, district, and territorial banks, for that purpose, made it the duty of the secretary of the treasury to discontinue the use of such of them as should at any time refuse to redeem their notes in specie, and to substitute other banks, provided a sufficient number could be obtained, to receive the public deposits upon the terms and conditions therein prescribed.

The general and almost simultaneous suspension of specie payments by the banks in May last, rendered the performance of this duty imperative, in respect to those which had been selected under the act; and made it, at the same time, impracticable to employ the requisite number of others upon the prescribed conditions. The specific regulations established by Congress for the deposit and safe keeping of the public monies having thus unexpectedly become inoperative, I felt it to be my duty to afford you an early opportunity for the exercise

of your supervisory powers over the subject.

I was also led to apprehend that the suspension of specie payments, increasing the embarrassments before existing in the pecuniary affairs of the country, would so far diminish the public revenue, that the accruing receipts into the Treasury would not, with the reserved 5,000,000, be sufficient to defray the unavoidable expenses of the government until the usual period for the meeting of Congress; whilst the authority to call upon the states for a portion of the sums deposited with them was too restricted to enable the department to realize a sufficient amount from that source. These apprehensions have been justified by subsequent results, which render it certain that this deficiency will occur, if additional means be not provided by Congress.

The difficulties experienced by the mercantile interest in meeting their engagements induced them to apply to me previously to the actual suspension of specie payments for indulgence upon their bonds for duties; and all the relief authorized by law was promptly and cheerfully granted. The dependence of the treasury upon the avails of these bonds, to enable it to make the deposits with the states required by law, led me in the outset to limit this indulgence to the 1st of September, but it has since been extended to the 1st of October, that the matter might be submitted to your further direction.

Questions were also expected to arise in the recess in respect to the October instalment of those deposits requiring the interposition of Congress.

A provision of another act, passed about the same time, and intended to secure a faithful compliance with the obligations of the United States, to satisfy all demands upon them in specie or its equivalent, prohibited the offer of any bank-note not convertible on the spot into gold or silver at the will of the holder, and the ability of the government, with millions on deposit, to meet its engagements in the manner thus required by law was rendered very doubtful by the event to which I have referred.

Sensible that adequate provisions for these unexpected exigencies could only be made by Congress; convinced that some of them would be indispensably necessary to the public service before the regular period of your meeting; and desirous also to enable you to exercise at the earliest moment your full constitutional powers for the relief of the country, I could not, with propriety, avoid subjecting you to the inconvenience of assembling at as early a day as the state of the popular representation would permit. I am sure that I have done but justice to your feelings in believing that this inconvenience will be cheerfully encountered, in the hope of rendering your meeting conducive to the good of the country.

During the earlier stages of the revulsion through which we have just passed much acrimonious discussion arose, and great diversity of opinion existed as to its real causes. This was not surprising. The operations of credit are so diversified, and the influences which affect them so numerous, and often so subtle, that even impartial and well-informed persons

are seldom found to agree in respect to them. To inherent difficulties were also added other tendencies, which were by no means favourable to the discovery of truth. It was hardly to be expected that those who disapproved the policy of the government in relation to the currency would, in the excited state of public feeling produced by the occasion, fail to attribute to that policy any extensive embarrassment in the monetary affairs of the country. The matter thus became connected with the passions and conflicts of party—opinions were more or less affected by political considerations, and differences were prolonged which might otherwise have been determined by an appeal to facts, by the exercise of reason, or by mutual concession. It is, however, a cheering reflection, that circumstances of this nature cannot prevent a community so intelligent as ours from ultimately arriving at correct conclusions. Encouraged by the firm belief of this truth, I proceed to state my views, so far as may be necessary to a clear understanding of the remedies I feel it my duty to propose, and of the reasons by which I have been led to recommend them.

The history of trade in the United States for the last three or four years affords the most convincing evidence that our present condition is chiefly to be attributed to over-action in all the departments of business—an over-action deriving, perhaps, its first impulses from antecedent causes, but stimulated to its destructive consequences by excessive issues of bank paper, and by other facilities for the acquisition and enlargement of credit. At the commencement of the year 1834 the banking capital of the United States; including that of the national bank then existing, amounted to about $200,000,000, the bank-notes then in circulation to about $95,000,000, and the loans and discounts of the banks to $324,000,000. Between that time and the 1st of January, 1836, being the latest period to which accurate accounts have been received, our banking capital was increased to more than $251,000,000, our paper circulation to more than $140,000,000, and the loans and discounts to more than $457,000,000. To this vast increase are to be added the many millions of credit, acquired by means of foreign loans, contracted by the States and state institutions, and above all by the lavish accommodations extended by foreign dealers to our merchants.

The consequences of this redundency of credit, and of the spirit of reckless speculation engendered by it, were a foreign debt contracted by our citizens, estimated in March last at more than $30,000,000; the extension to traders in the interior of our country of credits for supplies, greatly beyond the wants of the people; the investment of $39,500,000 in unproductive public lands, in the years 1835 and 1836, whilst in the preceding year the sales amounted to only $4,500,000; the creation of debts to an almost countless amount, for real estate in existing or anticipated cities and villages, equally unproductive, and at prices now seen to have been greatly disproportionate to their real value; the expenditure of immense sums in improvements, which in many cases have been

found to be ruinously improvident, the diversion to other pursuits of much of the labour that should have been applied to agriculture, thereby contributing to the expenditure of large sums in the importation of grain from Europe—an expenditure which, amounting in 1834 to about $250,000, was in the first two quarters of the present year, increased to more than $2,000,000; and finally, without enumerating other injurious results, the rapid growth among all classes, and especially in our great commercial towns, of luxurious habits, founded too often on merely fancied wealth, and detrimental alike to the industry, the resources, and the morals of our people.

It was so impossible that such a state of things could long continue, that the prospect of revulsion was present to the minds of considerate men before it actually came. None, however, had correctly anticipated its severity. A concurrence of circumstances, inadequate of themselves to produce such wide-spread and calamitous embarrassments, tended so greatly to aggravate them, that they cannot be overlooked in considering their history. Among these may be mentioned, as most prominent, the great loss of capital sustained by our commercial emporium in the fire of December, 1835—a loss, the effects of which were underrated at the time, because postponed for a season by the great facilities of credit then existing, the disturbing effects in our commercial cities of the transfer of the public monies required by the deposit law of June, 1836, and the measures adopted by the foreign creditors of our merchants to reduce their debts, and to withdraw from the United States large portions of our specie.

However unwilling any of our citizens many heretofore have been to assign to these causes the chief instrumentality in producing the present state of things, the developements subsequently made, and the actual condition of other commercial countries, must, as it seems to me, dispel all remaining doubts upon the subject. It has since appeared that evils, similar to those suffered by ourselves, have been experienced in Great Britain, on the Continent, and indeed throughout the commercial world; and that, in other countries as well as in our own, they have been uniformly preceded by an undue enlargement of the boundaries of trade, prompted, as with us, by unprecedented expansions of the systems of credit. A reference to the amount of banking capital, and the issues of paper credits put in circulation in Great Britain, by banks and in other ways during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, will show an augmentation of the paper currency there as much disproportioned to the real wants of trade as in the United States. With this redundancy of the paper currency, there arose in that country also a spirit of adventurous speculation, embracing the whole range of human enterprise. Aid was profusely given to projected improvements; large investments were made in foreign stocks and loans; credits for goods were granted with unbounded liberality to merchants in foreign countries; and all the means of acquiring and employing credit were put in active operation, and extended in their effects to every department of business, and to every quarter of the globe. The reaction was

proportioned in its violence to the extraordinary character of the events which preceded it. The commercial community of Great Britain were subjected to the greatest difficulties, and their debtors in this country were not only suddenly deprived of accustomed and expected credits, but called upon for payments, which, in the actual posture of things here, could only be made through a general pressure, and at the most ruinous sacrifices.

In view of these facts, it would seem impossible for sincere inquirers after truth to resist the conviction that the causes of the revulsion in both countries have been substantially the same. Two nations, the most commercial in the world, enjoying but recently the highest degree of apparent prosperity, and maintaining with each other the closest relations, are suddenly, in a time of profound peace, and without any great national disaster, arrested in their career, and plunged into a state of embarrassment and distress. In both countries we have witnessed the same redundancy of paper money, and other facilities of credit; the same spirit of speculation; the same partial successes; the same difficulties and reverses; and, at length, nearly the same overwhelming catastrophe. The most material difference between the results in the two countries has only been that with us there has also occurred an extensive derangement in the fiscal affairs of the federal and state governments, occasioned by the suspension of specie payments by the banks.

The history of these causes and effects in Great Britain and the United States, is substantially the history of the revulsion in all other commercial countries.

The present and visible effects of these circumstances on the operations of the government, and on the industry of the people, point out the objects which call for your immediate attention.

They are to regulate by law the safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public monies; to designate the funds to be received and paid by the government: to enable the treasury to meet promptly every demand upon it; to prescribe the terms of indulgence, and the mode of settlement to be adopted, as well in collecting from individuals the revenue that has accrued, as in withdrawing it from former depositories, and to devise and adopt such further measures within the constitutional competency of Congress as will be best calculated to revive the enterprise and to promote the prosperity of the country.

For the deposit, transfer, and disbursement of the revenue national and state banks have always, with temporary and limited exceptions, been heretofore employed; but, although advocates of each system are still to be found, it is apparent that the events of the last few months have greatly augmented the desire, long existing among the people of the United States, to separate the fiscal operations of the government from those of individuals or corporations.

Again to create a national bank, as a fiscal agent, would be to disregard the popular will, twice solemnly and unequivocally expressed. On no question of domestic policy is there stronger evidence that the sentiments of a large majority are deliberately fixed, and I cannot concur with those who think they see in recent

event as proof that those sentiments are, or a reason that they should be, changed.

Events similar in their origin and character have heretofore frequently occurred without producing any such change; and the lessons of experience must be forgotten, if we suppose that the present overthrow of credit would have been prevented by the existence of a national bank. Proneness to excessive issues has ever been the vice of the banking system—a vice as prominent in national as in state institutions. This propensity is as subservient to the advancement of private interests in the one as in the other; and those who direct them both being principally guided by the same views, and influenced by the same motives, will be equally ready to stimulate extravagance of enterprise by improvidence of credit. How strikingly is this conclusion sustained by experience!

The Bank of the United States, with the vast powers conferred on it by Congress, did not or could not prevent former and similar embarrassments; nor has the still greater strength it has been said to possess by its present charter enabled it, in the existing emergency, to check other institutions, or even to save itself. In Great Britain, where it has been seen the same causes have been attended with the same effects, a national bank, possessing powers far greater than are asked for by the warmest advocate of such an institution here, has also proved unable to prevent an undue expansion of credit, and the evils that flow from it. Nor can I find any tenable ground for the reestablishment of a national bank in the derangement alleged at present to exist in the domestic exchanges of the country, or in the facilities it may be capable of affording them. Although advantages of this sort were anticipated when the first bank of the United States was created, they were regarded as an incidental accommodation—not one which the Federal Government was bound, or could be called upon to furnish. This accommodation is now, indeed, after the lapse of not many years, demanded from it as among its first duties; and an omission to aid and regulate commercial exchange is treated as a ground of loud and serious complaint. Such results only serve to exemplify the constant desire among some of our citizens to enlarge the powers of the government, and extend its control to subjects with which it should not interfere. They can never justify the creation of an institution to promote such objects; on the contrary, they justly excite among the community a more diligent inquiry into the character of those operations of trade towards which it is desired to extend such peculiar favours.

The various transactions which bear the name of domestic exchanges differ essentially in their nature, operation, and utility. One class of them consists of bills of exchange drawn for the purpose of transferring actual capital from one part of the country to another, or to anticipate the proceeds of property actually transmitted. Bills of this description are highly useful in the movements of trade, and well deserve all the encouragement which can rightfully be given to them. Another class is made up of bills of exchange, not drawn to transfer actual capital, nor on the credit of property transmitted, but to create

fictitious capital, partaking at once of the character of notes discounted in bank, and of bank-notes in circulation, and swelling the mass of paper credits to a vast extent in the most objectionable manner. These bills have formed for the last few years a large proportion of what are termed the domestic exchanges of the country, serving as the means of usurious profit, and constituting the most unsafe and precarious paper in circulation. This species of traffic, instead of being upheld, ought to be discountenanced by the government and the people.

In transferring its funds from place to place, the government is on the same footing with the private citizen, and may resort to the same legal means. It may do so through the medium of bills drawn by itself or purchased from others, and in these operations it may, in a manner undoubtedly constitutional and legitimate, facilitate and assist exchanges of individuals founded on real transactions of trade. The extent to which this may be done, and the best means of effecting it, are entitled to the fullest consideration. This has been bestowed by the secretary of the treasury, and his views will be submitted to you in his report.

But it was not designed by the constitution that the government should assume the management of domestic or foreign exchanges. It is indeed authorized to regulate by law the commerce between the states, and to provide a general standard of value, or medium of exchange, in gold and silver; but it is not its province to aid individuals in the transfer of their funds, otherwise than through the facilities afforded by the post-office department. As justly might it be called on to provide for the transportation of their merchandise. These are operations of trade. They ought to be conducted by those who are interested in them, in the same manner that the incidental difficulties of other pursuits are encountered by other classes of citizens. Such aid has not been deemed necessary in other countries. Throughout Europe, the domestic as well as the foreign exchanges are carried on by private houses, often, if not generally, without the assistance of banks. Yet they extend throughout distinct sovereignties, and far exceed in amount the real exchanges of the United States. There is no reason why our own may not be conducted in the same manner, with equal cheapness and safety. Certainly this might be accomplished, if it were favoured by those most deeply interested; and few can doubt that their own interest, as well as the general welfare of the country, would be promoted by leaving such a subject in the hands of those to whom it properly belongs.

A system founded on private interest, enterprise, and competition, without the aid of the legislative grants or regulations by law, would rapidly prosper; it would be free from the influence of political agitation and extend the same exemption to trade itself; and it would put an end to those complaints of neglect, partiality, injustice, and oppression, which are the unavoidable results of interference by the government in the proper concerns of individuals. All former attempts on the part of the government to carry its legislation in this respect further than was designed by the constitution have in the end proved injurious and have served only to convince the great body of the

people more and more, of the certain dangers of blending private interests with the operations of public business; and there is no reason to suppose that a repetition of them now would be more successful.

It cannot be concealed that there exists in our community opinions and feelings on this subject in direct opposition to each other. A large portion of them, combining great intelligence, activity, and influence, are no doubt sincere in their belief that the operations of trade ought to be assisted by such a connexion; they regard a national bank as necessary for this purpose, and they are disinclined to every measure that does not tend, sooner or later, to the establishment of such an institution. On the other hand, a majority of the people are believed to be irreconcileably opposed to that measure; they consider such a concentration of power dangerous to their liberties; and many of them regard it as a violation of the constitution. This collision of opinion has, doubtless, caused much of the embarrassments to which the commercial transactions of the country have lately been exposed. Banking has become a political topic of the highest interest, and trade has suffered in the conflict of parties. A speedy termination of this state of things, however desirable, is scarcely to be expected. We have seen for nearly half a century that those who advocate a national bank, by whatever motive they may be influenced, constitute a portion of our community too numerous to allow us to hope for an early abandonment of their favourite plans. On the other hand, they must indeed form an erroneous estimate of the intelligence and temper of the American people who suppose that they have continued, on slight or insufficient grounds, their persevering opposition to such an institution; or that they can be induced by pecuniary pressure, or by any other combination of circumstances, to surrender principles they have so long and so inflexibly maintained.

My own views of the subject are unchanged. They have been repeatedly and unreservedly announced to my fellow-citizens, who, with full knowledge of them, conferred upon me the two highest offices of the government. On the last of these occasions I felt it due to the people to apprise them distinctly, that, in the event of my election, I should not be able to co-operate in the re-establishment of a national bank. To these sentiments I have now only to add the expression of an increased conviction that the re-establishment of such a bank in any form, whilst it would not accomplish the beneficial purpose promised by its advocates, would impair the rightful supremacy of the popular will, injure the character and diminish the influence of our political system, and bring once more into existence a concentrated monied power, hostile to the spirit, nd threatening the permanency of our republican institutions.

Local banks have been employed for the deposit and distribution of the revenue, at all times partially, and on three different occasions exclusively—1st, anterior to the establishment of the first bank of the United States; 2d, in the interval between the termination of that institution and the charter of its successor; and, 3d, during the limited period which has now so abruptly

closed. The connexion thus repeatedly attempted proved unsatisfactory on each successive occasion, notwithstanding the various measures which were adopted to facilitate or insure its success. On the last occasion, in the year 1833, the employment of the state banks was guarded especially in every way which experience and caution could suggest. Personal security was required for safe-keeping and prompt payment of the monies to be received, and full returns of their condition were from time to time to be made by the depositories.

In the first stages the measure was eminently successful, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Bank of the United States, and the unceasing efforts made to overthrow it. The selected banks performed with fidelity, and without any embarrassment to themselves or to the community, their engagements to the government, and the system promised to be permanently useful. But when it became necessary, under the act of June, 1836, to withdraw from them the public money for the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the states, they found it in many cases inconvenient to comply with the demands of the treasury, and numerous and pressing applications were made for indulgence or relief. As the instalments under the deposit law became payable, their own embarrassments, and the necessity under which they lay of curtailing their discounts and calling in their debts, increased the general distress, and contributed, with other causes, to hasten the revulsion in which at length they, in common with the other banks, were fatally involved.

Under these circumstances it becomes our solemn duty to inquire whether there are not, in any connexion between the government and banks of issue, evils of great magnitude, inherent in its very nature, and against which no precautions can effectually guard.

Unforeseen in the organisation of the government, and forced on the treasury by early necessities, the practice of employing banks was, in truth, from the beginning, more a measure of emergency than of sound policy. When we started into existence as a nation, in addition to the burdens of the new government, we assumed all the large but honourable load of debt which was the price of our liberty; but we hesitated to weigh down the infant industry of the country by resorting to adequate taxation for the necessary revenue. The facilities of banks, in return for the privileges they acquired, were promptly offered, and, perhaps, too readily received, by an embarrassed treasury.

During the long continuance of a national debt, and the intervening difficulties of a foreign war, the connexion was continued from motives of convenience; but these causes have long since passed away. We have no emergencies that make banks necessary to aid the wants of the treasury: we have no load of national debt to provide for, and we have on actual deposit a large surplus. No public interest, therefore, now requires the renewal of a connexion that circumstances have dissolved. The complete organization of our government, the abundance of our resources, the

general harmony which prevails between the different states and with foreign powers—all enable us now to select the system most consistent with the constitution, and most conducive to the public welfare. Should we, then, connect the treasury for a fourth time with the local banks, it can only be under a conviction that past failures have arisen from accidental, not inherent defects.

A danger, difficult, if not impossible to be avoided in such an arrangement, is made strikingly evident in the very event by which it has now been defeated. A sudden act of the banks intrusted with the funds of the people deprives the treasury, without fault or agency of the government, of the ability to pay its creditors in the currency they have by law a right to demand. This circumstance no fluctuation of commerce could have produced, if the public revenue had been collected in the legal currency, and kept in that form by the officers of the treasury. The citizen whose money was in bank receives it back, since the suspension, at a sacrifice in its amount; whilst he who kept it in the legal currency of the country, and in his own possession, pursues without loss the current of his business. The government, placed in the situation of the former, is involved in embarrassments it could not have suffered had it pursued the course of the latter. These embarrassments are, moreover, augmented by those salutary and just laws which forbid it to use a depreciated currency, and, by so doing, take from the government the ability which individuals have of accommodating their transactions to such a catastrophe.

A system which can, in a time of profound peace, when there is a large revenue laid by, thus suddenly prevent the application and the use of the money of the people in the manner and for the objects they have directed, cannot be wise; but who can think, without painful reflection, that, under it, the same unforeseen events might have befallen us in the midst of a war, and taken from us, at the moment when most wanted, the use of those very means which were treasured up to promote the national welfare and guard our national rights? To such embarrassments and to such dangers will this government be always exposed while it takes the monies raised for and necessary to the public service out of the hands of its own officers, and converts them into a mere right of action against corporations intrusted with the possession of them. Nor can such results be effectually guarded against in such a system without investing the executive with a control over the banks themselves, whether state or national, that might with reason be objected to. Ours is, probably, the only government in the world that is liable in the management of its fiscal concerns to occurrences like these. But this imminent risk is not the only danger attendant on the surrender of the public money to the custody and control of local corporations. Though the object is aid to the treasury, its effect may be to introduce into the operations of the government influences the most subtle, founded on interests the most selfish.

The use by the banks for their own benefit of the money deposited with them has received the sanction of the government from

the commencement of this connexion. The money received from the people, instead of being kept till it is needed for their use, is, in consequence of this authority, a fund on which discounts are made for the profit of those who happen to be owners of stock in the banks selected as depositories. The supposed and often exaggerated advantages of such a boon will always cause it to be sought for with avidity. I will not stop to consider on whom the patronage incident to it is to be conferred; whether the selection and control be trusted to Congress or the Executive, either will be subjected to appeals made in every form which the sagacity of interest can suggest. The banks, under such a system, are stimulated to make the most of their fortunate acquisition. The deposits are treated as an increase of capital. Loans and circulation are rashly augmented; and when the public exigencies require a return, it is attended with embarrassments not provided for or foreseen. Thus, banks that thought themselves most fortunate when the public funds were received find themselves most embarrassed when the season of payment suddenly arrives.

Unfortunately, too, the evils of the system are not limited to the banks. It stimulates a general rashness of enterprise, and aggravates the fluctuations of commerce and the currency. This result was strikingly exhibited during the operations of the late deposit system, and especially in the purchase of public lands. The order which ultimately directed the payment of gold and silver in such purchases greatly checked, but could not altogether prevent the evil. Specie was indeed more difficult to be procured than the notes which the banks could themselves create at pleasure; but still, being obtained from them as a loan, and returned as a deposit, which they were again at liberty to use, it only passed round the circle with diminished speed. This operation could not have been performed had the funds of the government gone into the treasury to be regularly disbursed, and not into banks, to be loaned out for their own profit, while they were permitted to substitute for it a credit in account.

In expressing these sentiments I desire not to undervalue the benefits of a salutary credit to any branch of enterprise. The credit bestowed on probity and industry is the just reward of merit, and an honourable incentive to further acquisition. None oppose it who love their country and understand its welfare. But when it is unduly encouraged—when it is made to inflame the public mind with the temptations of sudden and unsubstantial wealth—when it turns industry into paths that lead sooner or later to disappointment and distress, it becomes liable to censure, and needs correction. Far from helping probity and industry, the ruin to which it leads falls most severely on the great labouring classes, who are thrown suddenly out of employment, and, by the failure of magnificent schemes, never intended to enrich them, are deprived in a moment of their only resource. Abuses of credit and excesses in speculation will happen in despite of the most salutary laws: no government perhaps can altogether prevent them; but surely every government can refrain from

contributing the stimulus that calls them into life.

Since, therefore, experience has shown, that to lend the public money to the local banks is hazardous to the operations of the government, at least of doubtful benefit to the institutions themselves, and productive of disastrous derangement in the business and currency of the country, is it the part of wisdom again to renew the connexion?

It is true that such an agency is in many respects convenient to the treasury, but it is not indispensable. A limitation of the expenses of the government to its actual wants, and of the revenue to those expenses, with convenient means for its prompt application to the purposes for which it was raised, are the objects which we should seek to accomplish, The collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public money can, it is believed, be well managed by officers of the government. Its collection, and to a great extent its disbursement also, have indeed been hitherto conducted solely by them, neither national nor state banks, when employed, being required to do more than keep it safely while in their custody, and transfer and pay it in such portions, and at such times as the treasury shall direct.

Surely banks are not more able than the government to secure the money in their possession against accident, violence, or fraud. The assertion that they are so must assume that a vault in a bank is stronger than a vault in the treasury, and that directors, cashiers, and clerks, not selected by the government, nor under its control, are more worthy of confidence than officers selected from the people, and responsible to the government—officers bound by official oaths and bonds for a faithful performance of their duties, and constantly subject to the supervision of Congress.

The difficulties of transfer, and the aid heretofore rendered by banks, have been less than is usually supposed. The actual accounts show, that by far the larger portion of payments is made within short or convenient distances from the places of collection—and the whole number of warrants issued at the treasury in the year 1834—a year, the results of which will, it is believed, afford a safe test for the future—fell short of 5,000, or an average of less than one daily for each state—in the city of New York they did not average more than two a-day, and at the city of Washington only four.

The difficulties heretofore existing are moreover daily lessened by an increase in the cheapness and facility of communication—and it may be asserted with confidence, that the necessary transfers, as well as the safe-keeping and disbursements of the public monies, can be with safety and convenience accomplished through the agencies of treasury officers. This opinion has been, in some degree, confirmed by actual experience since the discontinuance of the banks as fiscal agents, in May last—a period which, from the embarrassments in commercial intercourse, presented obstacles as great as any that may be hereafter apprehended.

The manner of keeping the public money since that period is fully stated in the report of the

secretary of the treasury; that officer also suggests the propriety of assigning by law certain additional duties to existing establishments and officers, which with the modifications and safeguards referred to by him, will, he thinks, enable the department to continue to perform this branch of the public service without any material addition either to their number or to the present expense. The extent of the business to be transacted has already been stated, and in respect to the amount of money with which the officers employed would be intrusted at any one time, it appears that, assuming a balance of 5,000,000 to be at all times kept in the treasury, and the whole of it left in the hands of the collectors and receivers, the proportion of each would not exceed an average of 30,000 dollars; but that, deducting 1,000,000 for the use of the mint, and assuming the remaining 4,000,000 to be in the hands of one half of the present number of officers, a supposition deemed more likely to correspond with the fact, the sum in the hands of each would still be less than the amount of most of the bonds now taken from the receivers of public money. Every apprehension, however, on the subject, either in respect to the safety of the money or the faithful discharge of these fiscal transactions, may, it appears to me, be effectually removed by adding to the present means of the treasury the establishment by law, at a few important points, of officers for the deposit and disbursement of such portions of the public revenue as cannot, with obvious safety and convenience, be left in the possession of the collecting officers until paid over by them to the public creditors. Neither the amounts received in their hands, nor those deposited in the offices, would, in an ordinary condition of the revenue, be larger in most cases than those often under the control of disbursing officers of the army and navy, and might be made entirely safe by requiring such securities, and exercising such controlling supervision, as Congress may by law prescribe. The principal officers whose appointments would become necessary under this plan, taking the largest number suggested by the secretary of the treasury, would not exceed ten, nor the additional expenses, at the same estimate, 60,000 dollars a-year.

There can be no doubt that the obligation of those who are intrusted with the affairs of government is, to conduct them with as little cost to the nation as is consistent with the public interest; and it is for Congress, and ultimately for the people, to decide whether the benefits to be derived from keeping our fiscal concerns apart, and severing the connexion which has hitherto existed between the government and banks, offer sufficient advantages to justify the necessary expenses. If the object to be accomplished is deemed important to the future welfare of the country, I cannot allow myself to believe that the addition to the public expenditure, of comparatively so small an amount as will be necessary to effect it, will be objected to by the people.

It will be seen by the report of the Postmaster-General, herewith communicated, that the fiscal affairs of that department have

been successfully conducted since May last upon the principle of dealing only in the legal currency of the United States, and that it needs no legislation to maintain its credit and facilitate the management of its concerns; the existing laws being, in the opinion of that officer, ample for those objects.

Difficulties will doubtless be encountered for a season, and increased services required from the public functionaries, such are usually incident to the commencement of every system, but they will be greatly lessened in the progress of its operations.

The power and influence supposed to be connected with the custody and disbursement of the public money, are topics on which the public mind is naturally, and with great propriety, peculiarly sensitive. Much has been said on them, in reference to the proposed separation of the government from the banking institutions; and surely no one can object to any appeals or animadversions on the subject, which are consistent with facts, and evince a proper respect for the intelligence of the people. If a chief magistrate may be allowed to speak for himself on such a point, I can truly say that to me nothing would be more acceptable than the withdrawal from the executive, to the greatest practicable extent, of all concern in the custody and disbursement of the public revenue; not that I would shrink from any responsibility cast upon me by the duties of my office, but because it is my firm belief, that its capacity for usefulness is in no degree promoted by the possession of any patronage not actually necessary to the performance of those duties. But under our present form of government, the intervention the executive officers in the custody and disbursement of the public money seems to be unavoidable; and before it can be admitted that the influence and power of the executive would be increased by dispensing with the agency of banks, the nature of that intervention in such an agency must be carefully regarded, and a comparison must be instituted between its extent in the two cases.

The revenue can only be collected by officers appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate. The public monies, in the first instance, must therefore, in all cases, pass through hands selected by the executive. Other officers appointed in the same way, or, as in some cases, by the president alone, must also be intrusted with them when drawn for the purpose of disbursement. It is thus seen that, even when banks are employed, the public funds must twice pass through the hands of executive officers. Besides this, the head of the treasury department, who also holds his office at the pleasure of the president, and some other officers of the same department, must necessarily be invested with more or less power in the selection, continuance, and supervision of the banks that may be employed. The question is then narrowed to the single point, whether, in the intermediate stage between the collection and disbursement of the public money, the agency of banks is necessary to avoid a dangerous extension of the patronage and influence of the executive? But is it clear that

the connexion of the executive with the powerful monied institutions, capable of ministering to the interest of men in points where they are most accessible to corruption, is less liable to abuse than his constitutional agency in the appointment and control of the few public officers required by the proposed plan?

Will the public money, when in their hands, be necessarily exposed to any improper interference on the part of the Executive? May it not be hoped that a prudent fear of public jealousy and disapprobation in a matter so peculiarly exposed to them, will deter him from any such interference, even if higher motives be found inoperative? May not Congress so regulate, by law, the duty of those officers, and subject it to such supervision and publicity, as to prevent the possibility of any serious abuse on the part of the Executive? and is there equal room for such supervision and publicity in a connexion with banks, acting under the shield of corporate immunities, and conducted by persons irresponsible to the government and the people? It is believed that a considerate and candid investigation of these questions will result in the conviction that the proposed plan is far less liable to objection, on the score of executive patronage and control, than any bank agency that has been or can be devised.

With these views, I leave to Congress the measures necessary to regulate in the present emergency the safe keeping and transfer of the public monies. In the performance of constitutional duty, I have stated to them without reserve the result of my own reflections. The subject is of great importance, and one on which we can scarcely expect to be as united in sentiment as we are in interest. It deserves a full and free discussion, and cannot fail to be benefited by a dispassionate comparison of opinions. Well aware myself of the duty of reciprocal concession among the co-ordinate branches of the government, I can promise a reasonable spirit of cooperation, so far as it can be indulged in without the surrender of constitutional objections, which I believe to be well founded. Any system that may be adopted should be subjected to the fullest legal provision, so as to leave nothing to the Executive but what is necessary to the discharge of the duties imposed on him; and whatever plan may be ultimately established, my own part shall be so discharged as to give to it a fair trial, and the best prospect of success.

The character of the funds to be received and disbursed in the transactions of the government, likewise demands your most careful consideration.

There can be no doubt that those who framed and adopted the constitution, having in immediate view the depreciated currency of the confederacy—of which 500 dollars in paper were, at times, only equal to one dollar in coin—intended to prevent the recurrence of similar evils, so far at least as related to the transactions of the new government. They gave the Congress express powers to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; they refused to give it power to establish corporations—the agents, then, as now, were chiefly employed

to create a paper currency; they prohibited the States from making anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts; and the first Congress directed by positive law that the revenue should be received in nothing but gold and silver.

Public exigency at the outset of the government, without direct legislative authority, led to the use of the banks as fiscal aids to the Treasury. In admitted deviation from the law, at the same period, and under the same exigency, the Secretary of the Treasury received their notes in payment of duties. The sole ground on which the practice, thus commenced, was then, or has since, been justified, is the certain, immediate and convenient exchange of such notes for specie. The government did indeed receive the inconvertible notes of State banks during the difficulties of war; and the community submitted without a murmur to the unequal taxation and multiplied evils of which such a course was productive. With the war, this indulgence ceased, and the banks were obliged again to redeem their notes in gold and silver. The Treasury in accordance with previous practice, continued to dispense with the currency required by the act of 1789, and took the notes of banks in full confidence of their being paid in specie on demand; and Congress, to guard against the slightest violation of this principle, have declared by law, that if notes are paid in the transactions of the government, it must be under such circumstances as to enable the holder to convert them into specie without depreciation or delay.

Of my own duties under the existing laws, when the banks suspended specie payments, I could not doubt. Directions were immediately given to prevent the reception into the Treasury of anything but gold and silver or its equivalent; and every practicable arrangement was made to preserve the public faith, by similar or equivalent payments to the public creditors. The revenue from lands had been for some time substantially so collected under the order issued by the directions of my predecessor. The effects of that order had been so salutary, and its forecast in regard to the increasing insecurity of bank paper had become so apparent, that even before the catastrophe, I had resolved not to interfere with its operation. Congress is now to decide whether the revenue shall continue to be so collected or not.

The receipts into the Treasury, of bank notes not redeemed in specie on demand will not, I presume, be sanctioned. It would destroy without the excuse of war or public distress, that equality of imports, and identity of commercial regulation, which lie at the foundation of our confederacy, and would offer to each state a direct temptation to increase its foreign trade, by depreciating the currency received for duties in its ports. Such a proceeding would also, in a great degree, frustrate the policy so highly cherished, of infusing into our circulation a larger proportion of the precious metals—a policy, the wisdom of which none can doubt, though there may be different opinions as to the extent to which it should be carried. Its results have been

already too suspicious, and its success is too closely interwoven with the future prosperity of the country to permit us for a moment to contemplate its abandonment. We have seen, under its influence, our specie augmented beyond eighty millions; our coinage increased so as to make that of gold amount, between August 1834, and December, 1836, to 10,000,000 dollars; exceeding the whole coinage at the Mint during the thirty-one previous years. The prospect of further improvement continued without abatement, until the moment of the suspension of specie payments.

This policy has now, indeed, been suddenly checked, but is still far from being overthrown. Amidst all conflicting theories, one position is undeniable—the precious metals will invariably disappear when there ceases to be a necessity for their use as a circulating medium. It was in strict accordance with this truth, that whilst, in the month of May last, they were everywhere seen, and were current for all ordinary purposes, they disappeared from circulation the moment the payment of specie was refused by the banks, and the community tacitly agreed to dispense with its employment. Their place was supplied by a currency exclusively of paper, and in many cases, of the worst description. Already are the bank-notes now in circulation greatly depreciated, and they fluctuate in value between one place and another, thus diminishing and making uncertain the worth of property and the price of labour, and failing to subserve, except at a heavy loss, the purposes of business. With each succeeding day the metallic currency decreases; by some it is hoarded in the natural fear, that, once parted with, it cannot be replaced; while by others it is diverted from its more legitimate uses for the sake of gain. Should Congress sanction this condition of things, by making irredeemable paper money receivable in payment of public dues, a temporary check to a wise and salutary policy, will, in all probability, be converted into its absolute destruction.

It is true that bank-notes actually convertible into specie, may be received in payment of the revenue, without being liable to all these objections, and that such a course may, to some extent, promote individual convenience—an object always to be considered where it does not conflict with the principles of our government, or the general welfare of the country. If such notes only were received, and always under circumstances allowing their early presentation for payment, and if at short and fixed periods, they were converted into specie, to be kept by the officers of the Treasury, some of the most serious obstacles to their reception would perhaps be removed. To retain the notes in the Treasury, would be to renew, under another form, the loans of public money to the banks, and the evils consequent thereon.

It is, however, a mistaken impression that any large amount of specie is required for public payments. Of the 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 now estimated to be in the country, 10,000,000 would be abundantly sufficient for that purpose, provided an ac-

cumulation of a large amount of revenue, beyond the necessary wants of the government, be hereafter prevented. If to these considerations be added the facilities which will arise from enabling the treasury to satisfy the public creditors, by its draughts or notes received in payment of the public dues, it may be safely assumed that no motive of convenience to the citizen requires the reception of bank paper.

To say that the refusal of paper money by the government introduces an unjust discrimination between the currency received by it and that used by individuals in their ordinary affairs, is, in my judgment, to view it in a very erroneous light. The constitution prohibits the states from making any thing but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts, and thus secures to every citizen a right to demand payment in the legal currency. To provide by law that the government will only receive its dues in gold and silver, is not to confer on it any peculiar privilege, but merely to place it on an equality with the citizen by reserving to it a right secured to him by the constitution. It is doubtless for this reason that the principle has been sanctioned by successive laws, from the time of the first Congress under the constitution down to the last. Such precedents, never objected to, and proceeding from such sources, afford a decisive answer to the imputation of inequality or injustice.

But, in fact, the measure is one of restriction, not of favour. To forbid the public agent to receive in payment any other than a certain kind of money, is to refuse him a discretion possessed by every citizen. It may be left to those who have the management of their own transactions to make their own terms, but no such discretion should be given to him who acts merely as an agent of the people, who is to collect what the law requires, and to pay the appropriations it makes. When bank-notes are redeemed on demand there is then no discrimination in reality, for the individual who receives them, may at his option, substitute the specie for them. He takes them from convenience or choice. When they are not so redeemed, it will scarcely be contended that their receipt and payment, by a public officer, should be permitted, though none deny that right to an individual; if it were, the effect would be most injurious to the public, since their officer could make none of those arrangements to meet or guard against the depreciation which an individual is at liberty to do. Nor can inconvenience to the community be alleged as an objection to such a regulation. Its object and motive are their convenience and welfare.

If, at a moment of simultaneous and unexpected suspension by the banks, it adds something to the many embarrassments of that proceeding, yet these are far overbalanced by its direct tendency to produce a wider circulation of gold and silver, to increase the safety of bank paper, to improve the general currency, and thus to prevent altogether such occurrences, and the other and far greater evils that attend them.

It may, indeed, be questioned, whether it is not for the interest of the banks themselves that the government should not receive their paper. They would be conducted with more caution, and on sounder principles. By using specie only in its transactions, the government would create a demand for it, which would, to a great extent, prevent its exportation, and by keeping it in circulation, maintain a broader and safer basis for the paper currency. That the banks would thus be rendered more sound and the community more safe, cannot admit of a doubt.

The foregoing views, it seems to me, do but fairly carry out the provisions of the federal constitution in relation to the currency, as far as relates to the public revenue. At the time that instrument was framed, there were but three or four banks in the United States; and had the extension of the banking system, and the evils growing out of it, been foreseen, they would probably have been specially guarded against. The same policy which led to the prohibition of bills of credit by the States would, doubtless, in that event, have also interdicted their issues as a currency in any other form. The constitution, however, contains no such prohibition; and since the States have exercised for nearly half a century the power to regulate the business of banking, it is not to be expected that it will be abandoned. The whole matter is now under discussion before the proper tribunal—the people of the States. Never before has the public mind been so thoroughly awakened to a proper sense of its importance; never has the subject in all its bearings been submitted to so searching an inquiry. It would be distrusting the intelligence and virtue of the people to doubt the speedy and efficient adoption of such measures of reform as the public good demands. All that can rightfully be done by the federal government to promote the accomplishment of that important object, will, without doubt, be performed.

In the mean time, it is our duty to provide all the remedies against a depreciated paper currency which the constitution enables us to afford. The treasury department on several former occasions has suggested the propriety and importance of a uniform law concerning bankruptcies of corporations and other bankers. Through the instrumentality of such a law a salutary check may doubtless be imposed on the issues of paper money, and an effectual remedy given to the citizen in a way at once equal in all parts of the Union, and fully authorized by the constitution.

The indulgence granted by Executive authority in the payment of bonds for duties has been already mentioned. Seeing that the immediate enforcement of these obligations would subject a large and highly respectable portion of our citizens to great sacrifices, and believing that a temporary postponement could be made without much detriment to other interests, and with increased certainty of ultimate payment, I did not hesitate to comply with the request that was made of me. The terms allowed are to the full extent as liberal as any that are to be found in the practice of the

Executive Department. It remains for Congress to decide whether a further postponement may not with propriety be allowed, and if so, their legislation upon the subject is respectfully invited.

The report of the secretary of the treasury will exhibit the condition of these debts; the extent and effect of the present indulgence; the probable result of its further extension on the state of the treasury, and every other fact necessary to a full consideration of the subject. Similar information is communicated in regard to such depositaries of the public monies as are indebted to the government, in order that Congress may also adopt the proper measures in regard to them.

The receipts and expenditure for the first half of the year, and an estimate of those for the residue, will be laid before you by the secretary of the treasury. In his report of December last, it was estimated that the current receipts would fall short of the expenditures by about $3,000,000. It will be seen that the difference will be much greater. This is to be attributed not only to the occurrence of greater pecuniary embarrassments in the business of the country than those which were then predicted, and, consequently, a greater diminution in the revenue, but also to the fact that the appropriations exceeded by nearly $6,000,000 the amount which was asked for in the estimate then submitted. The sum necessary for the service of the year beyond the probable receipts, and the amount which it was intended should be reserved in the treasury at the commencement of the year, will be about $6,000,000: If the whole of the reserved balance be not at once applied to the current expenditures, but $4,000,000 be still kept in the treasury, as seems most expedient for the uses of the mint, and to meet contingencies, the sum needed will be $10,000,000.

In making this estimate, the receipts are calculated on the supposition of some further extension of the indulgence granted in the payment of bonds for duties, which will affect the amount of the revenue for the present year to the extent of $2,500,000.

It is not proposed to procure the required amount by loans or increased taxation. There are now in the treasury $9,367,214 directed by the act of the 23rd of June, 1836, to be deposited with the States in October next. This sum, if so deposited, will be subject, under the law, to be recalled, if needed, to defray existing appropriations; and as it is now evident that the whole, or the principal part, of it, will be wanted for that purpose, it appears most proper that the deposits should be withheld. Until the amount can be collected from the banks, treasury notes may be temporarily issued, to be gradually redeemed as it is received.

I am aware that this course may be productive of inconvenience to many of the states. Relying upon the acts of Congress which held out to them the strong probability, if not the certainty of receiving this instalment, they have in some instances adopted measures with which its intention may seriously interfere. That such a condition of things should have occurred is much to be regretted. It is not the least among the unfortunate

results of the disasters of the times, and it is for Congress to devise a fit remedy, if there be one. The money being indispensable to the wants of the Treasury, it is difficult to conceive upon what principle of justice or expediency its application to that object can be avoided. To recall any portions f the sums already deposited with the states would be more inconvenient and less efficient. To burden the country with increased taxation when there is in fact a large surplus revenue, would be unjust and unwise; to raise monies by loans under such circumstances, and thus to commence a new national debt, would scarcely be sanctioned by the American people.

The plan proposed will be adequate to all our fiscal operations during the remainder of the year. Should it be adopted, the treasury, aided by the ample resources of the country, will be able to discharge punctually every pecuniary obligation. For the future all that is needed will be that caution and forbearance in appropriations which the diminution of the revenue requires, and which the complete accomplishment or great forwardness of many expensive national undertakings renders equally consistent with prudence and partriotic liberality.

The preceding suggestions and recommendations are submitted, in the belief that their adoption by Congress will enable the executive department to conduct our fiscal concerns with success so far as their management has been committed to it. Whilst the objects and the means proposed to attain them are within the constitutional powers, and appropriate duties, they will, at the same time, it is hoped, by their necessary operation, afford essential aid in the transaction of individual concerns, and thus yield relief to the people at large in a form adapted to the nature of our government. Those who look to the action of this government for specific aid to the citizen, to relieve embarrassments arising from losses by revulsions in commerce and credit, lose sight of the ends for which it was created, and the powers with which it is clothed. It was established to give security to us all, in our lawful and honourable pursuits, under the lasting safeguard of republican institutions.

It was not intended to confer special favours on individuals, or on any classes of them, to create systems of agriculture, manufactures, or trade; or to engage in them, either separately or in connexion with individual citizens or organized associations. If its operation were to be directed for the benefit of any one class, equivalent favours must, in justice, be extended to the rest; and the attempt to bestow such favours with an equal hand, or even to select those who should most deserve them, would never be successful. All communities are apt to look to government for too much. Even in our own country, where its powers and duties are so strictly limited, we are prone to do so, especially at periods of sudden embarrassments and distress.

But this ought not to be. The framers of our excellent constitution, and the people who approved it with calm and sagacious deli-

beration, acted at the time on a sounder principle. They wisely judged that the less government interferes with private pursuits, the better for the general prosperity. It is not its legitimate object to make men rich, or to repair, by direct grants of money or legislation in favour of particular pursuits, losses not incurred in the public service. This would be substantially to use the property of some for the benefit of others. But its real duty—that duty, the performance of which makes a good government the most precious of human blessings—is to enact and enforce a system of general laws commensurate with, but not exceeding, the objects of its establishment; and to leave every citizen and every interest to reap, under its benign protection, the rewards of virtue, industry, and prudence.

I cannot doubt that on this, as on all similar occasions, the federal government will find its agency most conducive to the security and happiness of the people when limited to the exercise of its conceded powers. In never assuming, even for a well meant object, such powers as were not designed to be conferred upon it, we shall, in reality, do most for the general welfare. To avoid every unnecessary interference with the pursuit of the citizen, will result in more benefit than to adopt measures which could only assist limited interests, and are eagerly, but perhaps naturally sought for, under the pressure of temporary circumstances. If, therefore, I refrain from suggesting to Congress any specific plan for regulating the exchanges of the country, relieving mercantile embarrassments, or interfering with the ordinary operations of foreign or domestic commerce, it is from a conviction that such measures are not within the constitutional province of the general government; and that their adoption would not promote the real and permanent welfare of those they might be designed to aid.

The difficulties and distresses of the times, though unquestionably great, are limited in their extent, and cannot be regarded as affecting the permanent prosperity of the nation. Arising in a degree from the transactions of foreign and domestic commerce, it is upon them that they have chiefly fallen. The great agricultural interest has, in many parts of the country, suffered comparatively little; and, as Providence intended to display the munificence of its goodness at the moment of our greatest need, and in direct contrast to the evils occasioned by the waywardness of man, we have been blessed throughout our extended territory with a season of general health and of uncommon fruitfulness. The proceeds of our great staples will soon furnish the means of liquidating debts at home and abroad, and contribute equally to the revival of commercial activity, and the restoration of commercial credit. The banks, established avowedly for its support, deriving their profits from it, and resting under obligations to it which cannot be overlooked, will feel at once the necessity and justice of uniting their energies with those of the mercantile interest. The suspension of specie

payments, at such a time, and under such circumstances as we have lately witnessed, could not be other than a temporary measure; and we can scarcely err in believing that the period must soon arrive when all that are solvent will redeem their issues in gold and silver. Dealings abroad naturally depend on resources and prosperity at home. If the debt of our merchants has accumulated, or their credit is impaired, these are fluctuations always incident to extensive or extravagant mercantile transactions. But the ultimate security of such obligations does not admit of question. They are guaranteed by the resources of a country, the fruits of whose industry afford abundant means of ample liquidation, and by the evident interest of every merchant to sustain a credit, hitherto high, by promptly applying these means for its preservation.

I deeply regret that events have occurred which require me to ask your consideration of such serious topics. I could have wished that in making my first communication to the assembled representatives of my country I had nothing to dwell upon but the history of her unalloyed prosperity. Since it is otherwise, we can only feel more deeply the responsibility of the respective trusts that have been confided to us, and under the pressure of difficulties, unite in invoking the guidance of the Supreme Ruler of nations, and in labouring with zealous resolution to overcome the difficulties by which we are environed.

It is, under such circumstances, a high gratification to know, by long experience, that we act for a people to whom the truth, however unpromising, can always be spoken with safety; for the trial of whose patriotism no emergency is too severe, and we are sure never to desert a public functionary honestly labouring for the public good. It seems just that they should receive, without delay, any aid in their embarrassments which your deliberations can afford: Coming directly from the midst of them, and knowing the course of events in every section of our country, from you may best be learned, as well the extent and nature of those embarrassments, as the most desirable measure of relief.

I am aware, however, that it is not proper to detain you at present longer than may be demanded by the special objects for which you are convened. To them, therefore, I have confined my communication, and, believing it will not be your own wish to extend your deliberations beyond them, I reserve till the usual period of your annual meeting that, general information on the state of the union which the constitution requires me to give.

M. Van Buren.

Washington, Sept. 4, 1837.

Message.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF TH SECOND SESSION OF THE 25th CONGRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

We have reason to renew, the expression of our devout gratitude to the Giver of all Good for his benign protection. Our country presents on every side the evidences of that continued favour, under whose auspices it has gradually risen from a few feeble and dependent colonies to a prosperous and powerful confederacy. We are blessed with domestic tranquillity and all the elements of national prosperity. The pestilence which, invading for a time some flourishing part of the union, interrupted the general prevalence of unusual health, has happily been limited in extent, and arrested in its fatal career. The industry and prudence of our citizens are gradually relieving them from the pecuniary embarrassments under which portions of them have laboured; judicious legislation, and the natural and boundless resources of the country, have afforded wise and timely aid to private enterprise, and the activity always characteristic of our people has already, in a great degree, resumed its usual and profitable channels.

The condition of our foreign relations has not materially changed since the last annual message of my predecessor. We remain at peace with all nations; and no efforts on my part, consistent with the preservation of our rights and the honour of the country, shall be spared to maintain a position so consonant to our institutions. We have faithfully sustained the foreign policy with which the United States, under the guidance of their first president, took their stand in the family of nations—that of regulating their intercourse with other Powers by the approved principles of private life: asking and according equal rights and equal privileges; rendering and demanding justice in all cases; advancing their own, and discussing the pretensions of others, with candour, directness, and sincerity; appealing at all times to reason, but never yielding to force, nor seeking to acquire anything for themselves by its exercise.

A rigid adherence to this policy has left this Government with scarcely a claim upon its justice, for injuries arising from acts committed by its authority. The most imposing and perplexing of those of the United States upon foreign governments, for aggressions upon our citizens, were disposed of by my predecessor. Independently of the benefits conferred upon our citizens by restoring to the mercantile community so many millions of which they had been wrongfully divested, a great service was also rendered to his country by the satisfactory adjustment of so many ancient and irritating subjects of contention; and it reflects no ordinary credit on his successful administration of public affairs that this great object was accomplished without compromising, on any occasion, either the honour or the peace of the nation.

With European Powers no new

subjects of difficulty have arisen; and those which were under discussion, although not terminated, do not present a more unfavourable aspect for the future preservation of that good understanding which it has ever been our desire to cultivate.

Of pending questions, the most important is that which exists with the government of Great Britain in respect to our north-eastern boundary. It is with unfeigned regret that the people of the United States must look back upon the abortive efforts made by the Executive, for a period of more than half a century, to determine what no nation should suffer long to remain in dispute—the true line which divides its possessions from those of other powers. The nature of the settlements on the borders of the United States and of the neighbouring territory was for a season such, that this perhaps was not indispensable to a faithful performance of the duties of the Federal government. Time has, however, changed this state of things, and has brought about a condition of affairs, in which the two interests of both countries imperatively require that this question should be put at rest. It is not to be disguised that, with full confidence, often expressed, in the desire of the British government to terminate it, we are apparently as far from its adjustment as we were at the time of signing the treaty of peace in 1783. The sole result of long-pending negotiations, and a perplexing arbitration, appears to be a conviction, on its part, that a conventional line must be adopted, from the impossibility of ascertaining the true one according to the description contained in that treaty. Without coinciding in this opinion, which is not thought to be well founded, my predecessor gave the strongest proof of the earnest desire of the United States to terminate satisfactorily this dispute, by proposing the substitution of a conventional line, if the consent of the States interested in the question could be obtained. To this proposition no answer has as yet been received. The attention of the British government has, however, been urgently invited to the subject, and its reply cannot, I am confident, be much longer delayed. The general relations between Great Britain and the United States are of the most friendly character, and I am well satisfied of the sincere disposition of that government to maintain them upon their present footing. This disposition has also, I am persuaded, become more general with the people of England than at any previous period. It is scarcely necessary to say to you how cordially it is reciprocated by the government and people of the United States. The conviction which must be common to all, of the injurious consequences that result from keeping open this irritating question, and the certainty that its final settlement cannot be much longer deferred, will, I trust, lead to an early and satisfactory adjustment. At your last session I laid before you the recent communications between the two governments, and between this Government and that of the State of Maine, in whose solicitude concerning a subject in which she has so deep an interest every portion of the union participates.

The feelings produced by a tem-

porary interruption of those harmonious relations between France and the United States, which are due as well to the recollections, of former times as to a correct appreciation of existing interests, have been happily succeeded by a cordial disposition on both sides to cultivate an active frendship in their future intercourse. The opinion, undoubtedly correct, and steadily entertained by us, that the commercial relations at present existing between the two countries are susceptible of great and reciprocally beneficial improvements, is obviously gaining ground in France; and I am assured of the disposition of that government to favour the accomplishment of such an object. The disposition shall be met in a proper spirit on our part. The few and comparatively unimportant questions that remain to be adjusted between us, can, I have no doubt, be settled with entire satisfaction and without difficulty.

Between Russia and the United States, sentiments of good will continue to be mutually cherished. Our minister recently accredited to that court, has been received with a frankness and cordiality, and with evidences of respect for his country, which leaves us no room to doubt the preservation in future of those amicable and liberal relations which have so long and so uninterruptedly existed between the two countries. On the few subjects under discussion between us an early and just decision is confidently anticipated.

A correspondence has been opened with the government of Austria for the establishment of diplomatic relations, in conformity with the wishes of Congress, as indicated by an appropriation act of the session of 1837, and arrangements made for the purpose, which will be duly carried into effect.

With Austria and Prussia, and with the states of the German empire, now composing with the latter the commercial league, our political relations are of the most friendly character, whilst our commercial intercourse is gradually extending with benefit to all who are engaged in it.

Civil war yet rages in Spain, producing intense suffering to its own people, and to other nations inconvenience and regret. Our citizens who have claims upon that country will be prejudiced for a time by the condition of its treasury, the inevitable consequence of long-continued and exhausting internal wars. The last instalment of the interest of the debt due under the convention with the queen of Spain has not been paid, and similar failures may be expected to happen until a portion of the resources of her kingdom can be devoted to the extinguishment of its foreign debt.

Having received satisfactory evidence, that discriminating tonnage duties were charged upon the vessels of the United States in the ports of Portugal, a proclamation was issued on the 11th day of October last, in compliance with the act of May 25, 1832, declaring that fact, and the duties on foreign tonnage which were levied upon Portuguese vessels in the United States previously to the passage of that act are accordingly revived.

The act of July 4, 1836, suspending the discriminating duties

upon the produce of Portuguese vessels, was passed upon the application of that government, through its representative here, under the belief that no similar discrimination existed in Portugal to the prejudice of the United States. I regret to state, that such duties are now exacted in that country upon the cargoes of American vessels, and as the act referred to vests no discretion in the executive, it is for the Congress to determine upon the expediency of further legislation on the subject. Against these discriminations, affecting the vessels of this country and their cargoes, seasonable remonstrance was made, and notice was given to the Portuguese government, that unless they should be discontinued, the adoption of countervailing measures on the part of the United States would become necessary, but the reply of that government, received at the department of state through our Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, in the month of September last, afforded no ground to hope for the abandonment of a system so little in harmony with the treatment shown to the vessels of Portugal and their cargoes in the ports of this country, and so contrary to the expectations we had a right to entertain.

With Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Naples, and Belgium, a friendly intercourse has been uninterruptedly maintained.

With the government of the Ottoman Porte, and its dependencies on the coast of the Mediterranean peace and good will are carefully cultivated, and have been fostered by such good offices as the relative distance, and the condition of those countries would permit.

Our commerce with Greece is carried on under the laws of the two governments, reciprocally beneficial to the navigating interests of both, and I have reason to look forward to the adoption of other measures which will be more extensively and permanently advantageous.

Copies of the treaties concluded with the government of Siam and Muscat are transmitted for the information of Congress, the ratifications having been received, and the treaties made public, since the close of the last annual session. Already have we reason to congratulate ourselves on the prospect of considerable commercial benefit, and we have, besides, received from the sultan of Muscat, prompt evidence of his desire to cultivate the most friendly feelings, by liberal acts towards one of our vessels, bestowed in a manner so striking as to require on our part a grateful acknowledgment.

Our commerce with the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico still labours under heavy restrictions, the continuance of which is a subject of regret. The only effect of an adherence to them will be to benefit the navigation of other countries, at the expense both of the United States and Spain.

The independent nations of this continent have, ever since they have emerged from the colonial state, experienced severe trials in their progress to the permanent establishment of liberal political institutions. Their unsettled condition not only interrupts their own advance to prosperity, but has often seriously

injured the other powers of the world. The claims of our citizens upon Peru, Chili, Brazil, the Argentine republic, the governments formed out of the republics of Colombia and Mexico, are still pending, although many of them have been presented for examination more than twenty years. New Granada, Venezuela, and the Ecuador, have recently formed a convention for the purpose of ascertaining and adjusting claims upon the republic of Colombia, from which it is earnestly hoped our citizens will, ere long, receive full compensation for the injuries originally inflicted upon them, and for the delay in affording it.

An advantageous treaty of commerce has been concluded by the United States with the Peru Bolivian Confederation, which wants only the ratification of that government. The progress of a subsequent negotiation for the settlement of claims upon Peru, has been unfavourably affected by the war between that power and Chili, and the Argentine republic, and the same event is also likely to produce delays in the settlement of our demands on those powers.

The aggravating circumstances connected with our claims upon Mexico, and the variety of events touching the honour and integrity of our government, led my predecessor to make, at the second session of last Congress, a special recommendation of the course to be pursued to obtain a speedy and final satisfaction of the injuries complained of by this government, and by our citizens. He recommended a final demand of redress, with a contingent authority of the executive to make reprisals if that demand should be made in vain.

From the proceedings of Congress on that recommendation, it appeared that the opinion of both branches of the legislature coincided with that of the executive, that any mode of redress known to the law of nations might justifiably be used. It was obvious, too, that Congress believed with the president that another demand should be made, in order to give undeniable and satisfactory proof of our desire to avoid extremities with a neighbouring power, but that there was an indisposition to vest a discretionary authority in the executive to take redress, should it unfortunately be either denied or unreasonably delayed by the Mexican government. So soon as the necessary documents were prepared, after entering upon the duties of my office, a special messenger was sent to Mexico to make a final demand of redress, with the documents required by the provisions of our treaty. The demand was made on the 20th of July last. The reply, which bears date the 29th of the same month, contains assurances of a desire, on the part of that government, to give a prompt and explicit answer respecting each of the complaints, but that the examination of them would necessarily be deliberate, that in this examination it would be guided by the principles of public law, and the obligation of treaties, that nothing should be left undone that might lead to the most speedy and equitable adjustment of our demands, and that its determination in respect to each case should be

communicated through the Mexican minister here.

Since that time an envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary, has been accredited to this government by that of the Mexican republic. He brought with him assurances of a sincere desire, that the pending difference between the two governments should be terminated in a manner satisfactory to both. He was received with reciprocal assurances, and a hope was entertained that his mission would lead to a speedy, satisfactory, and final adjustment of all existing subjects of complaint. A sincere believer in the wisdom of the pacific policy by which the United States have always been governed in their intercourse with foreign nations, it was my particular desire, from the proximity of the Mexican republic, and well known occurrences on our frontier, to be instrumental in obviating all existing difficulties with that government, and in restoring to the intercourse between the two republics that liberal and friendly character, by which they should always be distinguished. I regret, therefore, the more deeply to have found in the recent communications of that government so little reason to hope that any future efforts of mine for the accomplishment of these desirable objects would be successful.

Although the larger number, and many of them aggravated cases, of personal wrongs, have been now for years before the Mexican government, and some of the causes of national complaint, and those of the most offensive character, admitted of immediate simple, and satisfactory replies, it is only within a few days past that any specific communication in answer to our last demand, made five months ago, has been received from the Mexican minister. By the report of the secretary of state, herewith presented, and the accompanying documents, it will be seen, that for not one of our public complaints has satisfaction been given or offered, that but one of the cases of personal wrong has been favourably considered, and that but four cases of both descriptions out of all those formally presented, and earnestly pressed, have as yet been decided upon by the Mexican government.

Not perceiving in what manner any of the powers given to the executive alone could be further usefully employed in bringing this unfortunate controversy to a satisfactory termination, the subject was by my predecessor referred to Congress, as one calling for its interposition. In accordance with the clearly understood wishes of the legislature, another and formal demand for satisfaction has been made upon the Mexican government, with what success the documents now communicated will show. On a careful and deliberate examination of their contents, and considering the spirit manifested by the Mexican government, it has become my painful duty to return the subject as it now stands, to Congress to whom it belongs to decide upon the time, the mode, and the measure of redress. Whatever may be your decision, it shall be faithfully executed, confident that it will be characterized by that moderation and justice, which will, I trust, under all circumstances, govern the councils of our country.

The balance in the Treasury on the 1st day of January, 1837, was $45,968,523. The receipts during the present year from all sources, including the amount of Treasury notes issued, are estimated at $23,499,981, constituting an aggregate of $69,468,504. Of this amount, about $35,281,361 will have been expended at the at the end of the year on appropriations made by Congress; and the residue amounting to $34,187,143 will be the nominal balance in the Treasury on the 1st of January next. But of that sum only $1,085,498 is considered as immediately available for, and applicable to, public purposes. Those portions of it which will be for some time unavailable, consist chiefly of sums deposited with the states, and due from the former deposit banks. The details upon this subject will be found in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The amount of Treasury notes which it will be necessary to issue during the year on account of those funds being unavailable, will, it is supposed, not exceed $4,500,000. It seemed proper, in the condition of the country, to have the estimates on all subjects made as low as practicable, without prejudice to any great public measures. The departments were, therefore, desired to prepare their estimates accordingly, and I am happy to find that they have been able to graduate them on so economical a scale. In the great and often unexpected fluctuations to which the revenue is subjected, it is not possible to compute the receipts beforehand with great certainty; but should they not differ essentially from present anticipations, and should the appropriations not much exceed the estimates, no difficulty seems likely to happen in defraying the current expenses with promptitude and fidelity.

Notwithstanding the great embarrassments which have recently occurred in commercial affairs, and the liberal indulgence which, in consequence of these embarrassments, has been extended to both the merchants and the banks, it is gratifying to be able to anticipate that the Treasury notes which have been issued during the present year will be redeemed, and that the resources of the Treasury, without any resort to loans or increased taxes, will prove ample for defraying all charges imposed on it during 1838.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will afford you a more minute exposition of all matters connected with the administration of the finances during the current year—a period which, for the amount of public monies disbursed and deposited with the States, as well as the financial difficulties encountered and overcome, has few parallels in our history.

Your attention was at the last session invited to the necessity of additional legislative provisions in respect to the collection, safekeeping, and transfer of the public money. No law having been then matured, and not understanding the proceedings of Congress, as intended to be final, it becomes my duty again to bring the subject to your notice.

On that occasion three modes of performing this branch of the public service were presented for consideration. These were—the

question of a national bank; the revival, with modifications, of the deposit system established by the act of the 23d of June, 1836, permitting the use of the public monies by the banks, and the discontinuance of the use of such institutions for the purposes referred to, with suitable provisions for their accomplishment through the agency of public officers. Considering the opinions of both Houses of Congress on the two first questions as expressed in the negative, in which I entirely concur, it is unnecessary for me again to recur to them. In respect to the last, you have had an opportunity since your adjournment not only to test still further the expediency of the measure, by the continued practical operation of such parts of it as are now in force, but also to discover—what should ever be sought for and regarded with the utmost deference — the opinions and wishes of the people. The national will is the supreme law of the republic, and on all subjects within the limits of his constitutional powers should be faithfully obeyed by the public servant. Desiring, however, to arrive at truth and a just view of the subject in all its bearings, you will at the same time remember, that questions of far deeper and more immediate local interest than the fiscal plans of the national treasury were involved in those elections. Above all, we cannot overlook the striking fact, that there were at that time in those states more than $160,000,000 of bank capital, of which large portions were subject to actual forfeiture, other large portions upheld only by special and limited legislative indulgencies, and most of it, if not all, to a greater or less extent, dependent for a continuance of its corporate existence upon the will of the state legislatures then to be chosen. Apprised of this circumstance, you will judge whether it is not most probable that the peculiar condition of that vast interest in these respects, the extent to which it has been spread through all the ramifications of society, its direct connexion with the then pending elections, and the feelings it was calculated to infuse into the canvass, have exercised a far greater influence over the result than any which could possibly have been produced by any conflict of opinion in respect to a question in the administration of the general government, more remote and far less important in its bearings upon that interest.

The discontinuance of the use of state banks for fiscal purposes ought not to be regarded as a measure of hostility towards those institutions. Banks, properly established and conducted, are highly useful to the business of the country, and will doubtless continue to exist in the states, so long as they conform to their laws, and are found to be safe and beneficial. How they should be created, what privileges they should enjoy, under what responsibilities they should act, and to what restrictions they should be subject, are questions which, as I observed on a previous occasion, belong to the States to decide. Upon their rights, or the exercise of them, the general government can have no motive to encroach. Its duty toward them is well performed when it refrains from legis-

lating for their special benefit, because, such legislation would violate the spirit of the constitution, and be unjust to other interests—when it takes no steps to impair their usefulness, but so manages its own affairs as to make it the interest of those institutions to strengthen and improve their condition for the security and welfare of the community at large. They have no right to insist on a connexion with the federal government, nor on the use of the public money for their own benefit. The object of the measure under consideration is to avoid for the future, a compulsory connexion of this kind. It proposes to place the general government, in regard to the essential points of the collection, safe-keeping, and transfer of the public money, in a situation which shall relieve it from all dependdence on the will of irresponsible individuals or corporations; to withdraw those monies from the uses of private trade, and confide them to agents constitutionally selected and controlled by law; to abstain from an improper interference with the industry of the people, and withhold inducements to improvident dealings on the part of individuals; to give stability to the concerns of the treasury; to preserve the measures of the government from the unavoidable reproaches that flow from such a connexion, and the banks themselves from the injurious effects of a supposed participation in the political conflicts of the day, from which they will otherwise find it difficult to escape.

These are my views upon this important subject, formed after careful reflection, and with no desire but to arrive at what is most likely to promote the public interest. They are now as they were before, submitted with unfeigned deference for the opinions of others. It was hardly to be hoped that changes so important on a subject so interesting, could be made without producing a serious diversity of opinion; but so long as those conflicting views are kept above the influence of individual or local interest—so long as they pursue only the general good, and are discussed with moderation and candour, such diversity is a benefit, not an injury. If a majority of Congress see the public welfare in a different light, and more especially if they should be satisfied that the measure proposed would not be acceptable to the people, I shall look to their wisdom to substitute such as may be more conducive to the one, and more satisfactory to the other. In any event, they may confidently rely on my hearty co-operation to the fullest extent which my views of the constitution and my sense of duty will permit.

It is obviously important to this branch of the public service, and to the business and quiet of the country, that the whole subject should in some way be settled and regulated by law; and, if possible, at your present session. Besides the plans above referred to, I am not aware that any one has been suggested, except that of keeping the public money in the state banks in special deposit. This plan is, to some extent, in accordance with the practice of the government, and with the present arrangements of the Treasury Department; which, except

perhaps, during the operation of the late Deposit Act, has always been allowed, even during the existence of a national bank, to make a temporary use of the state banks, in particular places, for the safe keeping of portions of the revenue. This discretionary power might be continued, if Congress deem it desirable, whatever general system may be adopted.

So long as the connexion is voluntary, we need, perhaps, anticipate few of the difficulties, and little of that dependence on the banks, which must attend every such connexion when compulsory in its nature, and when so arranged as to make the banks a fixed part of the machinery of government. It is, undoubtedly, in the power of Congress so to regulate and guard it as to prevent the public money from being applied to the use, or intermingled with the affairs of individuals. Thus arranged, although it would not give to the government that entire control over its own funds which I desire to secure to it by the plan I have proposed, it would it must be admitted, in a great degree, accomplish one of the objects which has recommended that plan to my judgment—the separation of the fiscal concerns of the government from those of individuals or corporations. With these observations, I recommend the whole matter to your dispassionate reflection, confidently hoping that some conclusion may be reached by your deliberations, which, on the one hand, shall give safety and stability to the fiscal operations of the government, and be consistent, on the other, with the genius of our institutions, and with the interests and wishes of the great mass of our constituents.

It was my hope that nothing would occur to make necessary on this occasion, any allusion to the late National Bank. There are circumstances, however, connected with the present state of its affairs, that bear so directly on the character of the government and the welfare of the citizen, that I should not feel myself excused in neglecting to notice them. The charter which terminated its banking privileges on the 4th of March, 1836, continued its corporate powers two years more, for the sole purpose of closing its affairs, with authority "to use the corporate name, style, and capacity for the purpose of suits for a final settlement and liquidation of the affairs and acts of the corporation, and for the sale and disposition of their estate, real, personal, and mixed, but for no other purpose, or in any other manner whatsoever." Just before the banking privileges ceased, its effects were transferred by the bank to a new state institution then recently incorporated in trust, for the discharge of its debts and the settlement of its affairs. With this trustee, by authority of Congress, an adjustment was subsequently made of the large interest which the government had in the stock of the institution. The manner in which a trust unexpectedly created upon the act granting the charter, and involving such great public interests, has been executed, would, under any circumstances, be a fit subject of inquiry; but much more does it deserve your attention when it embraces the redemption of obligations to which the authority and credit of

the United States have given value. The two years allowed are now nearly at an end.

The report of the commissioner of the General Land-office, which will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury, will show how the affairs of that office have been conducted for the past year. The disposition of the public lands is one of the most important trusts confided to Congress. The practicability of retaining the title and control of such extensive domains in the general government, and at the same time admitting the territories embracing them into the federal union as co-equals with the original states, was seriously doubted by many of our wisest statesmen. All feared that they would become a source of discord, and many carried their apprehensions so far as to see in them the seeds of a future dissolution of the confederacy. But happily our experience has already been sufficient to quiet, in a great degree, all such apprehensions.

The position at one time assumed that the admission of new states into the union on the same footing with the original states was incompatable with a right of soil in the United States, and operated as a surrender thereof, notwithstanding the terms of the compacts by which their admission was designed to be regulated, has been wisely abandoned. Whether in the new or the old states, all now agree that the right of soil to the public lands remains in the federal government, and that these lands constitute a common property, to be disposed of for the common benefit of all the states, old and new. Acquiescence in this just principle by the people of the new states has naturally promoted a disposition to adopt the most liberal policy in the sale of the public lands. A policy which should be limited to the mere object of selling the lands for the greatest possible sum of money, without regard to higher considerations, finds but few advocates. On the contrary, it is generally conceded that whilst the mode of disposition adopted by the government should always be a prudent one, yet its leading object ought to be the early settlement and cultivation of the lands sold; and that it should discontenance, if it cannot prevent, the accumulation of large tracts in the same hands, which must necessarily retard the growth of the new states, or entail upon them a dependent tenantry, and its attendant evils.

A question embracing such important interests, and so well calculated to enlist the feelings of the people in every quarter of the Union, has very naturally given rise to numerous plans for the improvement of the existing system. The distinctive features of the policy that has hitherto prevailed are to dispose of the public lands at moderate prices, thus enabling a greater number to enter into competition for their purchase, and accomplish a double object of promoting their rapid settlement by the purchasers, and at the same time increasing the receipts of the treasury; to sell for cash, thereby preventing the disturbing influence of a large mass of private citizens indebted to the government, which they have a voice in controlling; to bring them into market no faster

than good lands are supposed to be wanted for improvements, thereby preventing the accumulation of large tracts in few hands; and to apply the proceeds of the sales to the general purposes of the government; thus diminishing the amount to be raised from the people of the states by taxation, and giving each state its portion of the benefits to be derived from this common fund in a manner the most quiet, and at the same time, perhaps, the most equitable that can be devised. These provisions, with occasional enactments in behalf of special interests deemed entitled to the favour of the government, have, in their execution, produced results as beneficial upon the whole as could reasonably be expected in a matter so vast, so complicated, and so exciting.

Upwards of 70,000,000 acres have been sold, the greater part of which is believed to have been purchased for actual settlement. The population of the new states and territories created out of the public domain increased, between 1800 and 1830, from less than 60,000 to upwards of 2,300,000 souls, constituting, at the latter period, about one-fifth of the whole people of the United States. The increase since, cannot be accurately known, but the whole may now be safely estimated at over 3,500,000 souls; composing nine states, the representatives of which constitute about one-third of the senate, and over one-sixth of the House of Representatives of the United States.

There has been formed a body of free and independent landholders, with a rapidity unequalled in the history of mankind; and this great result has been produced without leaving anything for future adjustment between the government and its citizens. The system under which so much has been accomplished cannot be intrinsically bad, and with occasional modifications, to correct abuses and adapt it to changes of circumstances, may, I think, be safely trusted for the future. There is, in the management of such extensive interests, much virtue in stability; and although great and obvious improvements should not be declined, changes should never be made without the fullest examination, and the clearest demonstration of their practical utility. In the history of the past we have an assurance that this safe rule of action will not be departed from in relation to the public lands; nor is it believed that any necessity exists for interfering with the fundamental principles of the system, or that the public mind, even in the new states, is desirous of any radical alteration. On the contrary, the general disposition appears to be, to make such modifications and additions only as will the more effectually carry out the original policy of filling our new states and territories with an industrious and independent population.

The modification most perseveringly pressed upon congress, which has occupied so much of its time for years past, and will probably do so for a long time to come, if not sooner satisfactorily adjusted, is a reduction in the cost of such portions of the public lands as are certain to be unsaleable at the rate now established by law, and a graduation, according to their relative value, of the

prices at which they may hereafter be sold. It is worthy of consideration whether justice may not be done to every interest in this matter, and a vexed question set at rest, perhaps for ever, by a reasonable compromise of conflicting opinions. Hitherto, after being offered at public sale, lands have been disposed of at one uniform price, whatever difference there might be in their intrinsic value. The leading considerations urged in favour of the measure referred to, are, that in almost all the land districts, and particularly in those in which the lands have been long surveyed and exposed to sale, there are still remaining numerous and large tracts of every graduation of value, from the government price downwards; that these lands will not be purchased at the government price, so long as better can be conveniently obtained for the same amount; that there are large tracts which even the improvements of the adjacent lands will never raise to that price; and that the present uniform price, combined with their irregular value, operates to prevent a desirable compactness of settlement in the new states, and to retard the full developement of that wise policy on which our land system is founded, to the injury not only of the several states where the lands lie, but of the United States as a whole.

The remedy proposed has been a reduction of prices according to the length of time the lands have been in market, without reference to any other circumstances. The certainty that the efflux of time would not always in such cases, and perhaps not even generally, furnish a true criterion of value, and the probability that persons residing in the vicinity, as the period for the reduction of prices approached, would postpone purchases they would otherwise make, for the purpose of availing themselves of the lower price, with other considerations of a similar character, have hitherto been successfully urged to defeat the graduation upon time.

May not all reasonable desires upon this subject be satisfied without encountering any of these objections? All will concede the abstract principle, that the price of the public lands should be proportioned to their relative value, so far as that can be accomplished without departing from the rule heretofore observed requiring fixed prices in cases of private entries. The difficulty of the subject seems to lie in the mode of ascertaining what that value is. Would not the safest plan be that which has been adopted by many of the states as the basis of taxation—an actual valuation of lands, aud classification of them into different rates?

Would it not be practicable and expedient to cause the relative value of the public lands in the old districts, which have been for a certain length of time in market, to be appraised and classed into two or more rates below the present *minimum* price, by the officers now employed in this branch of the public service, or in any other mode deemed preferable, and to make those prices permanent if upon the coming in of the report they shall prove satisfactory to Congress? Cannot all the objects of graduation be accomplished in this way,

and the objections which have hitherto been urged against it avoided? It would seem to me that such a step, with a restriction of the sales to limited quantities, and for actual improvement, would be free from all just exception.

By the full exposition of the value of the lands thus furnished and extensively promulgated, persons living at a distance would be informed of their true condition, and enabled to enter into competition with those residing in the vicinity; the means of acquiring an independent home would be brought within the reach of many who are unable to purchase at present prices; the population of the new states would be made more compact, and large tracts would be sold which would otherwise remain on hand; not only would the land be brought within the means of a larger number of purchasers, but many persons possessed of greater means would be content to settle on a larger quantity of the poorer lands, rather than emigrate further west in pursuit of a smaller quantity of better land. Such a measure would also seem to be more consistent with the policy of the existing laws—that of converting the public domain into cultivated farms owned by their occupants.

That policy is not best promoted by sending emigration up the almost interminable streams of the west, to occupy in groups the best spots of land, leaving immense wastes behind them, and enlarging the frontier beyond the means of the government to afford it adequate protection; but in encouraging it to occupy, with reasonable denseness, the territory over which it advances, and find its best defence in the compact front which it presents to the Indian tribes. Many of you will bring to the consideration of the subject the advantages of local knowledge and greater experience, and all will be desirous of making an early and final disposition of every disturbing question in regard to this important interest. If these suggestions shall in any degree contribute to the accomplishment of so important a result, it will afford me sincere satisfaction.

In some sections of the country most of the public lands have been sold, and the registers and receivers have very little to do. It is a subject worthy of inquiry, whether, in many cases, two or more districts may not be consolidated, and the number of persons employed in this business considerably reduced. Indeed, the time will come when it will be the true policy of the general government, as to some of the states, to transfer to them, for a reasonable equivalent, all the refuse and unsold lands, and to withdraw the machinery of the federal land offices altogether. All who take a comprehensive view of our federal system, and believe that one of its greatest excellencies consists in interfering as little as possible with the internal concerns of the states, look forward with great interest to this result.

A modification of the existing laws in respect to the prices of the public lands might also have a favourable influence on the legislation of Congress, in relation to another branch of the subject. Many who have not the ability to buy at present prices, settle on those lands with the hope of acquiring from their cultivation, the

means of purchasing under pre-emption laws, from time to time passed by Congress. For this encroachment on the rights of the United States, they excuse themselves under the plea of their own necessities; the fact that they dispossess nobody, and only enter upon the waste domain; that they give additional value to the public lands in their vicinity, and their intention ultimately to pay the government price. So much weight has from time to time been attached to these considerations, that Congress has passed laws, giving actual settlers on the public lands a right of pre-emption to the tracts occupied by them at the *minimum* price. These laws have in all instances been retrospective in their operations, but in a few years after their passage, crowds of new settlers have been found on the public lands, for similar reasons, and under like expectations, who have been indulged with the same privilege.

This course of legislation tends to impair public respect for the laws of the country. Either the laws to prevent intrusion upon the public lands should be executed, or, if that should be impracticable or inexpedient, they should be modified or repealed. If the public lands are to be considered as open to be occupied by any, they should, by law, be thrown open to all. That which is intended in all instances to be legalized, should at once be made legal, that those who are disposed to conform to the laws may enjoy at least equal privileges with those who are not. But it is not believed to be the disposition of Congress to open the public lands to occupancy without regular entries and payment of the government price, as such a course must tend to worse evils than the credit system, which it was found necessary to abolish. It would seem, therefore, to be the part of wisdom and sound policy to remove, as far as practicable, the causes which produce intrusions upon the public lands, and then take efficient steps to prevent them in future. Would any single measure be so effective in removing all plausible grounds for these intrusions as the graduation of price already suggested? A short period of industry and economy in any part of our country would enable the poorest citizen to accumulate the means to buy him a home at the lower prices, and leave him without apology for settling on lands not his own. If he did not, under such circumstances, he would enlist no sympathy in his favour, and the laws would be readily executed without doing violence to public opinion.

A large portion of our citizens have seated themselves on the public lands, without authority, since the passage of the last pre-emption law, and now ask the enactment of another, to enable them to retain the lands occupied, upon payment of the *minimum* government prices. They ask that which has been repeatedly granted before. If the future may be judged of by the past, little harm can be done to the interests of the treasury by yielding to their request. Upon a critical examination, it is found that the lands sold at the public sales since the introduction of cash payments in 1820, have produced, on an average, the net

revenue of only six cents an acre more than the *minimum* government price. There is no reason to suppose that future sales will be more productive. The government, therefore, has no adequate pecuniary interest to induce it to drive these people from the lands they occupy for the purpose of selling them to others.

Entertaining these views, I recommend the passage of a preemption law for their benefit, in connexion with the preparatory steps towards the graduation of the price of the public lands, and further and more effectual provisions to prevent intrusions hereafter. Indulgence to those who have settled on these lands with expectations that past legislation would be made a rule for the future, and at the same time removing the most plausible ground on which intrusions are excused, and adopting more efficient means to prevent them hereafter, appears to me the most judicious disposition which can be made of this difficult subject. The limitations and restrictions to guard against abuses in the execution of a preemption law will necessarily attract the careful attention of Congress; but under no circumstances is it considered expedient to authorize floating claims in any shape. They have been heretofore, and doubtless would be hereafter, most prolific sources of fraud and oppression, and instead of operating to confer the favour of the government on industrious settlers, are often used only to minister to a spirit of cupidity at the expense of the most meritorious of that class.

The accompanying report of the Secretary of War will bring to your view the state of the army, and all the various subjects confided to the superintendence of that officer.

The principal part of the army has been concentrated in Florida, with a view, and in the expectation, of bringing the war in that territory to a speedy close. The necessity of stripping the posts on the maritime and inland frontiers of their entire garrisons, for the purpose of assembling in the field an army of less than 4,000 men, would seem to indicate the necessity of increasing our regular forces; and the superior efficiency as well as greatly diminished expense of that description of troops, recommend this measure as one of economy as well as of expediency. I refer to the report for the reasons which have induced the Secretary of War to urge the recognization and enlargement of the staff of the army, and of the ordnance corps, in which I fully concur.

It is not, however, compatible with the interests of the people to maintain in time of peace a regular force adequate to the defence of our extensive frontiers. In periods of danger and alarm, we must rely principally upon a well-organized militia; and some general arrangement that will render this description of force more efficient, has long been a subject of anxious solicitude. It was recommended to the first Congress by General Washington, and has been since frequently brought to your notice, and recently its importance strongly urged by my immediate predecessor. The provision in the constitution that renders it necessary to adopt an uniform system of

organization for the militia throughout the United States, presents an insurmountable obstacle to an efficient arrangement by the classification heretofore proposed, and I invite your attention to the plan which will be submitted to the Secretary of War, for the organization of volunteer corps, and the instruction of militia officers, as more simple and practicable, if not equally advantageous, as a general arrangement of the whole militia of the United States.

A moderate increase of the corps, both of military and topographical engineers, has been more than once recommended by my predecessor, and my conviction of the propriety, not to say necessity, of the measure, in order to enable them to perform the various and important duties imposed upon them, induces me to repeat the recommendation.

The military academy continues to answer all the purposes of its establishment, and not only furnishes well educated officers to the army, but serves to diffuse, throughout the mass of our citizens, individuals possessed of military knowledge and the scientific attainments of civil and military engineering. At present the cadet is bound, with consent of his parents or guardians, to remain in service five years from the period of his enlistment, unless sooner discharged; thus exacting only one year's service in the arm yafter his education is completed. This does not appear to me sufficient. Government ought to command for a longer period, the services of those who are educated at the public expense; and I recommend that the time of enlistment be extended to seven years, and the terms of the engagement strictly enforced.

The creation of a national foundry for cannon to be common to the service of the army and navy of the United States has been heretofore recommended, and appears to be required in order to place our ordnance on equal footing with that of other countries, and to enable that branch of the service to control the prices of those articles, and graduate the supplies to the wants of the government, as well as to regulate their quality and ensure their uniformity. The same reasons induce me to recommend the erection of a manufactory of gunpowder to be under the direction of the Ordnance Office. The establishment of a manufactory of small arms west of the Alleghany mountains, upon the plan proposed by the Secretary of War, will contribute to extend throughout that country the improvements which exist in establishments of a similar description in the Atlantic states, and tend to a much more economical distribution of the armament required in the western portion of our union.

The system of removing the Indians west of the Mississippi commenced by Mr. Jefferson in 1804, has been steadily persevered in by every succeeding President, and may be considered the settled policy of the country. Unconnected at first with any well defined system for their improvement, the inducements held out to the Indians were confined to the greater abundance of game to be found in the west; but when the beneficial effects of

their removal were made apparent, a more philanthropic and enlightened policy was adopted, in purchasing their lands east of the Mississippi. Liberal prices were given, and provisions inserted in all the treaties with them for the application of the funds they received in exchange to such purposes as were best calculated, to promote their present welfare, and advance their future civilization. These measures have been attended thus far, with the happiest results.

It will be seen, by referring to the report of the commissioners of Indian affairs, that the most sanguine expectations of the friends and promoters of this system have been realized. The Choctaws, Cherokees, and other tribes, that first emigrated beyond the Mississippi, have, for the most part, abandoned the hunter state, and become cultivators of the soil. The improvement in their condition has been rapid, and it is believed, that they are now fitted to enjoy the advantages of a simple form of government, which has been submitted to them and received their sanction; and I cannot too strongly urge this subject upon the attention of Congress.

Stipulations have been made with all the Indian tribes to remove them beyond the Mississippi, except with the band of the Wyandotts, the six nations in New York, the Menomonees, Mandans, and Stockbridges in Wisconsin, and Mismies in Indiana. With all but the Menomonees, it is expected, that arrangements for their emigration will be completed the present year. The resistance which has been opposed to their removal by some of the tribes, even after treaties had been made with them to that effect, has arisen from various causes, operating differently on each of them. In most instances they have been instigated to resistance by persons to whom the trade with them and the acquisition of their annuities were important; and in some by the personal influence of interested chiefs. These obstacles must be overcome; for the government cannot relinquish the execution of this policy without sacrificing important interests, and abandoning the tribes remaining east of the Mississippi to certain destruction.

The decrease in numbers of the tribes within the limits of the states and territories, has been most rapid. If they be removed, they can be protected from those associations and evil practices which exert so pernicious and destructive an influence over their destinies. They can be induced to labour, to acquire property, and its acquisition will inspire them with a feeling of independence. Their minds can be cultivated, and they can be taught the value of salutary and uniform laws, and be made sensible of the blessing of free government, and capable of enjoying its advantages. In the possession of property, knowledge, and a good government, free to give what direction they please to their labour, and sharers in the legislation by which their persons and the profits of their industry are to be protected and secured, they will have an ever-present conviction of the importance of union, of peace among themselves, and of the preservation of amicable

relations with us. The interest of the United States would also be greatly promoted by freeing the relations between the general and state governments from what has proved a most embarrassing encumbrance, by a satisfactory adjustment of conflicting titles to lands, caused by the occupation of the Indians, and by causing the resources of the whole country to be developed by the power of the state and general governments, and improved by the enterprise of a white population.

Intimately connected with this subject, is the obligation of the government to fulfil its treaty stipulations, and to protect the Indians thus assembled "at their new residences from all interruptions and disturbances from any other tribes or nations of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatsoever," and the equally solemn obligation to guard from Indian hostillity its own border settlements, stretching along a line of more than 1,000 miles. To enable the government to redeem this pledge to the Indians, and to afford adequate protection to its own citizens, will require the continual presence of a considerable regular force on the frontiers, and the establishment of a chain of permanent posts. Examinations of the country are now making, with a view to decide on the most suitable points for the erection of fortresses and other works of defence, the results of which will be presented to you by the Secretary of War at an early day, together with a plan for the effectual protection of the friendly Indians, and the permanent defence of the frontier states.

By the report of the Secretary of the Navy, herewith communicated, it appears that unremitted exertions have been made at the different navy yards to carry into effect all authorized measures for the extension and employment of our naval force. The launching and preparation of the ship of the line Pensylvania, and the complete repairs of the ships of the line Ohio, Delaware, and Columbus, may be noticed, as forming a respectable addition to this important arm of our national defence. Our commerce and navigation have received increased aid and protection during the present year. Our squadrons in the Pacific and on the Brazilian station have been much increased and that in the Mediterranean, although small, is adequate to the present wants of our commerce in that sea. Additions have been made to our squadron on the West-India station, where the large force under Commodore Dallias, has been most actively and efficiently employed in protecting our commerce, in preventing the importation of slaves, and in co-operating with officers of the army in carrying on the war in Florida.

The satisfactory condition of our naval force abroad, leaves at at our disposal the means of conveniently providing for a home squadron, for the protection of commerce upon our extensive coast. The amount of appropriations required for such a squadron will be found in the general estimates for the naval service for the year 1833.

The naval officers engaged upon our coast survey have rendered important service to our

navigation. The discovery of a new channel into the harbour of New York, through which our largest ships may pass without danger, must afford important commercial advantages to that harbour, and add greatly to its value as a naval station. The accurate survey of George's shoals off th e coast of Massachusetts, l tely completed, will render comparatively safe a navigation hitherto considered dangerous.

Considerable additions have been made to the number of captains, commanders, lieutenants, surgeons, and assistant-surgeons, in the navy. These additions were rendered necessary, by the increased number of vessels put in commission to answer the exigencies of our growing commerce.

Your attention is repectfully invited to the various suggestions of the Secretary for the improvement of the naval service.

The report of the Postmaster-General exhibits the progress and condition of the mail service. The operations of the post office department constitute one of the most active elements of our national prosperity, and it is gratifying to observe with what vigour they are conducted. The mail routes of the United States cover an extent of about 142,877 miles, having been increased about 37,103 miles within the last two years. The annual mail transportation on these routes is about 36,228,962 miles, having been increased about 10,359,476 miles within the same period. The number of post offices has also been increased from 10,770 to 12,099, very few of which receive the mails less than once a-week, and a large portion of them daily. Contractors and postmasters in general are represented as attending to their duties with commendable zeal and fidelity.

The revenue of the department within the year ending on the 30th June last, $4,137,057 59 c., and its liabilities accruing within the same time were $3,380 847 75c. The increase of revenue over that of the preceding year was $708,160 41c.

For many interesting details, I refer you to the report of the postmaste—rgeneral, with the accompanying paper. Your particular attention is invited to the necesssity of providing a more safe and convenient building for the accommodation of that department.

I lay before Congress copies of reports submitted in pursuance of a call made by me upon the heads of departments for such suggestions as their experience might enable them to make, as to what further legislative provisions may be advantageously adopted to secure the faithful application of public monies to the objects for which they are appropriated; to prevent their misapplication or embezzlement by those intrusted with the expenditure of them; and generally to increase the security of the government against losses in their disbursement. It is needless to dilate on the importance of providing such new safeguards as are within the power of legislation to promote these ends; and I have little to add to the recommendations submitted to the accompanying papers.

By law the terms of service of our most important collecting and disbursing officers in the civil

departments are limited to four years, and when re-appointed, their bonds are required to be renewed. The safety of the public is much increased by this feature of the law, and there can be no doubt that its application to all officers intrusted with the collection or disbursement of the public money, whatever may be the tenures of their offices, would be equally beneficial. I therefore recommend, in addition to such of the suggestions presented by the heads of departments as you may think useful, a general provision, that all officers of the army or navy, or in the civil department, intrusted with the receipt or payment of public money, and whose term of service is either unlimited or for a longer time than four year, be required to give bonds, with good and sufficient securities, at the expiration of every such period.

A change in the period of terminating the fiscal year, from the 1st of October to the 1st of April, has been frequently recommended, and appears to be desirable.

The distressing casualties in steam-boats, which have so frequently happened during the year, seem to evince the necessity of attempting to prevent them, by means of severe provisions connected with their custom-house papers. This subjected was submitted to the attention of Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report, and will be again noticed at the present session, with additional details. It will doubtless receive that early and careful attention which its pressing importance appears to require.

Your attention has heretofore been frequently called at the affairs of the district of Columbia, and I should not again ask it, did not their entire dependence on Congress give them a constant claim upon its notice. Separated by the constitution from the rest of the Union, limited in extent, and aided by no legislature of its own, it would seem to be a spot where a wise and uniform system of local government might have been easily adopted. This district, however, unfortunately, has been left to linger behind the rest of the Union; its codes, civil and criminal, are not only very defective, but full of obsolete or inconvenient provisions; being formed of portions of two states, discrepancies in the laws prevail in different parts of the territory, small as it is; and although it was selected as the seat of the general government, the site of its public edifices, the depository of its archives, and the residence of officers intrusted with large amounts of public property and the management of public business, yet it has never been subjected to or received that special and comprehensive legislation which these circumstances peculiarly demand. I am well aware of the various subjects of greater magnitude and immediate interest that press themselves on the consideration of Congress; but I believe there is not one that appeals more directly to its justice, than a liberal and even generous attention to the interests of the district of Columbia, and a thorough and careful revision of its local government.

M. Van Buren.

Washington, Dec. 5, 1837.

CIRCULAR OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATED STATE OF BOLIVIA AND PERU.

Lima, August 20, 1836.

The recent political change, whereby the two states of Peru form, in union with Bolivia, a grand federation, is a matter of such importance, that I should deem myself negligent if I omitted acquainting you with this great event, and the causes that induced it, since Providence has deigned to make me the instrument in so memorable a crisis.

You are doubtless aware of the turbulence that has so shaken Peru during the latter years of its political existence. You have known and deplored the interruption of social order, and the criminal usurpation of public authority by a bold and enterprising rebel; his armed occupation of so large a portion of territory, the conflicts of the legitimate government, the consequent confusion, and the just apprehensions of surrounding states at this close approximation of disorganizing elements, frenzied passions, anarchy, and revolution.

In previous periods of agitation and disorder the Peruvian government and nation had asked the assistance of Bolivia as their sole resource. But the latter power, occupied with its own affairs, and content with internal prosperity, could not acceed to requests so opposed to the line of conduct traced out from the first of my administration. But its isolation was assailed, its safety compromised, when the troops of the usurper, after overrunning the northern state, menaced that of the south, where the lawful President could scarcely maintain his authority. Still I remained passive, despite these powerful motives, till the treaty of June 15, 1835, supplied the legal forms, and sanctioned with legitmate authority the occupation of Peru and the millitary operations of our troops, acting simply by the public will.

Splendid successes annihilated rebellion, and freed the country from the oppressor's yoke. The nation was left free to express, through its legitmate organs, the vows that reason and experience had so long inspired. The assembly of Sicuani first sanctioned the separation of the southern state of Peru, and invited the north and Bolivia to unite in one great federated nation. The Congress of Bolivia assented to the project, and ordered its effectuation; and then the northern section, recognizing the new state, formed four departments of its proper territory, and binding itself a member of the federal nation, completed the great scheme of associated fraternity, whose arrangements must be settled by the Congress of Plenipotentiaries.

By the vote of their respective assemblies, the two new Peruvian States have devolved on me the charge of their destinies, and bind themselves solemnly by the act of the Federal Congress. The acceptance of those arduous functions was a duty imposed on me by the course I was compelled to from the first; by the promise that bound me to exterminate anarchy; and, more than all, by the confidence of nations that recognized in the restoration of Bolivia, and the formation of an orderly and disciplined military

force the firmest pledges of their own security. Yet I hesitated till the wisdom and judgment of the three nations united to require a uniformity of measures as essential to a confederacy and indispensable for its consolidation.

It cannot escape your judgment and experience that the South-American Government, far from uneasiness at the creation of a political body combining social guarantees with stability and energy, must regard it as a pledge of future peace, and a barrier framed against anarchy by the amalgamation of interest once separate and conflicting.

Foreign Powers can feel only confidence and brotherhood in the course of the present and future Government. My system, accredited by seven years of pacific administration towards all our continental republics, offers ample pledges of neutrality and forbearance, of frank and friendly relations.

SANTA CRUZ, President.

MISCELLANY.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LAST DAYS OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING WILLIAM IV.

The following narrative of the progress of his late Majesty's fatal illness, has been kindly sent to us by a high church dignitary, to whom the Queen Dowager transmitted one of the earliest copies.

Though a slight decline of strength had been perceptible to the immediate attendants of our lamented king, at the commencement of the year, yet it was not till the month of May that the state of his majesty's health excited any serious apprehensions. On the 17th of that month his majesty held a levee, but on his return to Windsor Castle showed great signs of debility and exhaustion, and oppression of breathing, in consequence of which he had considerable difficulty in ascending the staircase; and when he had reached the corridor, was under the necessity of resting on the nearest sofa.

Though the king had experienced very considerable oppression during the night, yet his majesty appeared refreshed, and was considered better the next morning, Thursday, May 18, and was not prevented from going to St. James's to hold a drawing-room, which had been appointed for that day. On these occasions, the last on which his majesty appeared in public, he sat down; but this deviation from his usual practice did not excite so much alarm as the traces of sickness visible in his countenance. His debility, however, notwithstanding the exertions of the day, on reaching Windsor Castle, was not so great on this as on the preceding evening, and a slight improvement the following morning revived the hopes and spirits of his majesty's anxious friends.

This day, Friday, was the anniversary of the battle of La Hogue, and by command of his majesty, several officers of distinction resident in the neighbourhood, together with the field-officers of the garrison, had been invited to dinner. In the course of the evening, the king detailed with great minuteness, the causes, the progress, and consequences of the different naval wars in which this country had been engaged, during the last and the preceding century, and gave, perhaps, greater proof on that, than on any occasion, of the extraordinary accuracy of his

memory, and of his intimate acquaintance with English history. His majesty's voice, with the exception of one or two moments of oppression of breathing, was very strong and clear, but no one present could fail to entertain apprehensions as to the effects of this exertion.

The next day, Saturday, May 20 his majesty continued to suffer from the same distressing symptoms. At breakfast and luncheon his appetite, which had been gradually declining, altogether failed, and at the latter meal, he fell back in his chair with a sensation of faintness, to which several persons alluded with strong expressions of alarm. His majesty, on leaving the white drawing-room, sat down in the corridor, evidently feeble and exhausted. He did not leave the Castle this afternoon. At dinner his majesty was affected by a similar seizure, and to prevent increasing faintness, the Duchess of Gloucester, who was seated next to him, bathed his forehead and temples with eau-de-cologne. His majesty rallied in the evening, but it was not till 10 o'clock that he consented, in compliance with the queen's request, to abandon his intention of going to St. James's the following morning, to be present at the re-opening of the Chapel Royal.

The king retired to bed at his usual hour of 11, labouring under manifest indisposition. This was the last time his majesty appeared in the drawing-room. The next morning increasing indisposition confined him to his private apartments, which he never quitted during the continuance of his fatal malady.

The state of his majesty's health now excited much and well-founded alarm. Sir H. Halford and Dr. Chambers were sent for; but as the latter had no ostensible situation in the royal household, it was thought advisable, in order to avoid causing any unnecessary alarm to the king, to introduce him to his majesty as the medical attendant of the queen, who had at this time but very imperfectly recovered from a long and dangerous illness, on the ground that he wished to make a report of her majesty's health. Dr. Chambers was most graciously received by the king, who did not hesitate to avail himself of his advice in his own case. The arrival, however, of Dr. Chambers at the Castle was so late, that this interview did not take place till the following morning.

It were needless to trace minutely the progress of the king's disease, the fluctuating nature of which produced constant alternations of hope and fear. On Monday, May 22, and the following morning, the king gave audiences to Lord Melbourne, Lord Hill, Lord Glenelg, and other ministers, but the unfavourable impression produced by the king's appearance on all who were admitted to his presence served but to extend the alarm now generally entertained. The next two days were passed uncomfortably from the effects of this fatigue; but on Saturday, May 27, his majesty felt sufficiently strong to hold a council, and subsequently to give audience to all the cabinet ministers and officers of state by whom it was attended. That the king's debility had already made very rapid and alarming progress, may be inferred from the fact that he

had already lost the power of walking, and that it was now necessary for his medical attendant, Dr. Davies, to whom alone the king would intrust that duty, to wheel hismajesty in an easy chair into the council-room.

The general languor and weakness which so strongly characterized the king's illness, though not aggravated by this exertion, did not diminish during the next week and his majesty's anxious relatives and friends were willing in the absence of any very active disease, to ascribe the continuance of these distressing symptoms to the hot weather which then prevailed, and which had frequently been known to produce at this season in former years a very marked effect on his majesty's constitution.

The king had looked forward with pleasure to the assembling of a large party, whom he had invited to Windsor Castle, to be present at the Eaton regatta on the 5th of June, and at the Ascot races, which immediately followed.

In the afternoon of this day an unfavourable change in the king's state was evident to his attendants. With his usual benevolent feeling, however, he still for the sake of others, took an interest in those amusements in which he could not personally participate. Every order issued by the king bore evidence of his very kind consideration, even in the most minute particulars, for the comfort and convenience of his guests, and of the Eton boys, whose pleasure he was always anxious to promote.

Influenced by a similar feeling so predominant in his majesty's character, and so remarkably exemplified in the closing year of his life, the king expressed his special desire that the queen should attend the races at Ascot —preferring rather to dispense with the great comfort of her majesty's society, than that the public should experience any disappointment from the absence of the royal family.

However little in accordance with the painful state of her own anxious feelings such a scene might be, the queen did not hesitate to acquiesce in his majesty's wishes. Her majesty, therefore, drove to the course, but returned at the end of two hours to Windsor Castle, to resume her almost unceasing attendance on the king, and to find, alas! that even in that brief interval his majesty had undergone much and unexpected suffering.

The next morning, Wednesday, June 7, Sir H. Halford, and Dr. Chambers found the king weaker, but cordials supplied temporary strength and power to take nourishment, which supported him during the day. Nevertheless, the greatest gloom, and even the most melancholy forebodings, pervaded the party assembled in the Castle, which were distressingly manifested, as it will doubtless with pain be remembered, by all who were present at the dinner on that day in St. George's Hall.

For some time previously the King's medical attendants indulged the sanguine hope, that his Majesty might derive considerable benefit from change of air. Many circumstances had conspired to prevent an earlier proposal of any plan which had reference to this object; but with

the concurrence of the physicians Sir Herbert Taylor submitted this day to his majesty their wish, that he should remove for a few weeks to Brighton, where, with the advantage of the sea air, he would enjoy every comfort requisite in his present enfeebled state.

The king did not, as it was feared, express any disapprobation at the suggestion—on the contrary, he assented with pleasure to the arrangement, and expressed his hope, that he might soon regain sufficient strength to undertake the journey. Preparations were accordingly made by his Majesty's command at the Pavilion. The kindness of the King's disposition was displayed even in the selection of the persons whom he appointed to attend him.

The state of his Majesty's health next morning (rendered worse by a sleepless night) was such as to damp any hope, that might have been entertained with regard to his removal to Brighton. Increased difficulty of breathing, stoppage of the circulation, with the necessary consequences of coldness of the extremities, and swellings of the legs, were among the symptoms which could not fail to excite the fear, that the King's situation had now become one of extreme danger. Under these circumstances the party staying in the Castle dispersed this morning, Thursday, June 8, in obedience to the Queen's wishes; and while grief and despondency reigned within the palace, the same feelings were quickly propagated among an affectionate and loyal people, by the unexpected absence of the royal *cortège* from Ascot.

Contrary to expectation, the King passed a tranquil night. He was easier the next morning, but appeared very languid and feeble while transacting business with Sir Herbert Taylor, and his signatures of official papers were made with difficulty. His Majesty now, for the first time, consented that a bulletin should be issued, to allay, if possible, the anxiety which the public had long manifested.

In the afternoon of this day his majesty experienced great and instantaneous relief from medicines, which produced very copious expectoration. The amendment was so decided and evident, as to inspire the hope, that it might be more than temporary, and his majesty was certainly enabled to pass the ensuing day, without any distressing oppression of his breathing. For this alleviation of the pains, as well as for the more tranquil rest which he enjoyed during two successive nights, the gratitude to the Almighty felt and expressed by his majesty was truly edifying. He was frequently heard to give utterance to these sentiments, with eyes raised to Heaven in the most sincere and unaffected terms. His patience and cheerfulness had at all times excited the astonishment and admiration of all who had opportunity of witnessing them. No murmur ever escaped his lips, and often, in moments of the greatest suffering (which was subsequently proved to have far exceeded what his physicians had reason to suspect), he testified his grateful sense of the care and attention of all who approached him, and his regret, that he should be the cause of imposing on them the duty of so much painful attendance.

At no period from the commencement of his attack, had his Majesty been insensible to his critical state; but when he alluded to the subject, it was evident, that any anxiety which he felt, arose less from personal apprehension than from solicitude for the country, and from a contemplation of the embarrassment into which it might possibly be thrown by his early dissolution. It was to such reflections as these, that his Majesty gave expression on the morning of the 16th, when he observed to the Queen, "I have had some quiet sleep; come and pray with me, and thank the Almighty for it." Her Majesty joined in this act of heartfelt devotion, and when the King had ceased, said "And shall I not pray to the Almighty that you may have a good day?" To which his Majesty replied, "Oh, do! I wish I could live 10 years, for the sake of the country. I feel it my duty to keep well as long as I can."

On the morning of Sunday, the 11th, grateful for the refreshing rest which he had enjoyed, his Majesty's mind was impressed with the most pure devotional feelings. Seeing Lady Mary Fox occupied with a book, he inquired what she was reading, and being told, that it was a prayer-book his countenance beamed with pleasure, but he said nothing. After a considerable lapse of time, the Queen asked whether it would be agreeable to him, if she read the prayers to him. His Majesty answered, "O yes! I should like it very much, but it will fatigue you." He then desired to be informed who preached that morning in the chapel of the Castle, and when lady Mary had ascertained and told him that it was Mr. Wood who preached, he directed that he might be sent for.

When Mr. Wood entered the room, the King said, "I will thank you, my dear sir, to read all the prayers till you come to the prayer for the church militant." By which words his Majesty intended to include the Communion service, and all the other parts of the Liturgy used in the celebration of public worship.

It was equally an affecting and instructive lesson to observe the devout humility of his Majesty, fervently dwelling, as could be perceived from his manner and the intonation of his voice, on every passage which bore even the most remote application to his own circumstances. His mind seemed quite absorbed in the duty in which he was engaged, and to rise for a time, superior to his bodily infirmities; for during the whole service, his attention was undisturbed, and he experienced none of those fits of coughing and oppression which for some days past had formed an almost uninterrupted characteristic of his complaint. As Mr. Wood withdrew, his Majesty graciously expressed his thanks, and afterwards said to the Queen, "It has been a great comfort to me." Nor was this a transitory feeling. To this pure and scriptural source of spiritual consolation his Majesty recurred with unfeigned gratitude; and on each day of the ensuing week, did Lord Augustus Fitzclarence receive the King's command to read to him the prayers either of the morning or evening service. On one of these occasions, when his Majesty

was much reduced and exhausted, the Queen, fearful of causing any fatigue to him, inquired hesitatingly, whether, unwell as he was, he should still like to have the prayers read to him? He replied, "O yes! beyond every thing." Though very languid, and disposed to sleep from the effects of medicine, his Majesty repeated all the prayers. The fatal progress of the King's complaint was very visible during the three following days, June 12th, 13th, and 14th. Nevertheless, on Tuesday the 13th, his Majesty gave audience to his Hanoverian Minister, Baron Ompteda, whom, contrary to the suggestions of his attendants, he had specially summoned on business connected with that kingdom, in the welfare of which he had never ceased to feel a truly paternal interest. On Wednesday, the 14th, his Majesty received a visit from the Duke of Cumberland.

The King's attention to his religious duties, and the great comfort which was inspired by their performance, have already been referred to. It will therefore, create no surprise, that his Majesty joyfully assented to the Queen's suggestion, that he should receive the sacrament, or that he at once named the Archbishop of Canterbury as the person whom he wished to administer that holy rite. Sunday was the day fixed by the king for the discharge of this solemn duty; and a message was accordingly sent to his grace, desiring his presence at Windsor Castle on the ensuing Saturday.

The two intervening days were a period of great suffering to the King, whose illness more than once in that interval assumed the most alarming form, and in the evening of Friday excited apprehensions of his Majesty's immediate dissolution. The next morning, however, the King felt easier, and the most urgent symptoms had disappeared. In the usual course of business with Sir H. Taylor, he signed two public documents, though not without difficulty; but on every subject which was brought before him, his Majesty's power of perception was quick and accurate, and he anticipated with pleasure and thankfulness, the approaching sacred duty of the morrow.

On the morning of Sunday, the 18th, though his majesty's mental energies remained vigorous and unimpaired, a greater degree of bodily weakness was perceptible. He raised himself in his chair with greater difficulty than the day before, and required more aid and support in every movement. The expression of his countenance, however, was, perhaps, more satisfactory. He transacted business with sir H. Taylor, and affixed his signature to four documents—the remission of a court-martial, two appointments of colonial judges, and a free pardon to a condemned criminal. This was his majesty's last act of sovereignty. Increasing debility prevented the repetition of a similar exertion; and thus, in the closing scene of his life, was beautifully and practically exemplified by an act of mercy, that spirit of benevolence and forgiveness which shone with such peculiar lustre in his majesty's character, and was so strongly reflected in the uniform tenour of his reign.

It had been arranged, as has been already remarked, that the

king should, on this day, receive the sacrament from the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury; and when sir Herbert left the room, it appeared to the queen that the most favourable time had arrived. The physicians, however, suggested to her majesty the expediency of deferring the ceremony till the king should have in some degree recovered from his fatigue; but his majesty had already experienced the blessed consolations of religion, and removed the doubts which his anxious attendants were entertaining, by eagerly desiring the queen to send for the archbishop; seeming, as it were, anxious to ratify the discharge of his earthly, by the performance of his spiritual duties. His grace promptly attended, attired in his robes, and at a quarter to eleven administered the sacrament to his majesty and the queen, lady Mary Fox communicating at the same time. The king was very calm and collected; his faculties were quite clear, and he paid the greatest attention to the service, following it in the Prayer-book which lay on the table before him. His voice, indeed, failed, but his humble demeanor and uplifted eyes gave expression to the feeling of devotion and of gratitude to the Almighty which his faltering lips refused to utter.

The performance of this act of religion, and this public attestation of his communion with that church for the welfare and prosperity of which he had more than once during his illness ejaculated short but fervent prayers, was the source of great and manifest comfort to his majesty.

Though the shorter form had been adopted by the archbishop, his majesty was, nevertheless, rather exhausted by the duration and solemnity of the ceremony; but as his grace retired, the king said, with that peculiar kindness of manner by which he was so much distinguished, and at the same time gently waving his hand and inclining his head, "God bless you—a thousand, thousand thanks!" There cannot be more certain evidence of the inward strength and satisfaction which the king derived from this office of religion, than that in spite of great physical exertion, his majesty, after the lapse of an hour, again requested the attendance of the archbishop. who, in compliance with the wishes of the queen, read the prayers for the evening service, with the happiest effect on the king's spirits. This being done, the archbishop, naturally fearing the consequences of so much mental exertion on his majesty's debilitated frame, was about to retire, when the king motioned to him to sit down at the table, on the opposite side of which he himself was seated. His majesty was too weak to hold any conversation, but his spirits seemed soothed and comforted by the presence of the archbishop, on whose venerable benign countenance his majesty's eye reposed with real pleasure.

The king, at this interview, stretched his hand across the table, and taking that of the archbishop, pressed it fervently, saying, in a tone of voice which was audible only to the queen, who was seated near his majesty, "I am sure the archbishop is one of those persons who pray for me." The afternoon of this day wit-

nessed a still further diminution of his majesty's strength, but in proportion to the decay of his bodily power was the increase of his spiritual hope and consolation. At 9 o'clock in the evening, the archbishop was again summoned by his majesty's desire. The king was now still less able to converse than on the last occasion; but his grace remained more than three-quarters of an hour, supplying by his presence the same comfort to the king, and receiving from his majesty the same silent though expressive proof of his satisfaction and gratitude. At length, on the suggestion of the queen, that it was already late, and the archbishop might become fatigued, the king immediately signified his assent that he should retire; and crossing his hands upon his breast, and inclining his head, said, as his grace left the room, "God bless thee, dear, excellent, worthy man; a thousand, thousand thanks."

The whole course of his majesty's illness affords abundant proof, not only of his composure, his patience, and his resignation, but that even when under the pressures of great pain and suffering, his mind, far from being absorbed with the sad circumstances of his own situation, was often dwelling on subjects connected either with the affairs of the country, or with the comfort and convenience of individuals.

His majesty rose this morning with the recollection that this was the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. As early as half-past eight, he alluded to the circumstance, and said to Dr. Chambers, "Let me but live over this memorable day—I shall never live to see another sunset." Dr. Chambers said, "I hope your majesty may live to see many." To which his majesty replied in a phrase which he commonly employed, but the peculiar force of which those only who had the honour of being frequently admitted into his majesty's society can fully appreciate—"Oh! that is quite another thing."*

A splendid entertainment, as is well known, has been always given on this day to the officers engaged in that glorious action, and since his accession to the throne, his majesty had himself honoured it with his presence.

Under the present circumstances, the duke naturally feeling unwilling to promote any scene of festivity, had sent Mr. Greville to request the king's commands, or at least to ascertain the wishes and opinion of the queen. Previous to the flag annually presented by his grace being deposited in the guard chamber, it had been brought to his majesty, who laying his hand upon it, and touching the eagle, said, "I am glad to see it. Tell the duke of Wellington, that I desire his dinner may take place to-morrow: I hope it will be an agreeable one." In the course of the night, the queen observed to his majesty, that the archbishop had only been invited to stay till the following day—that his grace wished to be honoured with his commands, and that he had expressed himself not only willing but anxious to stay as long as his services could be

* It was usually employed by his majesty to express his dissent or incredulity with regard to any subject under discussion.

either acceptable or useful to him. The king immediately said, "Yes; tell him to stay. It will be the greatest blessing of God to hear that beautiful service read by him once more;" alluding to the Liturgy of the Church of England, from the frequent use of the prayers of which his majesty had been so much comforted and supported in his illness.

Monday, *June* 19.—Though his majesty passed a tolerably tranquil night, yet no corresponding effect was produced upon his health. Decaying nature could no longer be recruited by the ordinary sources of strength and sustenance. His majesty, however, rose at seven o'clock, for he had at no time during his illness been confined to his bed, and had even for some weeks anticipated by an hour his usual time of rising. There was much in the king's language and manner this morning which bespoke his sense of approaching death. On awaking, he observed to the queen, "I shall get up once more to do the business of the country;" and when being wheeled in his chair from his bed-room to his dressing-room, he turned round, and looking with a benign and gracious smile on the queen's attendants, who were standing in tears near the door, said, "God bless you!" and waved his hand.

At nine o'clock, by the desire of the queen, who was naturally anxious that the hope so fervently expressed by the king on the preceding night might be gratified as soon as possible, the archbishop entered the king's room, and was received, as at all other times, with the significant tokens of joy and thankfulness which his grace's presence never failed to call forth.

On this occasion, the archbishop read the service for the visitation of the sick. The king was seated, as usual, in his easy chair; the queen affectionately kneeling by his side, making the responses, and assisting him to turn over the leaves of the large Prayer-book which was placed before him. His majesty's demeanour was characterized by the most genuine spirit of devotion. Though unable to join audibly in the responses which occur in the service, yet when the archbishop had rehearsed the articles of our creed, his majesty, in the fulness of his faith, and labouring to collect all the energies of sinking nature, enunciated with distinct and solemn emphasis the words, "All this I steadfastly believe."

During the whole service, his majesty retained hold of the queen's hand, and in the absence of physical strength to give utterance to his feelings, signified by his fervent pressure of it, not only his humble acquiescence in the doctrines of our holy faith, but his grateful acknowledgment of those promises of grace and succour which so many passages of this affecting part of the liturgy hold out to the dying christian, and the belief of which his majesty so thankfully appreciated in this his hour of need.

With the other hand his majesty frequently covered his eyes, and pressed his brow, as if to concentrate all his power of devotion, and to restrain the warmed emotions of his heart, which were so painfully excited by the distress of those who surrounded him. His majesty did not allow the

archbishop to withdraw without the usual significant expression of his gratitude, "a thousand, thousand thanks."

It was when the archbishop pronounced the solemn and truly affecting form of blessing contained in the service for the visitation of the sick, that the queen for the first time in his majesty's apartment, was overpowered by the weight of affliction.

The king observed her emotion, and said, in a tone of kind encouragement, "bear up, bear up."

At the conclusion of the prayers his majesty saw all his children, and as they successively knelt to kiss the hand, gave them his blessing in the most affectionate terms, suitable to the character and circumstances of each. They had all manifested the most truly filial affection to his majesty during his illness, but on lady Mary Fox, the eldest of his majesty's surviving daughters, had chiefly devolved the painful, yet consolatory duty, of assisting the queen in her attendance on the king.

The extreme caution of his majesty, and his anxiety to avoid causing any pain or alarm to the queen, was very remarkable. He never alluded in distinct terms to death in her majesty's presence. It was about this period of the day that he tenderly besought her majesty not to make herself uneasy about him, but that he was already anticipating his speedy dissolution was evident from his expressions to several of his relatives. Even at this advanced stage of his disease, and under circumstances of the most distressing debility, the king had never wholly intermitted his attention to public business. In accordance with his usual habits, he had this morning frequently desired to be told when the clock struck half-past ten, about which time his majesty uniformly gave audience to sir Herbert Taylor. At eleven, when sir Herbert was summoned, the king said, "Give me your hand. Now get the things ready." On sir Herbert saying, that he had no papers today, his majesty appeared surprised, till sir Herbert added, "It is Monday sire, there is no post, and no boxes are come," when he replied, "Ah, true—I had forgot." The queen then named sir Henry Wheatly, who had entered the apartment. The king regarded him with a gracious look, and extended his hand to him, as he did also to Dr. Davis, evidently influenced by the same motive which had prompted a similar action to sir Herbert Taylor —a last acknowledgment of their faithful services. His majesty then passed several hours in a state of not uneasy slumber, the queen almost uninterruptedly kneeling by his side, and gently chafing his hand, from which assurance of her presence his majesty derived the greatest comfort.

During this afternoon, to such an extremity of weakness was the king reduced, that he scarcely opened his eyes, save to raise them in prayer to Heaven, with a look expressive of the most perfect resignation. Once or twice, indeed, this feeling found expression in the words, "Thy will be done!" and on one occasion he was heard to utter the words, "The Church — the Church!" and the name of the Archbishop.

It was about nine o'clock in the

evening of this day that the archbishop visited the king for the last time.

His majesty's state altogether incapacitated him from joining in any act or exercise of devotion, but, as at each preceding interview, his grace's presence proved a source of joy and consolation to the dying monarch, who strove in vain to convey any audible acknowledgments of the blessings which he sensibly enjoyed, but when, on leaving the room, the archbishop said, "My best prayers are offered up for your majesty," the king replied with slow and feeble, yet distinct utterance, "Believe me, I am a religious man."

After this exertion his majesty gently moved his hand in token of his last farewell, and the archbishop withdrew.

As the night advanced, a more rapid diminution of his majesty's vital powers was perceptible.

His weakness now rendered it impracticable to remove him into his usual bed-room, and a bed was accordingly prepared in the royal closet, which communicates with the apartment in which his majesty had passed the last ten days of his life. At half-past ten the king was seized with a fainting fit, the effects of which were mistaken by many for the stroke of death. However, his majesty gradually, though imperfectly revived, and was then removed into his bed.

From this time his voice was not heard, except to pronounce the name of his valet. In less than an hour his majesty expired, without a struggle, and without a groan, the queen kneeling at the bedside, and still affectionately holding his hand, the comfortable warmth of which rendered her unwilling to believe the reality of the sad event.

Thus expired, in the seventy-third year of his age, in firm reliance on the merits of his Redeemer, King William 4th, a just and upright king, a forgiving enemy, a sincere friend, and a most gracious and indulgent master.

Bushy House, July 14, 1837.

Report on Animal Magnetism, made to the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris, August 8th and 22nd, 1837.

The commission met for the first time on the 27th of February, 1837. The rendezvous was appointed at M. Berna's own house. The commission was composed of M. M. Bouillaud, Cloquet, Caventou, Cornac, Dubois (of Amiens), Emery, Oudet, Pelletier, and Roux. M. Roux was chosen president, and M. Dubois secretary and reporter. After a long but amicable discussion as to the course to be adopted, it was agreed by the commissioners and M. Berna, that the experiments should take place at M. Roux's house, and that no strangers, except the persons to be the subjects of experiment, were to be admitted into the room.

On the 3rd of March the whole commission, except M. Oudet, met at seven in the evening. At a quarter to eight M. Berna introduced a young girl of seventeen or eighteen, of a constitution apparently nervous and delicate, but with an air sufficiently cool *(dégagée)* and resolute.

The programme of the evening's experiments, which he had sent to M. Berna, presented eight experiments. The following are their titles, literally copied, for the language does not belong to your commissioners.*

1st. Somnambulism.

2nd. Proof (constatation) of insensibility to pricking and tickling.

3rd. Restitution, by the mental will, of the sensibility.

4th. Obedience to the mental order to lose motion.

5th. Obedience to the mental order, to cease answering in the midst of a conversation, and to the mental order, to answer again.

6th. Repetition of the same experiment, the magnetizer being separated from the somnambulist by a door.

7th. Waking.

8th. According to the mental order, which shall be enjoined in the somnambulic state, persistence in the restoration of the sensibility, and also persistence of the power of losing or recovering this sensibility at the will of the magnetizer.

The young girl introduced to your commissioners was received with caution and affability, we conversed with her on indifferent things, and then, to determine, before any attempt at magnetization, how far she was in her ordinary state sensible to pricking, needles of moderate size, brought by M. Berna himself, were stuck in to the depth of about half a line. Their points were made to penetrate into the hands and neck of this young person, and then, when asked by some of the commissioners, with an air of doubt, if she felt the pricking, she answered positively to M. Roux and M. Caventon, that she felt nothing, her figure, moreover, did not express any pain. Let us remind the academy, that she was at present perfectly and normally awake, by the confession even of her magnetizer, who had not yet commenced any of his manœuvres. This scarcely agreed with the programme, for the insensibility ought not to have been acquired until in the state of somnambulism, or after, and by the mental injunction of the magnetizer—an injunction which could not be given except in this state.

Your commissioners were a little surprised at this singular commencement. What! do you feel nothing? they said to her. But are you absolutely insensible? Then she finished by confessing that she felt a very little pain.

These preliminaries completed, M. Berna made her sit close by him. *Tête-à-tête* with her, he appeared at first to contemplate her in silence, without practising any of the movements called passes, after a minute or two he said to your commissioners, that the subject was in somnambulism.

The girl's eyes were covered with cotton and a bandage.

M. Berna had no other proofs to give to your commissioners of the pretended state of somnambulism, which, besides, he did not define theoretically, than the experiments comprised in his pro-

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* We would adopt verbatim the conclusions of Bailey's report in 1784—"the touchings, imagination, imitation—such are the true causes of the effects attributed to this new agent, known under the name of animal magnetism."

gramme. Then, having again contemplated his somnambule at at very slight distance, he announced that she was struck with general insensibility.

What now could be the part your commissioners should perform? Physicians, surgeons, natural philosophers, all knew that the proofs of the abolition of sensibility are of two kinds, that the one are deduced from the assertion of the subjects, the others from the signs of the external deportment — the language of action. Now, the first might be considered as null when concerned with individuals whose interest is to deceive and lead into error. The mute signs drawn out by pain remained, but then, on the one hand, the intensity of the pain, and on the other, the firmness of the patients, had to be taken into consideration. In the present case, the intensity of the pain was not to pass certain limits rigourously fixed by M. Berna.

However, some of your commissioners, armed with needles, among others M.M. Bouillaud, Emery, and Dubois, set them to prick the poor girl. By word she complained of no pain : her features, as far as we could judge, expressed no painful sensation. We say as far as we could judge, for her eyes being covered with a large bandage, half her features were concealed from us, we had scarcely anything left to observe but the forehead, the mouth, and the chin.

M. Bouillaud, in his trials, did not go beyond the agreed limits; but the reporter, having stuck the point of his needle under the chin with more force, the somnambule made at the moment, and with a vivacity, a movement of deglutition. M. Berna perceived it, and gave new cautions.

Touched with the end of the finger by M. Cloquet in the surface of the hand, the somnambule said she felt this impression; so that independently of the perception of temperatures, she had still preserved that of touches; which, in the system of M. Berna, would add new restrictions to this pretended general loss of sensibility. However, the magnetizer, pursuing the course of his experiments, told the commissioners that he was going, by the sole and tacit intervention of his will, to paralyze, either from sensibility or motion, any part of the girl's body that they would wish. The following conditions were then made .—

"That M. Berna should maintain the most perfect silence, and should receive from the hands of the commissioners, papers, on which should be written the parts to be deprived of or endowed with either sensibility or motion; and that he should let them know by closing one of his eyes that it had been done, and that they might verify it. He said he could not accept these conditions, and gave for reason, that the parts pointed out by the commissioners were too limited, and that besides all this was out of his programme, and he did not understand thus the precautions that would be taken against him."

Your commissioners had written —1st, to deprive the chin of sensibility; 2d, the right thumb; 3d. the region of the left deltoid; 4th. that of the right patella. M. Berna had written in his programme, that to show us the suf-

ficiency of his action, he would raise his hand towards us, and that this should be the sign in this experiment as in all the others. This was one of the precautions he had planned; but as your commissioners took good care to look to all these points, they thought they might require of M. Berna, that instead of raising his hand for a signal, he should be content with closing one of his eyes.

As to limits, M. Berna had pointed them out in his programme. For sensibility—1st, the whole of the body; 2d, a part of the body only. For motion, he had written—*a*, the two arms; *b*, the two legs; *c*, an arm and a leg; *d*, a particular arm and leg; *e*, the neck on the right or left side; *f*, the tongue. But here we must explain to the Academy what M. Berna understood by paralysis, and by the verification of this paralysis.

All the evidence the commissioners were allowed to have of its existence was, that when told to raise her arm, &c., the somnambule did raise it or not; in the latter case, that is, if when told to do it, she did not raise her limbs, or move her head or talk—she was to be considered as paralysed by the tacit will of M. Berna, and that all this depended on the agency of animal magnetism. Besides this, the commissioners were to make haste with their observations. If the first trials did not succeed, they were to be repeated till paralysis was produced; very good plans for the public, but such as men of science, who were to give an account of their commission, could not exactly comply with. M. Berna then said, he would do no more at this meeting, but would wake the somnambule, and at the same time restore her sensibility. M. Bouillaud, at his invitation, was first to place himself behind the girl, ready to prick the back of her neck when the magnetizer gave him the signal. He, M. Berna, placed himself opposite the girl in the same position as the first time. Wake! said he, twice. Then he raised the bandage and the cotton from her eyes, leaned towards her again, put his left arm behind her, and stopped M. Bouillaud, who was of course going to prick her too soon; then leaning towards the girl again, whose eyes were perfectly open, he looks at M. Bouillaud; that commissioner then pricked the somnambule, who turned her head aside, and M. Berna cried out, "There, the sensibility restored!" Your commissioners make no reflection on the value of the facts which Mr. Berna had shown them.

SECOND MEETING.

At half-past eight in the evening, the same somnambule and all the commissioners being assembled and the somnambulism having been produced. M. Bouillaud requested in writing that M. Berna would have the goodness to paralyse the right arm only of the girl, and when it was done to indicate it to him by closing his eyes. M. Berna, then sitting near the girl, lowered his head towards her hands, which she held in her lap. The reporter led by what M. Berna had said, viz., that there should be no contact either immediate or mediate between him and the som-

nambule, interposed a sheet of paper between his face and her hands.

Presently M. Berna made the agreed sign, that his silent will had been sufficiently powerful to paralyse the right arm only of his somnambule. M. Bouillaud proceeded to verify the fact, and for this purpose asked the girl to move successively this or that limb; when he came to the right leg, by way of elimination, as one may say, she answered that she could not move either the right leg or the right arm.

Remember that M. Berna's programme stated that he had the power of paralysing either a single limb, or two limbs at once; we chose a single limb, and there resulted, by his own confession, spite of his will, what he called a paralysis of two limbs. The experiment missed, and it was necessary to pass to another; for we had not the politeness, notwithstanding the terms of the programme, to recommence till it succeeded, which certainly must have been soon, since we had only to choose between four limbs and the tongue.

On the 13th of March, at half-past seven in the evening, another meeting was held, and the same proceedings were gone through. "Remove from your somnambule," wrote M. Bouillaud on a piece of paper, "remove the power of hearing me, while you stand behind M. Dubois, and then touching his shoulder, let me know that it is done."

The magnetizer agreed, but wished that the somnambule should be placed very near M. Dubois, who was to act as a screen, and that she should be a foot off him. This was punctually done: the reporter (M. Dubois) made M. Berna go behind him, and hid from him, at least in part, the somnambule, while M. Bouillaud conversed with her in the situation just mentioned; but long before the magnetizer had made the agreed sign, she seemed no longer to hear M. Bouillaud, which showed that the magnetizer's will had acted quicker than he thought, but when the signal was given, then she begins to answer M. Bouillaud, which was precisely the contrary of what ought to have happened.

But as the magnetizer had from the first moment of his transactions with us spoken of these marvellous facts of vision without the assistance of eyes, and of those famous transpositions of the senses, so much talked of in the archives of animal magnetism, you may imagine how desirous we were of seeing such experiments; never had anything like it been tried before an academic commission.

On the 3rd your commissioners met again, and witnessed the following facts:—At eight in the evening we met at M. Berna's. He was placed by the side of a woman aged about thirty. After our arrival, he covered her eyes with a band, and then told us that she was in a state of somnambulism, and began to talk aloud with her.

Interrogated by her magnetizer (for none of us spoke at this meeting) — interrogated if she saw what was passing around her, this woman declared that to distinguish objects better, she must turn so as to face him. M. Berna approached her, so that their legs

touched, notwithstanding what was said in the programme; but still a blow, this was secondary for facts of vision, without the assistance of eyes.

Your commissioners, attentive to what was passing, were, however, penetrated with this idea, that in this sitting there would be two kinds of facts—1st. Those whose solution was proposed to the woman said to be in somnambulism, but which were known to M. Berna. 2d. Facts whose solution was also proposed to her, but which were unknown to M. Berna, and which would be in part arranged without his knowledge. The latter would have a great value, an absolute value, independent of localities and the morality of the actors, and ought to carry conviction with them. The others would remain subject to various interpretations—to objections more or less founded, and therefore might leave doubt in the mind. Thus, to cite a first instance, the magnetizer commenced by asking the woman how many persons there were present? Several gentlemen, she answered; at least five. This first fact was as well known to M. Berna as to us; and we may add that, approximately, she herself might know it, since her eyes were not covered till after our arrival.

At the invitation of the magnetizer, who directed everything in this solemn sitting, the reporter was to write on a card one or several words, that the somnambule might read them. The commissioners, thanks to the officious care of M. Berna, had at their disposal, on a table, two packs of cards, one perfectly plain, the other playing cards. Thus you see the order of the sitting had been obligingly regulated by the magnetizer; there were no more of those hesitations and those uncertainties which had in some measure disturbed the other sittings; here everything was arranged beforehand.

However, the reporter wrote on a blank card the word "Pantagruel," in printed and perfectly distinct letters; then placing himself behind the somnambule, he presented the card close to her occiput. The magnetizer, seated opposite M. Dubois—that is, in front of the woman—could not see the characters traced on the card; it was a fact of the second order, mentioned above, that is, decisive in itself.

The somnambule, interrogated only by her magnetizer as to what was put behind her head, answered, after some hesitation, that it was something white—something resembling a card—a visiting card. Hitherto, as you may believe, there was nothing to surprise us. M. Berna had said aloud to the reporter to take a card, and write something on it. The somnambule might, therefore, say she saw something white, like a card; but as soon as she was asked if she could distinguish what there was on this card—"Yes," answered she, firmly, "there is writing on it," an answer which again did not surprise us. "Is it small or large, this writing?" "Pretty large," she replied. Here, as you see, the serious difficulties commenced, and the somnambule resorted to approximations. "What is written on it?" continued the magnetizer. "Wait, I cannot see plain. Ah! there is first; an M,

—ves, 'tis a word beginning with an M." Such were the first answers of the somnambule.

M. Cornac, unknown to the magnetizer, who alone put questions to the somnambule, then passed a perfectly blank card to M. Dubois, who immediately, and unknown to M. Berna, substituted it for the one which had the word Pantagruel on it. The somnambule still persisted in saying, that she saw a word beginning with M. M. Berna, who did not suspect in any way our contrivance, still pressed her with questions; she was invariable; she could only, she said, distinguish a single letter, an M. At last, after some efforts, she added, with some doubt, that she saw two lines of writing.

M. M. Oudet and Cornac were then placed behind her; she said, she could see one of these gentlemen, M. Cornac. She was asked if he was large? Not very, said she; not so large as you. She was speaking to M. Berna, who, alone, conversed with her.

M. Cornac, with the consent of of the magnetizer, presented, in his turn, a card to the occiput of the subject, on which he had written the word *Aime*. She distinguished, she said, some writing, but could not say what it was, what it signified. M. Cornac drew a long purse from his pocket. It is something round, she said; then putting his purse in his pocket again, he presented his hand alone. She said she still saw something round.

After these first attempts, the somnambule complained of being dazzled; that she was annoyed by light. Yes, answered the magnetizer, by fogs, wait; and by means of some fresh passes, he said he had relieved her.

The reporter charged with taking notes was writing at this moment within two steps of the somnambule, the point of the pen was heard running along the paper; the somnambule turned aside and raised her head, as if endeavouring to see under the lower edge of her bandage. The magnetizer quickly asked if he saw that gentleman. Yes she said, he is holding something white and long, (the reporter was writing on a paper longer than broad.) He then approached the somnambule, placed himself behind her, and ceasing to write, put his pen in his mouth. M. Berna then interrogated his subject in the same manner, that is on facts of which he had knowledge as well as we. Do you still see, he said, that gentleman behind you? Yes, said she. Do you see his mouth? Not very well. Why? There is something white and long across it. The magnetizer cast a look of satisfaction towards us, and recommended the reporter to make special note of this fact.

We have taken care not to forget it; but what is its value or importance in relation to the doctrine of animal magnetism? On the one hand, the somnambule knew that she had turned towards some one writing; the distinct noise of the pen on the paper, was enough to make this certain, even admitting that she had not seen under her bandage, a trial which she made without opposition on our part; because, as we have already said, we wished to let the magnetizer act without the least appearance of constraint. The reporter still writing, placed him-

self behind the woman, and then only ceased to write, and put his pen between his teeth. The magnetizer did not take another commissioner for the subject of his questions; but addressed to the somnambule, assuredly without wishing it, a question too indicative—too particular. Do you see that gentleman? Well: but why say do you see his mouth? What is there in his mouth? the somnambule might at once ask herself. He has been writing—he has placed himself behind me while writing—can it be his pen that he has put in his mouth?—it is something white and long.

These reflections came at once into our minds, and removed from this fact the value which it might perhaps have had without these circumstances.

In the facts which are about to be presented to you, things could not go on in this manner; varied interpretations were not possible. Let us see what was the result.

On a fresh invitation of the magnetizer, M. Dubois wrote in large letters on a card of the same size as the first, a single word—"misere," without letting the magnetizer know what it was, and presented it for the somnambule to make out, placed as usual at her occiput. M. Berna's request had been made aloud; the somnambule did not fail to say, without hesitation, that she saw a card, and that there was writing on it. Solicited as before, she seemed to make efforts to distinguish the letters; at last, after great hesitation, she said the word began with a T. The reporter substituted a blank card, and presented it; but neither the somnambule nor the magnetizer could in any way perceive the substitution. Interrogated as to the number of letters, she said she saw five or four. We have said the card was perfectly blank.

Now, gentlemen, we are coming to facts more decisive, more curious, and in which the lucidity of the somnambule was to appear in full evidence. We have already said that M. Berna had prepared on one of the tables in his apartment a pack of playing cards. This time, again addressing the reporter, he asked him aloud, and without leaving his intimate relation with the somnambule, to take a playing card, and place it at her occiput. Is it to be a court card? asked the reporter. As you please, answered M. Berna.

This perfectly natural question the reporter had made at first without reflection, quite innocently; but as he went towards the table, on which the pack of playing cards had been previously laid out, the idea struck him not to take either a court or a common common card, but while pretending to take a playing card, to take instead, a perfectly blank one of the same size, still unknown to M. Berna, and we need not add to the somnambule, since she could not perceive substitutions made an inch from her occiput, to which her vision had been transposed.

Then, with his blank card, the reporter placed himself at her occiput, and held it behind her. The magnetizer, seated before her, magnetized with all his force. The somnambule is interrogated,—hesitated,—made efforts, and said she saw a card; but the magnetizer was not, any more than we, contented with so little. He asked

her what she remarked on the card? She hesitated, and then said there was black and red!

The commission let M. Berna continue his manœuvres, and his solicitations, that he might clear what still appeared very confused before the woman's transposed sense, and which as yet consisted only of a little black and red. After some fruitless essays, the magnetizer, undoubtedly but ill-satisfied with the functions of the transposed visual sense, invites the reporter to pass his card before the head of the somnambule close to the band covering her eyes; this was, it may be said, changing the terms of the question, and even of the magnetic doctrine; it was giving up the transposition of the senses to substitute *clairvoyance* through a bandage. But it mattered little; the reporter passed the card as the magnetizer wished, but he took care to pass it quickly, and so that M. Berna might suppose he saw only the naturally white back of the card, while the coloured part was turned towards the somnambule's bandage.

The card once in this new position, the magnetizer cuntinued his manœuvres, and solicited the somnambule. She confessed that she saw the card better; then added hesitating, that she saw a figure. New urging from M. Berna,—new solicitations! The somnambule on her part, seemed making great efforts. After some trials, she declared plainly that she saw a knave! But this was not all; it remained to say what knave, for there are four. Proceeding, without doubt, by way of elimination, she answered her magnetizer that there was black by the side of the knave. Still this was not all; there are two knaves with black at their sides. New urging by the magnetizer,— new efforts by the somnamble, — new and profound attention by the commissioners. At last she has it; it is the knave of clubs.

M. Berna, thinking the experiment finished, took the card from the reporters hands, and in presence of all the commissioners, sees and assure that himself it is entirely blank.

As a last operation, leaving both the writing and the playing cards, M. Berna asked M. Cornac for an object he had brought with him, adding, that he would present it in his closed hand before the somnambule's bandage. This object, which we do not mention the name of yet, was given by M. Cornac to M. Berna, and he with one hand, presented it close to the somnambule's bandage, and with the other endeavoured to act magnetically on her, and then recommenced the inquiries, solicitations urgings, &c. She, who had not lost courage, appeared to make great exertions. Her magnetizer asked her if she could distinguish what he had in his hand. Wait! said she. Then after these feigned or real uncertainties, she said it was something round; then, still pressed with questions, she added that it was flesh coloured, that is was yellow, and lastly, that it was of the colour of gold. At new and incessent questions, she added, that it was about as thick as an onion,—that it was yellow on one side, white on the other, and that lastly, there was black above it.

Here she complained, and wished, she said, that her magnetizer would finish and wake her; she

urgently asked it. Not yet, answered M. Berna; when you have answered my questions; and then he agitated his hands before her, to drive away obscurities and fogs. Pressed anew to tell the name of the object presented to her, she repeated that it was yellow and white. Do you say it is white? asked M. Berna. (Here the commission incidentally remarked, that M. Berna was, perhaps, wrong in recalling only the word white, there was in this, as you will presently see, something too indicative—too special.) But the somnambule said positively yellow on one side, white on the other, with black above.

Have you, said M. Berna, such an object? No, said she. Have I? Ah! yes, you have that. But, rejoined he, if you had it what would you do with it? I would put it on my neck. Solicited, for the last time, to explain herself better,—to say at least the use of the object, if she could not tell the name,—she seemed to collect all her powers, and then uttered only the word hour; then at last, as if suddenly illuminated, she cried out, it was to see the hour. M. Berna returned M. Cornac the mysterious object: it was a silver medal, of the weight and size of a piece worth three francs; on one of its surface there was a caduceus, on the other two capital letters.

Thus ended this sitting. Some difficulties have since arisen between the commission and M. Berna, who wished that a copy of the *proces verbaux* should be given him; and in consequence of the refusal he met with, refused in his turn to proceed to fresh experiments.

RESUME AND CONCLUSIONS.

1st. It results, in first place, from all the facts and all the incidents of which we have been witnesses, that in the preamble no special proof was given us of the existence of a particular state called that of magnetic somnambulism; that it was only by assertion, and not by demonstration, that the magnetizer proceeded in this matter, affirming to us at each sitting, and before any experimental trial, that his subjects were in a state of somnambulism.

The programme delivered to us by him, stated, it is true, that before the somnambulization, it should be ascertained that the subject of the experiments enjoyed perfect sensibility; that for this purpose we might prick her, and that then she should be put to sleep in presence of the commission. But it results from the trials which we made in the sitting of the 3rd of March, and before any magnetic practice, that the subject of the experiments did not appear to feel the prickings before the supposed sleep, any more than she did during it; that her countenance and her answers were nearly the same before and during the so-called magnetic operation. Was this a mistake on her part? Was it natural insensibility, or acquired by habit? Was it to excite unseasonably any interest for her person? Your commissioners cannot decide. It is very true, that on each occasion we were told that the subjects were put to sleep; but we were told so, and that was all. If, nevertheless, the proofs of the state of somnambulism could result ulteriorly from experiments made on subjects presumed in

this state, the value or the nullity of these proofs must be drawn from the conclusions which we shall now draw from these same experiments.

2nd. According to the terms of the programme, the second experiment was to consist in the proof of the insensibility of the subjects. But after having mentioned the restrictions imposed on your commission—that the face was out of sight, and removed from every trial of this kind—that it was the same for all the parts naturally covered, so that there remained only the hands and neck;—after having reminded you that on these parts we were permitted to exercise neither pinching nor scratching, nor the contact of any body, either of fire or of a slightly raised temperature, but were limited to the sticking in of needles half a line deep; after recalling all these restrictions, we are justified in deducing from these facts—1st, that none but very slightly painful sensations could be excited; 2nd, that these could be produced only on parts perhaps always habituated to this kind of impression; 3rd, the same, and that it resulted from a kind of *tatonage*; 4th, that the features, and especially the eyes, where painful impressions are more especially indicated, were hidden; 5th, that in consequence of these circumstances, an *impassibilite*, even complete and absolute, could not be a conclusive proof to us of the abolition of sensation in the subject in question.

3rd. The magnetizer was to prove, that by the mere intervention of his will, he had the power of restoring, either totally or partially sensibility to the somnambule. But as it had been impossible to prove to us experimentally that he had removed it, and that he had isolated the sensibility in the girl, it was also impossible to prove the restitution of sensibility; and, besides, it results from the facts that we observed, that all the trials made for this purpose completely failed. The somnambule accused everything but that which had been announced. You know, that for the verification we were restricted to the assertions of the somnambule. Certainly, when she affirmed to the commission that she could not move the left leg (for instance), it was no proof to them that that limb was magnetically paralyzed; but then, again, what she said did not agree with the pretensions of the magnetizer; so that from all this there resulted assertions without proofs, in opposition to other assertions equally without proofs.

4th. What we have said of the abolition and restitution of sensibility, may be completely applied to the pretended abolition and restitution of motion; not the slightest proof was given of it to us.

5th. One of the paragraphs of the programme had for its title—Obedience to the natural order, to cease in the middle of a conversation from answering verbally, or by signs, a particular person.

he magnetizer endeavoured, in the sitting of the 13th of March, to prove that the tacit power of his will could produce this effect; but it results from the facts then observed, that far from producing this result, his somnambule appeared no longer to understand, when he did not wish to prevent her from understanding; and that she seemed to understand anew,

when positively he did not wish her to understand; so that, according to the assertions of the somnambule, the faculty of understanding or not was completely in opposition to the will of the magnetizer. But from these facts, well observed, the commission do not draw any conclusion that there was opposition, any more than submission, to his will; they saw here a natural and complete independence of it, and nothing more.

6th. Transportation of the sight. Yielding to the wishes of the commission, the magnetizer, as you have seen, left the abolitions and restitutions of sense and motion to pass to greater facts—that is, to facts of vision without the assistance of eyes. All the incidents relating to these have been stated; they took place in the sitting of April 5th.

By the power of his magnetic manœuvres, M. Berna was to show a woman deciphering words, distinguishing playing cards, following the hands of a watch, not with the eyes, but with the occiput, which would imply either the transposition or the non-necessity and superfluity of the organ of sight in the magnetic state. The experiments were made—you know how; they completely failed. All that the somnambule knew, all that she could infer from what was said near her, all that she might naturally suppose she saw with her eyes blinded; from which we conclude, in the first place, that she did not want a certain degree of address. Thus the magnetizer asked aloud of one of the commissioners to write a word on a card, and present it at the occiput of the woman, and she said she saw a card and even writing on this card. She was asked the number of persons present. As she had seen them enter, she gave approximately the number of persons. She was asked if she saw the commissioner placed near her, and engaged in writing with a pen whose point made a noise on the paper; she raised her head, tried to see him under the bandage, and said that he was holding something white in his hand; she was asked if she saw the mouth of the same gentleman, who, leaving off writing, had placed himself behind her: and she said that he had something white in his mouth; from all which we draw this conclusion, that the said somnambule, more exercised and adroit than the first, knew how to make more probable suppositions. But as to real facts to prove the vision by the occiput, absolute, decisive, and peremptory facts, not only were they wanting, and completely wanting, but they were of a nature to give rise to suspicions as to the honesty of this woman, as we shall presently remark.

7th. *Clairvoyance.* — Despairing of proving the transposition of the sense of sight—the nullity and superfluity of the eyes in the magnetic state, the magnetizer wished at least to take refuge in the fact of clairvoyance, or vision through opaque bodies.

You know the experiments made on this subject; they present the capital conclusion, that a man placed before a woman cannot give her the power of seeing through a bandage. But here a more serious reflection presents itself; admitting for a moment the hypothesis (which is very convenient for the magnetizers), that,

in many circumstances the best somnambules lose their lucidity. and, like common mortals, can no longer see with the occiput or the stomach, or even through a bandage, what are we to conclude of this woman from the minute description which she gave of other objects than those presented to her? who described a knave of clubs on a perfectly blank card, who, in an academic medal, saw a gold watch, with a white face and black letters, and who, if urged, would perhaps have finished by telling the hour that this watch marked?

If, now, you ask what ultimate and general conclusion we would draw from the whole of the experiments made under our inspection, we should say, that M. Berna was without doubt under an illusion, when, on the 12th of February, in this year, he wrote to the Academy of Medicine, stating, &c. Those facts which he promised to show are all known to you; you know, as we do, that they are anything but conclusive in favour of the doctrine of animal magnetism, and that they can have no relation either with physiology or with therapeutics.

Should we have found anything else in the more numerous and more varied facts furnished by other magnetizers? This we shall not attempt to decide; but what is very certain is, that if there are still at this time other magnetizers, they have not dared to come out into broad day—they have not dared to accept either academic sanction or reprobation.

(Signed)
M M. Roux, *President*,
Bouillard, Cloquet,
Emery, Pelletier,
Caventou, Cornac,
Oudet, Dubois,
(d'Amiens), *Reporter*.

RETURN OF CAPTAIN BACK.

Captain Back's own narrative of the voyage.—Her majesty's ship Terror, strengthened and prepared in every way for encountering the ice, sailed from England in June, 1836, with the intention of proceeding to Repulse Bay, or Wager Inlet, on the north-western shore of Hudson's Bay; thence an exploring party was to cross over the supposed isthmus to the Arctic Sea, with the hope of coasting along and determining the outline of the northern shores of America. The following letter will show that the physical obstacles which opposed themselves to this undertaking were utterly insurmountable:—

"To the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society.

"Sir,—As the expedition from which I have just returned originated with the Geographical Society, and, at its recommendatio was most liberally carried into effect by his majesty's government, I feel it incumbent on me to offer to the society an outline of the principal events which occurred from the time of my quitting England in June, 1836, till my return to Lough Swilly, on the night of Sunday, the 3rd inst.

"In a statement of this description it would be impossible to enter into the detail of all the extraordinary, and I may say, un-

paralleled circumstances, which have marked the course of the whole of our proceedings: such details I trust I may shortly be enabled to offer to the society and to the public in a more complete form; but, in the mean time, it is due to those who took so warm an interest in the expedition, to furnish them with an authentic narrative of the voyage, which must, however, necessarily be very brief, and will consist of extracts selected from my daily journal, as better calculated to convey a correct impression of the singular occurrences to which we were witnesses.

"June 23.—We took our departure from Papa Westra, and steered across the Atlantic; the weather stormy.

"July 29.—We fell in with the ice, and on the following day we first saw the coast of Labrador, near Cape Chudleigh.

"Aug. 1.—Passed through Hudson's Straits, and on the 5th saw some of the company's ships, apparently beset with ice, off the North Bluff. By keeping close in with the land we got ahead and lost sight of them; and on the following day we were ourselves hampered. The ice was compact, and covered the horizon towards Hudson's Bay, as far as could be seen from the mast-head, while to the north-west it presented a favourable appearance; I had, therefore, no hesitation in proceeding in that direction.

"Aug. 16.—We got a run of 40 miles from Trinity Isles, yet did not get sight of Baffin Island till the 23d, when we also saw Southampton Island to the south-west.

"Two days of westerly wind at this crisis would have enabled us to reach Repulse Bay; but easterly winds prevailed, and packed the whole body of ice in such a manner, that all hope of retracing our steps, to pass to the southward of Southampton Island, and up Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, was out of the question.

"On the 29th we were drifted by the ice to lat. 65 deg. 50. min. N, long. 82 deg. 7 min. W. This was our extreme north point, and here we were within 40 miles of Winter Island, where the Hecla and Fury passed the winter of 1821-2. By dint of boring, the ship was worked to the southward towards Southampton Island, whither we were attracted by the flattering appearance of lanes of open water.

"Sept. 4.—We were only 136 miles from Repulse Bay, and two days of strong breeze would have led through Frozen Strait to our destination. During the next fortnight we continued drifting slowly to the westward, passed within three miles of Cape Comfort—a bluff headland, rising about 1,000 feet above the sea.

"Sept. 20.—We were seriously nipped by the ice, so much so as to start some of the ships fastenings.

"On the 22d, being within 25 miles of the Duke of York's Bay, we tried to cut through the ice, but found it impracticable, as it closed immediately. From this date, the ship was no longer under our own guidance, but, being closely beset, was carried to and fro according to the wind and tide.

"Sept. 26.—We were drifted into lat. 65 deg. 48 min., long:

83 deg. 40 min., our extreme western point, and 90 miles from Repulse Bay.

" Sept. 27.—A rush of ice from the eastward lifted the ship's stern seven feet and a-half out of the water; constant easterly winds.

" Oct. 9.—A clear channel inshore as far as Cape Bylot, for the space of 12 hours, and again on the 27th; but we were so completely frozen up, we could not take advantage of it, although to effect so important an object the ice-saws, axes, and every other implement so liberally supplied by Government, were put in requisition, and all the energies of both officers and crew were strained to the utmost, but in vain.

" October 17.—The thermometer fell to 9 deg. below Fahrenheit. In the beginning of November the ship was housed in, and every arrangement made for meeting the rigour of winter; snow walls were raised round the ship, and in this manner we drifted to and fro off the high land of Cape Comfort, at times carried so close to the rocks as to excite alarm for the safety of the ship.

" December 21.—A furious gale from the westward drove us off shore 14 miles to the eastward of Cape Comfort, from which point the coast not before laid down in our charts was surveyed, as we drifted to the south-eastward for the distance of about 120 miles, as far as Seahorse Point, the eastern extremity of Southampton Island. The general character of the coast —barren hills and clifts, varying from 750 to 1,000 feet above the sea.

" On Christmas-day the first symtoms of scurvy showed themselves, which gradually extended itself to all hands. At one time 25 men were suffering severely from it, but eventually only three persons fell victims to this dreadful disease—viz., the gunner and two seamen. In the beginning of January, during a calm, our floe of ice split with a fearful crash, and this was the commencement of a series of shocks, that nothing but the great strength of the mass of timber and iron employed in fortifying the ship could have withstood; as it was, the vessel strained in every direction.

" Feb. 18.—Early in the morning, thermometer at 33 degrees below zero, a disruption of the ice took place, and waves of ice 30 feet high were rolled towards the ship, which complained much; the decks were separated; the beams raised off the shelfpieces; lashings and stones used for supporters gave way; iron bolts partially drawn; and the whole frame of the ship trembled so violently, as to throw some of the men down. Yet this was not our worst disaster.

" On the 15th of March, while drifting to the south-eastward, off a low point (since appropriately named 'Terror-point'), a tremendous rush of ice, from the north-west, took the ship astern, and, although buried to the flukes of the anchor in a dock of ice, such was the pressure, that she was forced upon it, and, at the same time, thown over to starboard—the stern-post was carried away, and the stern lifted seven feet out of the water, The same night a second rush of ice tore up the remnants of our floe, and forced the ship on the ice, so that

her forefoot was quite out of the water; her sunken stern was threatened by an overhanging wave of ice, full 30 feet high, but which, providentially, stopped as it touched the quarter of the ship; the water poured in through the stern frame, and the ship creaked and strained in every direction; provisions were got on deck, the boats lowered, and every preparation made for the worst extremity, and in the darkness and silence of the night we calmly awaited the anticipated coming of another shock, which, to all human appearances, must have been the last.

"Heaven ordained it otherwise, and in this novel cradle of ice we were drifted, without further injury, to Seahorse-point. The ice that bore us was ascertained to be 70 feet thick, and it was not until we had sawed through long lines of 25 feet thick, at a future day, that the ship was freed from this situation. The position of Seahorse-point was determined to be 63 deg. 43 min. long., 89 deg. 10 min. west, variation 49 deg. westerly; the lowest temperature was 53 deg. below zero, when both mercury and brandy were frozen.

"On the 1st of May the ship, still on the ice, was drifted near Mill Island, thence to the southward of Nottingham Island, between it and Cape Wolstenholme, a perpendicular cliff of 1,000 feet high, thence to the northward of Charles Island, which we reached on the 21st of June. The ice now showed symptoms of disruption, and we set all hands to work with a 35 feet ice-saw, worked by shears, and on the 11th of July, having sawed to within 3 feet, the floe split in a fore and aft direction and liberated the larboard side; we immediately made sail in the ship, but found we could not extricate her from an iceberg between the fore and main chains; we again had recourse to saws and purchases, when the lump of ice still fast to the ship rose to the surface of the water and threw the vessel on her beam ends, the water rushing in with frightful rapidity. All hands were instantly set to work again, and laboured day and night unremittingly at the fatiguing but indispensable operation of sawing, till exhausted by their exertions, I was obliged to call them in from the ice for rest and refreshment. Not a quarter of an hour had elapsed from quitting the work when a sudden disruption of the ice took place, and the mass crashed with terrific violence against the ship's side, snapping, apparently without effort, the lashings and spars that had been placed, fearing this occurrence; and, but for the merciful interposition of Providence, all would inevitably have been crushed by the mass of ice on which they had just been labouring.

"As the ice separated, the ship righted and drifted along. Finding it impossible to hang the old rudder, a spare one was fitted, and sail made on the ship: it was an anxious moment as we waited to see if she would answer her helm, and as she bore up before the wind, with her head towards England, a cheer of gratitude burst from all on board.

"I had cherished to the last moment the hope that the damages sustained might not be so great as to prevent my pushing for Wager Inlet by Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, and there to beach the

ship and repair damages, while some in boats carried into effect the object of our expedition; but when I found she required two pumps constantly going to keep her free, that both outer and inner stern-posts were gone, the keel seriously damaged, besides various other casualties, I felt it became my duty, however reluctantly, to make the best of our way homewards. Fortunately, the early part of our passage across the Atlantic was favourable, but subsequently the weather became boisterous, and the ship's leaks increased very much, so that we could barely keep her free with incessant pumping; to secure the ship also we were obliged to strap her together with the stream chain cable.

"On the 6th of August we again passed through Hudson's Straits, and on the 3d of September arrived in Lough Swilly. not having let go our anchor since June, 1836.

"To speculate on what might have been the result of this expedition, had I reached either Repulse-bay or Wager-river, would now be idle, but I cannot resist the opportunity of recording my unaltered opinion, as to the practicability of the service, when once a party should have reached either of the before-mentioned starting places.

"The north-eastern shore of Southampton Island has been now surveyed, for the first time, by Lieutenant Owen Stanley, who has also made various views of the coast, and a chart showing the track of the ship, the remarkable position in which the ship was placed among the ice, admirably illustrated by Lieutenant Smyth, in a series of spirited and characteristic drawings.

"I cannot conclude this brief account without bearing testimony to the great assistance I have invariably received from Lieutenant Smyth, and all the officers and crew employed under my command in this expedition, to the cheerful obedience with with which all orders were obeyed, and to the steadiness of behaviour evinced in circumstances of no common trial.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"GEORGE BACK."

Sept. 11, 1837.

RUSSIAN SCIENTIFIC MISSION TO THE EASTERN COAST OF THE BLACK SEA.

More than a year ago the Russian academy of Sciences induced one of its members to explore the eastern coast of the Black Sea. The gentleman employed on this scientific mission was professor Von Nordman, a learned German. No accounts having been received from him for several months, serious apprehensions as to his fate were entertained. At last a letter was received mentioning that he had commenced his journey back to St. Petersburgh, and giving a lively picture of the difficulties and dangers to which he and M. Dollinger, who accompanied him, had been exposed. The name which the ancients bestowed on these regions, *Inhospitalis Caucasus*, is still well deserved. Of four Cossacks and three young soldiers who alternately performed the duty of cook to the party, not one has survived. Five died in the course of last summer of disease occasioned by

fatigue and the climate, and two were shot by the Abkassians. Whenever the travellers ventured beyond the narrow boundaries occupied by Russian garrisons, it was at the risk of their lives. It is well known that Russia has lately assumed a sovereignty over a great part of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, but the mountain tribes do not acknowledge her dominion, which really extends only as far as the cannon of the fortresses reach. In his letter, professor Nordman says, "I sailed from Sebastopol to the fortress of Gelintshik, in the country of the hostile Shapsugs. We arrived on the 14th of April, and botanized during four days in the environs, under the protection of an escort of 150 men and a piece of cannon. We had with us a dog, by which the Cherkeses concealed in the thickets were discovered. Every excursion was made at the hazard of our lives, and after all, the collection was by no means satisfactory. The garrison dare scarcely venture beyond the guns of the fort. The cutting of wood, filling water-casks and pasturing the cattle, must all be done under the protection of a military force. The full beauty of southern vegetation is not seen here, but further on, at Suchum-Kalé, Pizunda, &c., it has a richness and splendour which no words can describe. We spent six weeks here and in the neighbourhood, and visited various places, among the rest Bombora or Lehna, the residence of Prince Michael Bey, chief of the Abkassians. At Pizunda, the ancient Pitius, we saw the temple built by Justinian. The distance from Pizunda to Drandarium is 110 wersts. In the neighbourhood of Pizunda we discovered a new pine, and named it *Pinus Pitiusa*, The adjoining mountain-chain runs parallel to the coast to the the extent of 30 wersts from Bombora. With the aid of Michael Bey's authority, and a military escort, we ventured on a formal expedition into the hills, taking the direction of the ridge Hirtcha, in the territory of the tribe Pso. Here no European foot had been, and amidst the snow we collected with enthusiasm the plants of an Alpine region hitherto unexplored. We returned to Bombora in a fortnight without the loss of a man. Excursions were also made to the rivers Metshist, Pshandra, Kipse, &c. The environs of Suchum-Kalé cannot be safely examined to a greater distance than half a werst. In one of these excursions the musket-balls whistled round our heads, and our retreat over a wooden bridge was gained by the bayonet. In fact we had to collect with arms in our hands, and the few interesting objects which we obtained in Abkassia were fairly fought for. The whole country from Poti to Nicolai is an immense wood of *buxus sempervirens*, which infects the atmosphere with its effluvia. From Nicolai we directed our course to the left, and established our headquarters at Osurgete, in order afterwards to proceed by the way of Kobuleti to Suram, and make ourselves better acquainted with the Absharsh ridge. The road to this mountain, the highest point of which is called Katzistava (the Man's Head), is nothing but a kind of furrow or narrow ravine formed by descending water, which, with about 30 landing-

places, leads by a stair-like ascent to the tableland of the mountains. We climbed this road six times; on the top we built a hut with the planks of the *Pinus Orientalis*. Having remained three weeks near the boundary of eternal snow, where we suffered great privations, we proceeded towards the Akalzich-ridge, and the sources of the Kur. There Dollinger was seized with an intermittent fever, which afterwards assumed a bilious character. My servant was at the same time ill of a nervous fever, and I did not escape the influence of the climate, but was severely indisposed. Our laborious precursor, Szowitz, died here of typhus fever. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that I enjoyed here much pleasure, and there were moments when I thought myself the happiest of mortals. From Osgusti we travelled through the whole of Guriel to Kutais, and then to Cape Letschgum, in Mingrelia, where Prince Dabian treated us very handsomely. We soon reached Anaklia, whence we proceeded to Suchum, and finally got back to the quarantine of Sebastopol."—*Abridged from a German Paper.*

SCENES OF SCOTT'S DOMESTIC LIFE.—*From Lockhart's Life of Scott.*

About the middle of February—it having been ere that time arranged that I should marry his eldest daughter in the course of the spring, I accompanied him and part of his family on one of those flying visits to Abbotsford, with which he often indulged himself on a Saturday during term. Upon such occasions, Scott appeared at the usual hour in court, but wearing, instead of the official suit of black, his country morning dress, green jacket, and so forth, under the clerk's gown—a license of which many gentlemen of the long robe had been accustomed to avail themselves in the days of his youth, it being then considered as the authentic badge that they were lairds as well as lawyers, but which, to use the dialect of the place, had fallen into *desuetude* before I knew the parliament house. He was, I think, one of the two or three, or at most the half dozen, who still adhered to this privilege of their order; and it has now, in all likelihood, become quite obsolete, like the ancient custom, a part of the same system, for all Scotch barristers to appear without gowns or wigs, and in coloured clothes, when upon circuit. At noon, when the court broke up, Peter Mathieson was sure to be in attendance in the parliament-close, and five minutes after the gown had been tossed off, and Scott, rubbing his hands for glee, was under weigh for Tweedside. On this occasion he was, of course, in mourning; but I have thought it worth while to preserve the circumstance of his usual Saturday's costume. As we proceeded, he talked without reserve of the novel of the *Monastery*, of which he had the first volume with him; and mentioned, what he had probably forgotten when he wrote the introduction of 1830, that a good deal of that volume had been composed before he concluded *Ivanhoe*. "It was a great relief," he said, "to interlay the scenery most familiar to me with the strange world for which

I had to draw so much on imagination."

Next morning there appeared at breakfast John Ballantyne, who had at this time a shooting or hunting-box a few miles off in the vale of the Leader, and with him Mr. Constable, his guest; and it being a fine clear day, as soon as Scott had read the church service and one of Jeremy Taylor's sermons, we all sallied out, before noon, on a perambulation of his upland territories, Maida and the rest of the favourites accompanying our march. At starting we were joined by the constant henchman, Tom Purdie,—and I may save myself the trouble of any attempt to describe his appearance, for his master has given us an inimitably true one in introducing a certain personage of his *Redgauntlet*:—"He was, perhaps, sixty years old: yet his brow was not much furrowed, and his jet black hair was only grizzled, not whitened, by the advance of age. All his motions spoke strength unabated; and, though rather undersized, he had very broad shoulders, was square made, thin-flanked, and apparently combined in his frame muscular strength and activity; the last somewhat impaired, perhaps, by years, but the first remaining in full vigour. A hard and harsh countenance; eyes far sunk under projecting eyebrows, which were grizzled like his hair; a wide mouth, furnished from ear to ear, with a range of unimpaired teeth of uncommon whiteness, and a size and breadth which might have become the jaws of an ogre, completed this delightful portrait." Equip this figure in Scott's cast-off green jacket, white hat, and drab trousers; and imagine that years of kind treatment, comfort, and the honest consequence of a confidential *grieve*, had softened away much of the hardness and harshness originally impressed on the visage by anxious penury and the sinister habits of a black-fisher, and the Tom Purdie of 1820 stands before us.

We were all delighted to see how completely Scott had recovered his bodily vigour, and none more so than Constable, who, as he puffed and panted after him up one ravine and down another, often stopped to wipe his forehead, and remarked that "it was not every author who should lead him such a dance." But Purdie's face shone with rapture as he observed how severely the swag-bellied bookseller's activity was tasked. Scott exclaiming exultingly, though perhaps for the tenth time, "This will be a glorious spring for our trees, Tom!"—"You may say that, Sheriff," quoth Tom,—and then lingering a moment for Constable—"My certy," he added, scratching his head, "and I think it will be a grand season for *our buiks* too." But indeed Tom always talked of *our buiks* as if they had been as regular products of the soil as *our aits* and *our birks*. Having threaded, first the Hexilcleugh and then the Rhymer's Glen, we arrived at Huntly Burn, where the hospitality of the kind Weird-Sisters, as Scott called the Misses Ferguson, reanimated our exhausted bibliopoles, and gave them courage to extend their walk a little further down the same famous brook. Here there was a small cottage in a very sequestered situation, by making some little

additions to which Scott thought it might be converted into a suitable summer residence for his daughter and future son-in-law. The details of that plan were soon settled—it was agreed on all hands that a sweeter scene of seclusion could not be fancied. He repeated some verses of Roger's "*Wish*," which paint the spot:—

"Mine be a cot beside the hill—
"A beehive's hum shall soothe my ear;
"A willowy brook that turns a mill,
"With many a fall shall linger near," &c.

But when he came to the stanza—

"And Lucy at her wheel shall sing,
"In russet gown and apron blue,"

he departed from the text, adding—

"But if Bluestockings here you bring,
"The Great Unknown won't dine with you."

Johnny Ballantyne, a projecter to the core, was particularly zealous about this embryo establishment. Forseeing that he should have had walking enough ere he reached Huntly Burn, his dapper little Newmarket groom had been ordered to fetch Old Mortality thither, and now, mounted on his fine hunter, he capered about us, looking pallid and emaciated as a ghost, but as gay and cheerful as ever, and would fain have been permitted to ride over hedge and ditch to mark out the proper line of the future avenue. Scott admonished him that the country people, if they saw him at such work, would take the whole party for heathens; and, clapping spurs to his horse, he left us. "The Deil's in the bod," quoth Tom Purdie, "he'll be ower every yet atween this and Turnagay, though it be the Lord's-day. I wadna wonder if he were to be *ceeted* before the session." "Be sure, Tam," cries Constable, "that ye egg on the Dominie to blaw up his father—I wouldna grudge a hundred miles o'gait to see the ne'er-do-weel on the stool, and neither, I'll be sworn, would the Sheriff." "Na, na," quoth the Sheriff, "we'll let sleeping dogs be, Tam."

As we walked homeward, Scott, being a little fatigued, laid his left hand on Tom's shoulder, and leaned heavily for support, chatting to his "Sunday-pony," as he called the affectionate fellow, just as freely as with the rest of the party; and Tom put in his word shrewdly and manfully, a' grinned and grunted whenever the joke chanced to be within his apprehension. It was easy to see that his heart swelled within him from the moment that the Sheriff got his collar in his gripe.

There arose a little dispute between them about what tree or trees ought to be cut down in a hedge row that we passed, and Scott seemed somewhat ruffled with finding that some previous hints of his on that head had not been attended to. When we got into motion again, his hand was on Constable's shoulder, and Tom dropped a pace or two to the rear, until we approached a gate, when he jumped forward and opened it. "Give us a pinch of your snuff, Tom," quoth the Sheriff; Tom's mull was produced, and the hand resumed its position. I was much diverted with Tom's behaviour when we at length reached Abbotsford. There were some garden chairs on the green in front of the cottage porch. Scott sat down on one of them to enjoy the view of his new tower as it gleam-

ed in the sunset, and Constable and I did the like. Mr. Purdie remained lounging near us for a few minutes, and then asked the Sheriff to "speak a word." They withdrew together into the garden, and Scott presently rejoined us with a particularly comical expression of face. As soon as Tom was out of sight, he said—"Will ye guess what he has been saying, now?—Well, this is a great satisfaction! Tom assures me that he has thought the matter over, and will take my advice about the thinning of that clump behind Captain Ferguson's."

I must not forget that, whoever might be at Abbotsford, Tom always appeared, at his master's elbow on Sunday, when dinner was over, and drank long life to the laird and the lady and all the good company, in a quaigh of whisky or a tumbler of wine, according to his fancy. I believe Scott has somewhere expressed in print his satisfaction that, among all the changes of our manners, the ancient freedom of personal intercourse may still be indulged between a master and an out-of-doors servant; but, in truth, he kept by the old fashion even with domestic servants, to an extent which I have hardly seen practised by any other gentleman. He conversed with his coachman if he sat by him, as he often did, on the box—with his footman, if he happened to be in the rumble; and when there was any very young lad in the household, he held it a point of duty to see that his employments were so arranged as to leave time for advancing his education, made him bring his copybook once a-week to the library, and examined him as to all that he was doing. Indeed, he did not confine this humanity to his own people. Any steady servant of a friend of his was soon considered as a sort of friend too, and was sure to have a kind little colloquy to himself at coming and going. With all this, Scott was a very rigid enforcer of discipline—contrived to make it thoroughly understood by all about him that they must do their part by him as he did his by them; and the result was happy. I never knew any man so well served as he was—so carefully, so respectfully, and so silently; and I cannot help doubting if, in any department of human operations, real kindness ever compromised real dignity.]

POETRY.

STANZAS,

BY ALFRED TENNYSON, ESQ.

Oh! that 'twere possible,
After long grief and pain;
To find the arms of my true love
Round me once again!

When I was wont to meet her
In the silent woody places
Of the land that gave me birth,
We stood tranced in long embraces.
Mixt with kisses sweeter, sweeter,
Than anything on earth.

A shadow flits before me—
Not thou, but like to thee,
Ah God! that it were possible
For one short hour to see
The souls we loved, that they might tell us
What and where they be.

It leads me forth at evening,
It lightly winds and steals
In a cold white robe before me,
When all my spirit reels
At the shouts, the leagues of lights
And the roaring of the wheels.

Half the night I waste in sighs,
In a wakeful dose I sorrow
For the hand, the lips, the eyes—
For the meeting of to-morrow,
The delight of happy laughter,
The delight of low replies.

Do I hear the pleasant ditty,
  That I heard her chant of old?
  But I wake—my dream is fled.
Without knowledge, without pity—
  In the shuddering down behold,
  By the curtains of my bed,
That abiding phantom cold.

Then I rise: the eave drops fall
  And the yellow vapours choke,
  The great city sounding wide;
The day comes—a dull red ball;
  Wrapt in drifts of lurid smoke,
  On the misty river tide.

Thro' the hubbub of the market
  I steal, a wasted frame;
It crosseth here, it crosseth there
  Thro' all that crowd, confused and loud,
  The shadow still the same;
And on my heavy eyelids
  My anguish hangs like shame.

Alas! for her that met me,
  That heard me softly call—
Came glimmering thro' the laurels
  At the quiet even fall,
In the garden by the turrets
  Of the old manorial hall.

Then the broad light glares and beats,
And the sunk eye flits and fleets,
  And will not let me be,
I loathe the squares and streets,
And the faces that one meets,
  Hearts with no love for me;
Always I long to creep
To some still cavern deep,
And to weep, and weep, and weep
  My whole soul out to thee.

Get thee hence, nor come again,
  Pass and cease to move about;
Pass, thou death-like type of pain,
  Mix not memory with doubt,
'Tis the blot upon the brain
  That *will* show itself without.

Would the happy spirit descend
In the chamber or the street,
As she looks among the blest;
Should I fear to greet my friend,
Or to ask her, "Take me, sweet.
To the region of thy rest."

But she tarries in her place,
And I paint the beauteous face
Of the maiden that I lost,
In my inner eyes again;
Lest my heart be overborne
By the thing I hold in scorn,
By a dull mechanic ghost
And a juggle of the brain.

I can shadow forth my bride,
As I knew her fair and kind,
As I woo'd her for my wife;
She is lovely by my side
In the silence of my life—
'Tis a phantom of the mind.

'Tis a phantom fair and good
I can call it to my side,
So to guard my life from ill,
Tho' its ghastly sister glide;
And be moved around me still
With the moving of the blood,
That is moved not of the will.

Let it pass the dreary brow,
Let the dismal face go by;
Will it lead me to the grave?
Then I lose it: it will fly:
Can it overlast the nerves?
Can it overlive the eye?

But the other, like a star,
Thro' the channel windeth far
Till it fade and fail and die;
To its archetype that waits,
Clad it light by golden gates—
Clad in light the Spirit waits
To embrace me in the sky.

OUR FATHER 'S AT THE HELM.

Founded on an Anecdote.

BY MISS M. L. BOYLE.

THE hurricane was at its worst,
The waves dashed mountains high;
When from a gallant ship there burst,
A loud and fearful cry.
The Captain's son sat on the deck,
A young and lovely child;
And when they spake of certain wreck,
He shook his head and smiled.
Mid groans of care and deep despair,
And manhood's bitter tear;
That gentle boy, all hope and joy,
Betrayed no signs of fear.

A mariner, who strove in vain
To nerve his troubled soul;
Thought of his wife and babes with pain,
Nor could his fears control,
Approached the boy, and with a loud
And almost angry tone,
"Tell me," he cried, "art thou endowed
"With courage all thine own;
"Dar'st thou defy, or doubt the sky
"Hath power to overwhelm?"
The gentle child looked up and smiled,
"My Father 's at the Helm!"

Oh, could we think as that blest child;
While wandering here below,
We should not dread the tempest wild,
The storm of mortal woe,
The waves of misery might dash
Above our little bark,
And human wrath, like lightning flash,
Then leave our life-track dark,
His soul all calm, no thoughts of harm
The Christian overwhelm,
Firm in the thought, with safety fraught,
His father 's at the Helm.

TO ——,

Oh! ask me not how much I love thee,
Do not question why
I have told the tale
In the evening pale
With a tear and a sigh.

I told thee when my love was hopeless,
Now it is mild and sings
That the stars above
Shine ever on love,
Though they frown on the fate of kings.

Oh! a king would have loved and left thee,
And away thy sweet love cast—
But I am thine
While the stars shall shine
To the last—to the last.

ON RE-VISITING TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AFTER TWENTY YEARS' ABSENCE,

BY THE

RIGHT HON. T. SPRING RICE (Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

YEARS have rolled on since first I passed these gates,
Yet each succeeding year I love thee more
When I revisit thee, within my heart,
Thoughts, images, emotions crowd.—The past
Awakens from its tomb, and present light
Blends with the future's dim uncertainty.
All that is best in life I here have known,
Love, Friendship, and Ambition, heavenly Hope
Lifting her Sereph-eye to brighter worlds:
And now the gushing founts of underness
Which spring perennial in a parent's heart.

Thy Walls to me are vocal. Many a sound
Of solemn warning and of stern reproof
Echoes beneath those arches.—Time misused,
And opportunity for ever lost,
Powers misapplied; these thoughts of deep remorse
All, all around me rise, like angry shades
Which haunt the midnight of some murderer.
Oh! had such thoughts flowed earlier o'er my mind,
I should not now lament its barrenness.
Had they but roused me to some strenuous deeds,
In more enduring love for human kind,
Purging my soul from sloth and selfishness—
Had those whose bright examples might have taught
To scorn the earth, and humbly strive for Heaven,
Had these but shed due influence, noble acts
Had sprung from noble thoughts—Duty and Joy,
Like two fair Sisters with their arms entwined,
And glances love returning, had led on,
Through deeds of manly usefulness below,
To the inheritance of brighter crowns.

But though the Sun his Mid-day height has passed,
Light yet remaineth while 'tis given to work,
Then let me not a vile and abject thing
Pass in a world of dreams my life away
Or bubble-like float down the stream of life,
Or, like an autumn leaf circling aloft,
Which in a useless orbit.—
The drowsy joys of indolent repose,
Or the murmurring laugh of vapid mirth,
Accomplish not man's destiny.—'Tis his
To will—to do—to suffer days of toil
And nights of watching—and to cast his lot
To live for others—or to live in vain.

Before the spirit of Bethesda's pool
Gave healing power, the waters first were moved;—
Could but such influence reach a worm like me,
And rouse from torpor, life new life would gain,
And, like the eagle springing towards the sun,
The soul, on angel pinions borne, would seek
Eternal Beauty—undecaying Truth,
Wisdom Heaven taught, and Virtue strong in faith.

SONNETS

BY FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE, ESQ.

THE POET.

The Poet, is like one by fancy led,
Whose footsteps in the lonely morning press
Some stubborn hill of difficult access,
Which seems to lengthen on above his head,
As though it sported with his weariness.
His path is steeped in vapour dark as death,
And flooded with chill mist, whilst to and fro
Thousands, along the dusty road beneath,
Securely in bright sunshine come and go:
But ever, and anon, in that steep way
The sudden mountain gales with joyous breath,
Uproot the seated clouds—the sun's warm ray
Leaps forth, and on wide plains are thrown
Etherial splendours, seen by him alone.

WORDSWORTH.

In this high poet's song, you will not find,
Fierce passion painted with a demon's force;
Vice, by wild incongruities refined,
And every virtue poisoned at its source.
Nor yet, marked by strange hatred of mankind,
The drunken anguish of a false remorse:
His soul is calm and lofty as a star;
Nor does he sing to give his spirit rest;
And charm to peace the hell within his breast;
But as a quiet lake reflects from far,
The forests, and the mountains, and the sky,
Thus led by nature as a loving nurse;
His mind is made his mirror, and his verse
Is full of hope, and immortality.

INDEX

[N.B. The figures within crotchets refer to the History.]

Accusation, extraordinary, 66
Acts, general, list of, 239
Acts, local and personal, 243
Affair of honour, fatal termination, 49
Algiers :—Treaty of Tafna, [282] ; expedition to Constantine, [283] ; Constantine taken by storm, [286]
Animal magnetism in France, 380
Appointments and promotions, 150
Arithmetical prodigy, 69
Assassination, attempted, of the deputy chairman of the East India Company, 26; suicide of the assassin, 29
Assault, singular one, on Mr. Wise, at Cork, 2
Assizes and Sessions :—Assault on an examining officer at Apothecaries' Hall, 11 ; robbing a lodging (Juliet Newman) 14; administering laudanum, (a forgiving wife) 81 ; forgery by a quaker, 89; extensive forgery at Dover, 104; assault by a barrister, 113; extraordinary case of homicide at Norwich, 115; child murder at Ripon, 120
Austria :—Spirit of reform in Hungary, [347] ; resolution of the Germanic Diet relative to political offenders, [348] ; pauperism, 106

Back, Captain, return of, 392
Banda Oriental : Rivera heads the malcontents, [383]
Bank of England, *see* Banking
Banking system, [171] ; spirit of speculation ; increase of joint-stock banks, [172] ; controversy on the conduct of the Bank of England, [173] ; increase of the rate of discount, [174] ; drain of bullion ; assistance afforded the Northern and Central Bank by the Bank of England, [175] ; renewal of the parliamentary committee, [176] ; liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, [184] ; 238
Banks, joint-stock, 238
Banks, private, 238
Bankrupts, number of, 252
Belgium : Opening of the Chambers ; prosperous state of the country, [349]
Bills of Mortality, 252
Birmah : Deposition of the reigning Monarch by his brother, [251] ; death of the King, 199
Births, 139
Brahmin,a, becoming a minister of the gospel, 115
Brazil :—Resignation of the regent ; new cabinet, [383] ; insurrection at Bahia, [384]
Buenos Ayres; The budget, [383]
Buonaparte, Peter, banished the Papal dominions, 28
Burdett, Sir Francis, resigns his seat for Westminster ; opposed on his re-election by Mr. Leader, [97] ; returned by a majority of 515, [98]
Butcher's meat, average prices of, 251

Cambridge University Examinations, 255
Canada :—Affairs of, brought under the consideration of Parliament, [150] ; Lord John Russell's resolutions, [153] ; Sir F. Head dissolves the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, [241] ; proceedings of the Session ; petition of Mr. Charles Duncombe to the House of Commons, [242] ; address of the House of Assembly to the Lieut.-Governor ; close of the Session, [244] ; state of the banks, [245] ; address of the lieut.-governor to the presidents of the banks ; extraordinary session ; address of Sir F. Head, [246] ; suspension of cash payments, [247] ; Lower Canada ; —address of Lord Gosford to the Houses of Legislature, [247], 299 ; prorogation of the House of Assembly ; insurrectionary movements of the Papineau party ; reinforcement of the military; regiments of volunteers formed, [248] ; attack of

the insurgents on a party of volunteers, [249]; debates in Parliament relative to the insurrection, [414]
Capture of an English vessel by the natives of Point Clara, 34
Case, an extraordinary, 56
Cholera, the, in Sicily, [352]; at Rome, 97, 104
Church rates; ministerial plan for the abolition of, [82]
Circassia: see Russia
Clover, average prices of, 251
Colliery explosion, 123
Commons, House of, list of members, 130
Corn, British, average prices of, 251
Cracow: Inquiry in Parliament relative to the non-appointment of a British consul, [208]; state of the senate, [348]
Credulity and fraud, 28
Criminal statistics, 50, 290
Crosse, Mr., his discoveries of insects in silica, 21
Custom House, frauds on the, 125

Davidson, Mr.. the African traveller, murder of, 22
Deaths:—
Acton, Dalberg, Sir F. R. Ed. 174
Adams, Major-Gen. Sir J. W., 182
Afzelius, Professor Adam, 174
Ancillon, Monsieur, 188
Audley, Lord, 167
Ava, The King of, 199

Balfour, Lieut.-Gen., 213
Balgray, Lord, 175
Bangor, Viscount, 207
Bankes, Lady, 164
Barnard, Lady, 199
Bath, Marquis of, 184—197
Bavaria, William, Duke of, 166.
Bentham, William, esq., 203
Bentinck, Lady Edward, 209
Besson Bey, Vice-Admiral of the Egyptian Fleet, 207
Bolingbroke, Viscountess, 163
Borough, Sir Richard, 173
Borowlaski, Count, 204
Boswell, Miss Euphemia, 204
Bromhead, Colonel John, 184
Brooke, Major R., 162
Broughton. Rear-Admiral, 212
Brydges, Sir Egerton, 204
Buonarotti, Philips, 208
Burder, rev. Dr. Samuel, 161
Burnett, Sir Robert, 165
Burrough, Sir James, 184
Byerly, Sir John, 165
Byron, Rear-Admiral, Richard 204

Cameron, Lieut.-Gen., 191

Deaths, *continued*.
Campbell, Lieut.-Gen., 199
Candler, Vice-Admiral Sir T., 169
Canning, Viscountess, 184
Cardigan, Earl of, 202
Carnarvon, Earl of, 208
Cavan, Earl of, 215
Cervetto, Mr. James, 175
Clancarty, Earl of, 215
Clements, Hon. G. R. A., 216
Clifford, Colonel Millar, 165
Clifton, Sir Robert, 189
Cockburn, Dowager Lady, 214
Cockerell, Sir Charles, 165
Codrington, Lady, 173
Combermere, Viscount, 179
Constable, John, esq., R. A., 185
Cooke, Lieut.-Gen. Sir G., 175
Cooke, Major-Gen. Sir H. F., 182
Cowper. Earl, 197
Cumby, Captain W., R.N., 209

Dacres, Vice-Admiral Sir R., 173
Damremont, Comte de, 213
Dana, Lieut.-Gen. G. K. 198
Daniell, William, esq., R. A., 202
D'Arblay, Rev. A. C., 169
Davidson, J. esq., African Traveller, 162
De Lancey, Colonel Oliver, 183
De Lisle and Dudley, Lady, 187
Dillon, Lady Margaret, 213
Dillon, Major General Hon. H. 198
Dillon, Sir John Joseph, 175
Dixon, Admiral Sir Manly, 178
Doherty, Colonel Patrick, 171
Dolben, Sir John English, 209
Donovan, Edward, esq. 174
Drogheda, Marquis of, 175
Dryden, Sir Henry, 214
Dukinfield, Sir John Lloyd, 162
Dumas, Court, 212
Dungannon, Viscount, 216
Dunmore, Earl of, 158
D'Urban, Rear Admiral Will. 178

Egremont, Earl of, 214
Elford, Sir William, 216
Erskine, Lady Charlotte, 175
Erskine, Sir David, 213
Exmouth, Dowager Visct. 213
Exmouth, Viscountess, 192
Farnborough, Lady, 167
Fawcett, John, esq. 182
Fielden, Rear Admiral Charles, 204
Fitzherbert, Mrs. 184
Fitzroy, Lient.-Gen. Hon. W. 194
Fonblanque, J. de Grenier, esq. 165
Fontana, Signor, 207
Forbes, Viscount, 160
Francis, Philip, esq. 209

INDEX.

Deaths, *continued.*
Gerard, Mons. Francois, 166
Glenlyon, Lord, 212
Gore, Right Hon. A. S. 169
Granard, Earl of, 193
Greisley, Sir Roger, 212
Greville Major-Gen. Sir C. J. 161
Grey, Lieut.-Gen. John, 174
Grimaldi, Mr. Joseph, 192
Grimston, Hon. Charlotte, 169
Gustavus Adolphus IV. Ex-King of Sweden, 176

Halkett, Sir Charles, 164
Hamilton and Brandon, Duchess Dowager of, 168
Harnage, Sir George, 161
Harris, Captain George, R.N. 158
Harvey, Admiral Sir John, 179
Hastings, Mrs. Warren, 185
Hawes, Rev. Herbert, Prebendary of Sarum, 168
Hay, General Sir James, 178
Hellard, Captain William, R.N. 198
Hereford, Bishop of, 199
Hesse Cassel, Landgrave of, 189
Hibbert, George, esq. 210
Hinde, Lieut.-Gen, Sir Sam. 208
Hope, Hon. Gen. Sir Alexander, 192
Hulse, Field-Marshal Sir Sam. 164
Hummell, John Nepomuk, 212
Hunter, Rev. Dr. John, 168

Jackson, Randle, esq. 183
Jekyll, Joseph, Esqr., 182

Kavanagh, Thomas, Esq., 169
Kingsborough, Viscount, 181

Langlois, Monsieur Eustache Hyacinthe, 213
Latham, Dr. John, 178
Lawless, John, esq., 201
Lee, Admiral Sir Richard, 199
Leeds, Dowager Duchess of, 210
Lefanu, Mrs., 165
Lindenthal, Lieut.-gen. Lewis, 171
Lindores, Lady, 214
Listowell, Earl of, 198
Llandaff, Countess of, 198
Lloyd, Rev. Bartholomew, 215
Lockhart, Mrs., 192
Louis, Baron, 203
Lowther, James, esq., 214
Lyttleton, Lord, 189

Macauley, Miss Elizabeth Wright, 180
Mc. Mahon, Rt. Hon. Sir Will., 167
Macneish, D. R., esq., 168
Madan, Dr. Spencer, 158
Madras, Bishop of, 175
Malkin, Sir Benjamin Heath, 213

Deaths, *continued.*
Manley, Admiral Isaac George, 212
Markham, Venerable Robert, Archdeacon of York, 198
Marsden, Dr. William, 157
Martin, Lady Jemima Isabella, 162
Mavor, Rev. William, 217
Maxfield, Capt. William, E.I.C., 165
Maxwell, General Sir William, 184
Mecklenburgh Schwerin, Frederic Francis, Grand Duke of, 174
Middleton, Rear Admiral Robert Gambier, 203
Milton, Capt. Gilbert Mc. Donald, 158
Mina, Don Francisco Espoz Y., 163
Montressor, General Sir Henry Tucker, 182
Montrose, Duke of, 164
Moore, Maj.-gen. Sir Lorenzo, 184
Mudge, Commander Will., R.N., 199
Mulcaster, Capt. Sir William Howe, R.N. 182

Nairne, Lord, 216
Netherlands, Queen of the, 212
Neville, Lt.-gen. Charles, 166
Nicholson, Mr. Charles, 185
Nolan, Archdeacon Patrick, 181
Norwich, Bishop of, 186

O'Brien, Sir Edward, 183
O'Connell, John Charles, esq., 165
Ogilvie, Sir George Mulgrave, 182
Onslow, Lady Harriet Elizabeth, 214

Parish, Captain John, R.N., 197
Parry, Rear Admiral William Henry Webley, 193
Patten, Captain Charles, R.N., 168
Peat, Sir Robert, 188
Percival, Lieut.-Col. William, 174
Phillips, Colonel Lloyd, 188
Phipps, General Hon. Edmund, 207
Plunkett, Hon. Randal, 189
Plymouth, Earl of, 169
Ponsonby. Major General Hon. Sir Frederick Cavendish, 166
Powerscourt, Lady, 164
Pradt, Abbé de, 193
Purdon, Lieut. Colonel Edward, 173

Quebec, Bishop of, 198
Queensberry, Marquis of, 216

Rees, Owen, esq. 204
Richardson, Mr. John, the itinerant dramatic showman, 159
Rippon, Rev. Dr. 162
Romilly, C. S. esq. 174
Rosen, Dr. Frederick, 207
Rosslyn, Earl of, 168

INDEX.

Deaths, *continued.*
Rottler, Rev. Dr. 172
Russell, Sir Robert Greenhill, 162

Sabine, Joseph, esq. 173
St. Alban's, Duchess of, 199
St. George, Major-Gen. Sir T. B. 158
St. Leu, Duchess de, 209
Salis, Count de, 158
Salisbury, Bishop of, 179
Salmond, Major-General, 215
Sarsfield, General, 203
Saxe Coburg Meiningen, Duchess Dowager of, 189
Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, Prince of, 186
Scarsdale, Lord, 173
Schwarzburgh-Sonderhausen, Prince of, 189
Scott, Vice-Adm. Matthew Hen. 158
Selsey, Dowager Lady, 188
Seymour, Lord William, 174
Sherwood, William, esq. 204
Simeon, Rev. Charles, Senior Fellow, King's College, Cambridge, 159
Smith, General Sir John, 198
Soane, Sir John, 169
Solms Braunfels, Prince of, 184
Southey, Mrs. 215
Stevens, R. J. S. esq. 208
Stewart, Sir Michael Shaw, 162
Stopford, Lieut.-Gen. Hon. Sir Ed. 207
Stormont, Viscountess, 215
Stuart, Lady Julia, 188
Stuart, Lieut.-Gen. Hon. William, 179

Templemore, Lord, 209
Thornton, Dr. Robert John, 171
Tiarks, Dr. John Lewis, 190
Tollemache, Hon. John, 179
Tollemache, Vice-Admiral John Richard Delap, 198
Trotter, Sir Coutts, 203
Turner, Professor Edward, 178

Uwins, Dr. David, 208

Van Wildert, Mrs. Jane, 216
Ventry, Dowager Lady, 168
Vernon, Lady, 207

Walker, Sir Patrick, 209
Wedderburn, Lady, 172
Weld, Cardinal Thomas, 187
Wesley, Mr. Samuel, 210
Westall, Richard, esq. R.A. 161
Weymouth, Viscount, 167
Whitehead, Miss, 214
William IV. 194
Wolff, Sir James W. W. 175
Wood, Sir Mark, 199

Ximenes, Sir Morris, 171

Debt, funded, 232
Debt, unfunded, 231
Demerara: Misunderstanding between the combined court and the governor, [250]
Distress in the Highlands, 27; in Paisley, 88
Drowning, melancholy case of, 108
Drunkenness, Prussian edict respecting, 42
Duel, sanguinary one in America, 102
Durham, Lord, his letter to the North Durham reformers, [240]
Durham University, charter granted to, 55

Earthquake in Palestine, 15
Embezzlement at Liverpool, 111
England:—General remarks; effects of the reform bill, [1]; its origin, [2]; different character of the two first parliaments, and reason, [3]; short ministry of Sir R. Peel. and consequences, [4]; dependance of Whig ministry on Mr. O'Connell, [6]; division between the two Houses, [7]; practicability of a coalition, [8]; general prospects of the country, [10]; foreign politics [*ib.*]; probable duration ofpeace, [*ib.*]; public meetings; Bath, [11]; Whig banquet at Drury-lane theatre, [13]; Leeds, [14]; Protestant and Conservative agitation, [15]; Peel festival at Glasgow, [16]; church rates, [82]; meeting of the bishops relative to the ministerial measure, [85]; working of the new poor-law; extension of its operation, [129]; agitation in opposition to it, [130, [241]; banking system, [171]; American commercial crisis, [181]; foreign policy, [186]; treaty of commerce with Holland signed, [209]; illness and death of the king, [217]; accession of Queen Victoria, [*ib.*]; character of the late king, [220], [235]; elections, [240]; position of the ministry at the meeting of the new parliament, [386]; Lord Brougham's violent attacks on the ministry, [412]
Euphrates expedition, the return of the officers and men, 52
Evans, General, resigns the command of the British Legion in Spain, [206]
Executions; Pegsworth, 23; Greenacre, 45
Explosion of gunpowder at Limerick, 6

Finance accounts, 218
Fires:—at Surat, 82; Shoreditch church, 87; in Paris, 91; in the Strand, three

lives lost, 102; the Ship Colonist at Portsmouth, 114; at Davis' Wharf, 127
Foreign Policy of England, [186]
Forgery at Birmingham, 111
France: Meeting of the Chambers; the King's speech, [253]; address of congratulation from the Chambers on the King's escape from Meunier's attempt at assassination; the budget, [255]; government monopoly of telegraphic establishments, [256]; debate on the address,]257]; prosecutions of the press, [264], [288]; deportation of Charles Louis Napoleon Buonaparte to the United States, [265]; trial of the Strasburgh conspirators, [266]; disjunction bill; non-revelation bill, [267]; appanage bill; polish refugees, [268], [273], [275]; government of Marshal Clausel in Africa, [269]; petition from Klemecen; defeat of the ministers on the disjunction bill, [270]; dowry of the Queen of the Belgians, [273], [278]; abolition of slavery; African affairs, [273]; negociations for a new cabinet, [274]; trial of Meunier and his associates, [277]; additional income granted to the Duke of Orleans on his marriage, [278]; secret service money, [279]; review of the national guard by the King—general amnesty—sugar duties, [280]; Chamber of Deputies dissolved, [281]; marriage of the Duke of Orleans to the Princess Helena, [*ib.*]; treaty of Tafna with Abd-el-Kader, [282]; the Duke de Nemours joins the expedition to Constantine, [283]; the elections, [287]; distress in the manufacturing and agricultural districts; misunderstanding between the Archbishop of Paris and the legislature; riot at Angoulême, [288]; another "infernal machine" discovered in Paris; Champion, the maker of it, apprehended; hangs himself in prison, 17; Precautions used at the Tuileries, 18; marriage of the Princess Marie, of Orleans, to Prince Alexander, of Wirtemberg, 111; commercial tables, 296
Funded debt, 232

Grants, disposition of, 221
Greece:—Establishment of departmental councils,[353]; dismissal of Count Armansperg; appointment of M. Rudhart; dispute between Sir E. Lyons and M. Rudhart, [354]; restoration of the city of Athens, [355]

Hanover:—Accession of Ernest Augustus, (Duke of Cumberland); suspen- of the constitution, [239], [336], 304; early history, [337]; abolition of the constitution of 1833, [339]; protest of the professors of Gottingen, and of the states of Baden, Bavaria, and Saxony, [341]
Hansard, Messrs., action against, by J. J. Stockdale, in the court of king's bench, [148]
Hay, average prices of, 251
Highlands, distress in the, 27
Holland:—Treaty of commerce and navigation with England signed, [209], [348], 307; opening of the States General; the budget, [348]; death of the queen of, 109; Speech of the royal commissioners, 310
Honourable conduct, 21
Hydrophobia, deaths from, 42, 107

Infanticide, suppression of female, in Malwa, 24
Influenza, ravages of the, 8, 10, 20
Inquisition in London, extraordinary investigation, 3
Insolvency, declarations of, 252
Inundations in the north of England, 126
Ireland: State of, [26]; difficulties in the way of its administration, [27]; proceedings of the National Association; great Protestant meeting at Dublin, [28]; Lord John Russell's speech on the state of, [30]; Dublin commission of inquiry on the state of the poor [61]; mission of Mr. Nicholls, [62]; habits of the peasantry; prevalence of mendicancy, [63]; people favourable to the introduction of a poor-law, [64]; the workhouse system; formation of unions; proposed exclusion of clergymen from the board of guardians, [65]; formation and regulation of the local machinery, [66]; parochial settlement to be dispensed with, [67]; emigration not to be looked on as an ordinary resource [68]; Mr. O'Connell's objections to the poor-law bill, [70]; tithe question; Lord Morpeth's measure for the commutation of, [76]; system of education, [78]; letter of Lord J. Russell to Lord Mulgrave on the accession of the queen [239].
Italy:—Ravages of the cholera [352]

INDEX.

Jamaica :—Quiet working of the apprenticeship system ; debased state of the currency [250]
Justice, tardy, 28

Law :—Bank of England v. the London and Westminster Bank, 9, 37 ; De Ros v. Cumming (libel) ; Morrison v. The Weekly Dispatch (libel), 13 ; Gompertz v. Weston (libel), 16 ; Perry v. Murray (crim. con.) 68 ; Day v. Whittaker and Co. (pirating a work) ; Head v. Purdon (breach of promise), 78 ; Easthope v. Westmacott (election libel), 112 ; Duncombe v. Daniel (election libel), 125
Leeds, attempt to burn the church at, 79

Madagascar :—Embassy from, 18
Maniac, melancholy death, by one, 32
Marriage in prison, 71
Marriage law, French, 34
Marriages, 143
Massacre in New Zealand, 23
Melbourne, Lord, and the Queen, 103
Meteorological Table, 252
Mexico :—Affairs of Texas, [374] ; United States troops enter the Texian territory, [375] ; the revenue, [376] [379] ; General Santa Anna leaves Washington, [377] ; arrival of Bustamente, [378] ; Mexican ports opened to Spain, [379].
Middle classes, the, 107
Ministry, list of the, 129
Miscellany :—Some recollections of the last days of King William IV. 370 ; report on animal magnetism, 380 ; return of Captain Back, 392 ; Russian scientific mission to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, 396 ; scenes of Scott's domestic life, 398
Modena :—Commutation of punishment for political offences, [352]
Mortality, bills of, 252
Munster, Earl of, re-appointment to the constableship of Windsor Castle, 88
Murders :—At Chateauneuf, a young woman by her lover, 1 ; at Denver, 3 ; in the Edgeware-road, by Greenacre, 6, 12, 37, 45 ; in Ratcliff-highway, by Pegsworth, 7, 14, 23 ; at Uxbridge, John Brill, 14 ; at Woolwich, a fatal frolic, 19 ; in France, by a wife and her brothers, 26 ; at Denny (Scotland), 31 ; of four children by their father, 35 ; of Anna Davis, 47, 50 ; of three children by their mother, 51, 110 ; cases of poisoning in France, 55, 99 ; of two children by their father, 57 ; at Cernay, (France), 90 ; by an idiot, at Leeds, 91 ; attempted murder of a wife and her paramour at Boulogne, 94 ; love and murder (France), 107 ; ferocious parricide, 109 ; of James Chaplin, by two soldiers, 110 ; of an old pensioner at Hertford, 120 ; of a young woman by her lover at Penicuck, 122 ; a double parricide, 124
Mutiny and murder at sea, 100

Navigation of Great Britain, 236
Navigation of the United Kingdom, 235
New Brunswick :—Misunderstanding between the House of Assembly and the lieutenant-governor, [249] ; Sir John Harvey appointed lieutenant-governor *vice* Sir A. Campbell, [250]
New Granada :—Affair of the English Vice Consul, [381] ; General Santander retires from the presidency [382]
New South Wales :—Census of the colony ; fearful state of the lower orders of the population ; report of the committee on transportation, [251]
Newfoundland :—Disputes of the House of Assembly with the lieutenant-governor ; prorogation of the house, [250]
Norway :—Difference between the king and his Norwegian subjects, [352] ; reply of the king to the address of the Storthing ; death of the deposed King Gustavus IV. [353]

Obituary, see Deaths.
Originality and simplicity, 12.
Oxford University examinations, 253

Parachute, decent of one ; fatal catastrophe, 83
Parliament : First and second reformed, [3] ; opening of the session by commission ; Speech of the Lord Commissioners, [18] ; address moved by the Earl of Fingall, [19] ; seconded by Lord Suffield, [20] ; the Duke of Wellington's observations, [21] ; Lord Melbourne's reply, [22] ; address in the Commons moved by Mr. Sanford, and seconded by Mr. Stuart Villiers ; Mr. Roebuck's attack on the policy of the ministry [*ib*]. ; Sir Robert Peel's speech, [24] ; Lord Palmerston's observations on the state of the Peninsula, [25] ; presentation of the petition of the great Protestant meeting in Dublin, [29] ; Irish Municipal Corporation Bill brought in, —— Lord John Russell's speech,

[30]; Mr. Sergeant Jackson's reply, [33]; Mr. O'Connell—Mr. Roebuck, [34]; speeches of Mr. Lefroy and Mr. West; Lord Morpeth's vindication of the measures of the Irish Government; adjournment of the debate; [35]; Sir James Graham's speech, [36]; reply of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, [37]; Sir R. Peel, [*ib.*]; instruction moved by Lord Francis Egerton, [40]; differences between the present bill and the former, [41]; Mr. C. Buller opposes the motion, [42]; Lord Morpeth, [43]; Lord Stanley, [44]; adjourned debate—speeches of Mr. E. L. Bulwer, Lord Howick, and Mr. Roebuck, [44]; third night's debate—Sir James Graham's speech in favour of the amendment; Mr. Sheil's attack on Lord Lyndhurst, [46]; Sir R. Peel's speech, [47]; motion to go into committee carried by a majority of 80, [48]; third reading, [*ib.*]; bill introduced to the House of Lords, [51]; second reading—Lord Melbourne's speech, [52]; Duke of Wellington; Lord Lyndhurst; Lord Brougham [53]; Duke of Wellington's motion for postponement on going into committee, [*ib.*]; majority in favour of postponement, 77, [55]; Lord Lyndhurst moves a further postponement, [56]; Lord Melbourne's reply; majority of 86 on Lord Lyndhurst's motion, [59]; Irish Poor-law Bill introduced by Lord John Russell; supported by the O'Connor Don, [69]; Mr. O'Connell's objections to the measure; Sir R. Peel supports it, [70]; second reading of the Bill; Mr. O'Connell's speech, [71]; debate on the law of settlement, [75]; Irish Tithes; Lord Morpeth's bill for the commutation of; provision for general education, [76]; second reading of the bill, opposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford, Mr. Browne, and Lord Stanley, [77]; defence of the measure by Lord Morpeth and Lord John Russell, [78]; Lord Melbourne's motion for inquiry into the system of education; Bishop of Exeter's speech, [79]; reply of the Archbishop of Dublin, [80]; of Lord Plunkett, [81]; church rates: Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech on moving the abolition of, [82]; the Archbishop of Canterbury's protest against the plan, [85]; Lord Melbourne's answer, [86]; reply of the Bishop of London, [87]; Sir R. Peel's speech in committee, [88]; Lord Howick's defence of the measure, [89]; Dr. Lushington's opinion of the law of the question; Sir W. Follett's objections, [90]; the Attorney-general's reply, [91]; Lord John Russell's speech, [92]; Mr. Gisborne and Mr. Baines speeches in favour; Lord Sandon's in opposition, [93]; Lord Stanley's vindication of himself, [94]; the House divided on the third night's debate; majority in favour of the measure 23 [95]; second reading of the abolition of church rates bill; Mr. A. Johnstone's amendment, [98]; speech of Sir F. Burdett from the opposition side of the House; reply of Mr. Sheil, [100]; Mr. Charles Buller's speech, [101]; speeches of Sir J. Graham; Mr. Spring Rice and Sir R. Peel, [102]; Lord J. Russell's reply and virtual defeat of the measure, [103]; Lord J. Russell's motion for an inquiry into the disposal of church land; opposed by Mr. Goulburn; Mr. D. W. Harvey's observations on the sums paid by dissenters toward the support of the established church, [104]; the several divisions on the question, [105]; church of Scotland; Sir W. Rae's motion, [107]; opposed by Lord J. Russell, [108]; Mr. Grote's motion for vote by ballot, [110]: motion lost by a majority of 112 [119]; Mr. Horsman's motion for an inquiry into the system of creating fictitious votes in Scotland, [*ib.*]; property qualifications of members; Sir W. Molesworth's speech, [120]; Mr. C. Lushington's motion for excluding the bishops from the House of Lords, [121]; opposed by Lord J. Russell, [122]; Mr. T. S. Duncombe moves the abolition of the right of the Lords' voting by proxy; opposed by Lord Stanley and Sir R. Peel, [123]; abolition of the rate-paying clauses of the reform bill; Mr. T. S. Duncombe's speech; opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; carried by a majority of 11, but lost on the second reading by a majority of 93, [124]; extension of time for payment of rates, [*ib.*]; Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt's motion for repeal of the Septennial Act; opposed by Lord J. Russell, [125]; Mr. Roebuck's Speech; Mr. Ewart's motion relative to primogeniture, [126]; poor-laws—Mr. Walter's motion for a committee of inquiry, [131]; Lord John

INDEX.

Russell's amendment, [133]; Mr. D. W. Harvey's speech in favour of the original motion, [135]; Mr. Hume's in opposition to it, [136]; committee appointed, [138]; withdrawal of Mr. Harvey and Mr. Walter from the committee, [139]; publication of the evidence in the *True Sun* by Mr. Harvey, [141]; declared a breach of privilege, [142]; annual report of the poor-law commissioners, [143]; Messrs. Hansard's petition relative to the action brought against them by the notorious John Joseph Stockdale, [147]; Lord J. Russell's resolutions relative to, [149]; Canada —Lord J. Russell's speech on the affairs of, [150]; the resolutions [153]; speeches of Mr. Leader, [154]; Mr. O'Connell, Sir W. Molesworth, Col. Thompson, [155]; and Mr. Roebuck in opposition to, [156]; reply of Sir G. Grey, [157]; Mr. Hume's opposition to the resolutions, and defence of his letter to Mr. Mackenzie, [158]; Speeches of Mr. Gladstone, [159]; Mr. Labouchere and Lord Stanley in favour of, [160]; Lord Howick's defence of the government, [162]; division on the fourth resolution, [163]; Mr. Roebuck's proposition for a settlement of the dispute, [164]; declined by Lord John Russell, [*ib.*]; Mr. Leader's motion for postponement of the further consideration of the resolutions rejected by a majority of 153, [167]; resolutions brought before the House of Lords by Lord Glenelg, [168]; opposed by Lord Brougham, [169]; his protest against, [170]; joint-stock banks—renewal of committee on, [176]; Mr. Hume's amendment for an enlarged enquiry, [177]; defence of the joint-stock banks by Mr. Gisborne, [178]; Mr. Hume's amendment negatived, [181]; Lord Mahon's motion on the foreign policy of the country, [188]; reply of Mr. Cutlar Fergusson,—Lord F. Egerton's speech, [190]; Mr. Grove Price supports the motion, [191]; Lord Palmerston defends the policy of the government, [192]; Sir R. Peel's reply, [195]; Sir H. Hardinge's on the same subject, [196]; seconded by Sir Stratford Canning, [198]; opposed by Mr. C. Wood, Mr. O'Connell, [199]; and Mr. Sheil, [201]; third night's debate, Mr. Otway Cave's defence of General Evans, [202]; speeches of Mr. Roebuck, [*ib.*;] Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, Sir W. Follett, and Lord Palmerston, [203]; Sir R. Peel's reply, [205]; motion rejected by a majority of 36, [206]; Lord Alvanley's motion in the House of Lords on the same subject, [*ib.*;] Mr. Roebuck's motion relative to the seizure of the Vixen, [207]; Lord Dudley Stuart's inquiry relative to the non-appointment of a British consul at Cracow, [208]; Mr. Barlow Hoy's motion for copies of correspondence concerning the province of Texas; Lord Palmerston's reply, [*ib.*]; Mr. Roebuck's motion on the state of the nation, [211]; seconded by Colonel Thompson, [215]; opposed by Mr. O'Connell, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Hume, [216]; Lord J. Russell's reply, [*ib.*]; The Queen's message to the House of Lords—Eulogies on the late King, [218]; Address of condolence moved by Lord Melbourne, [919]; the Queen's message to the House of Commons, [*ib.*]; state of Parliamentary business brought forward by Lord Melbourne, [220]; Observations of Lord Lyndhurst thereon, [221]; Lord John Russell's statement of the intended proceedings of government, [222]; bill brought in by the Lord Chancellor for providing for the succession to the Crown, [223]; the budget, [224]; improvement of the criminal law—Lord J. Russell's speech, [227]; second reading in the House of Lords moved by Lord Denman, [230]; speech of Lord Brougham, [*ib.*;] Execution of Wills—Lord Langdale's speech, [231]; Sir R. Inglis' opposition to the measure, on the ground of expence, [232]; the Attorney-General's measure for abolition of imprisonment for debt, [233]; close of the Session; Speaker's address, [*ib.*;] the Queen's speech, 234; dissolution of Parliament, [78]

The Queen's Speech on opening the Session, [388]; Address moved by the Duke of Sussex: seconded by Lord Portman—Address in the House of Commons moved by Lord Leveson, seconded by Mr. Gibson Craig; Mr. Wakley's amendments, [389]; seconded by Sir W. Molesworth; Mr. Hume, [390]; Mr. Grote's speech; Lord John Russell's reply, [391]; Sir R. Peel's speech, [392]; Mr. Wakley's amendment lost by a majority of 489, in a House consisting of 509 members; Mr. Harvey's amendment, [393]; report on the address—

INDEX.

Mr. Leader's speech, [394]; Mr. C. Buller; Lord John Russell's vindication of the measures of government, [395]; civil list; Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, [397]; [408]; Mr. Harvey's amendment on the pension list, [399]; pension list committee moved for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, [400]: opposed by Sir R. Peel, [401]; Mr. Harvey, [402]; Lord Stanley's opposition to the measure, [403]; Lord John Russell's reply, [404]; motion for committee carried by a majority of 62; nomination of the members; the Chancellor of the Exchequer's explanation relative to Mr. D. W. Harvey's name being omitted, [405]; Mr. Harvey's speech, [407]; message from the Queen; Duchess of Kent's income, [408]; Mr. Grote's amendment on the third reading of the civil list bill, [*ib.*]; reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, [409]; Sir R. Peel; Mr. C. Buller, [410]; amendment lost by a majority of 102; Sir R. Peel's amendment carried by a majority of 88, [411]; Lord Melbourne moves the second reading in the House of Lords; Lord Brougham's opposition [*ib.*]; the Queen thanks the House for her civil list, [414]; Revolt in Canada; Lord John Russell's speech — Mr. Leader's justification of the insurgents, [415]; Mr. Hume; Sir W. Molesworth, [416]; Mr. Grote; Mr. Warburton, [417]; Sir George Grey's defence of the measures of government, [418]; Lord John Russell's explanations, [419]; adjournment of the House, [421]

Parliament, new Houses of. 113

Parties, state of—Conservative gain at expense of Whigs, who are little injured thereby; freed from the Radical party; take natural position, [5]; a few Whigs disgusted by violent measures, would enable Tories to resume office; charge of Whig reliance on Mr. O'Connell not just, [6]; little advance in parliamentary business; position taken up by ministers; destroying all chance of compromise with their opponents, [210]; Mr. Roebuck's motion on the state of the nation, [211]; his exposition of the politics of the Radical section [214]; popularity of ministers declining at the death of William IV. [238] ministerial loss on general elections, [385]; diminution of political power, [386]; municipal elections, [387].

Patents, list of, 257

Pauperism in Austria, 106

Pedestrianism extraordinary, 25

Peel, Sir Robert: His short ministry not premature; change of House of Commons being more important than mere change of ministry, [4]; opportunity thereby given of disproving charge of bigotted Toryism; from weak ministers, powerful leader of opposition, [5]; dinner to at Glasgow, [16]; installed Lord Rector, [8]

Peru-Bolivia:—Formation of the Peru-Bolivian confederation, [379]; war with Chili and Buenos Ayres; assassination of Don Diego Portales, [380]; new constitution; treaty of commerce with Great Britain, [381]; circular of the President, 368

Petitions, public, 56

Plague, ravages of the, 106

Poetry, 402

Poisoning of twenty-three persons at Rions (France), 32

Pompeii, excavations at, 124

Poor-law riot at Loughborough, 126

Portugal:—New Tariff; meeting of the Cortes; the Queen's Speech, [322]; unpopularity of the English; claims of the British auxiliaries [324]; the budget, [325]; resignations of the ministry; the Queen's communication to the Cortes in consequence, [326]; new cabinet; national guards, [327]; insurrection at Braga, [328]; financial difficulties; unpopularity of Prince Ferdinand; the exploits of Remechido the Miguelite, [329]; the Marquis De Saldanha declares in favour of the insurgents; new ministerial appointments and resignations; the Duke of Terceira joins the insurgents, [330]; approach of the insurgents to Lisbon, [331]; suspension and renewal of hostilities, [332]; the movements of Das Antas; birth of an heir to the throne, [333]; defeat of the insurgents by Das Antas; convention signed, [334]; new ministry; constitution of the senate, [335]

Prussia; —The cholera; death of M. Ancillon; commercial treaty with Holland, [341]; controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and the Government [342]; the Archbishop of Cologne arrested, [345]

Public dinners—at Bath, [11]; Drury-lane theatre, [13]; Glasgow, [16]

Public documents: Report on the civil list, 277; new arrangements concerning convicts, 281; Slavery Abolition

INDEX.

Act—rate of compensation, 284 ; apprenticeship system, and sale of crown lands, in the West Indies, 285 ; marriages under the new act, 288 ; penalties for unduly registering births, deaths, and marriages, *ib.* ; criminal statistics, 290 ; executions, 291 ; report of the commissioners of municipal inquiries, 292 ; commerce of France, 296
Public expenditure, 220

Reform Bill : General remarks [1] ; its origin accidental, caused by the French revolution of 1830, and disorganization of the Tory party in England, [2] ; its consequences; the first parliament ; bad criterion ; the next more correct; conduct of Radical party likely to dismay many liberals [3] ; natural lassitude, [4]
Rights of woman, Switzerland, 44
Robber, adventures of a German one, 35
Robbery at the palace of Prince William of Prussia, 18
Romance in real life, 103
Russia : Seizure of the Vixen, [206] ; [358] ; inquiry in the House of Commons relative to the non-appointment of a consul at Cracow, [208] ; Circassian war, [356] ; the Emperor visits Teflis, [358] ; the Grand Duke Michael prohibited from visiting France by order of the Emperor Nicholas, 22
Russian scientific mission to the Eastern coast of the Black Sea, 396

Savage, a European one, 80
Savings banks, 18, 237
Scott, Sir Walter, domestic scenes of, 398
Sheriffs, list of, 138
Sicily :—Ravages of the cholera, [352]
Singular discovery of human bones, 105
Snow-storm, roads rendered impassible, 1
Spain, debates in parliament relative to, [188] [196] [206] ; reception of the news of the relief of Bilboa at Madrid, [290] ; situation of the opposing forces, [291] ; attack on the Carlist lines at Guipuscoa by General Evans, [292] ; the queen's forces repulsed, [293] ; second attack, [294] ; Hernani, Irun, and Fuentarabia taken, [295] ; expedition of Don Carlos through Arragon, [296] ; character of Cabrera, [297] ; Zariartegui advances within five leagues of Madrid, [298] ; Espartero rescues the capital ; Buerens defeated by the Carlists, [299] ; Don Carlos within four leagues of Madrid, [300] [316] ; the Carlist army retreat, [300] ; Zariartegui takes Vallodolid ; union of the forces of Don Carlos and Zariartegui, [301] ; Don Carlos retires to Durango, [302] ; General Evans resigns the command of the British legion, [302] ; Mutiny at Hernani, Miranda del Ebro, and Pampeluna—murder of General Sarsfield ; Christinos defeated at Andonain, [303] ; the British Legion broken up ; Espartero executes the mutineers of Miranda and Pampeluna, [304] ; *brigandage* throughout the contested districts, [305] ; attempted revolution at Cuba, [*ib.*] ; proceedings of the Cortes, [306] [309] ; debate on M. Mendizabal's administration of the finance, [307] [313] ; insurrection at Barcelona, [308] ; new constitution adopted ; the queen takes the oath of fidelity to it, [311] : suppression of convents [312] ; arrival of Espartero at Madrid, [313] ; General Seaone and the guards, [314] ; new ministry ; bill for clergy, [315] ; Cortes dissolved ; the elections, [317] ; assembling of the new Cortes ; speech of the Queen Regent, 318 ; resignation of ministers ; Ofalia cabinet, [319] ; investment of Centa by the Moors, [320] ; execution of a carlist, 70 ; the constitution of June 16, 1837, 313 ; speech of the Queen Regent on swearing to the constitution, 319 ; speech of the Queen Regent on opening the Cortes, 321
Starvation, death of seven persons at sea, 26
State papers : speech of the governor-general of Lower Canada on opening the provincial parliament, 299 ; kingdom of Hanover ; accession of King Ernest Augustus, 303 ; letters patent suspending the Hanoverian constitution, 304 ; treaty of commerce with the Netherlands, 307 ; Dutch states-general ; royal speech, 310 ; allocation of Pope Gregory, XVI. 312 ; the Spanish constitution, 313 ; speech of the Queen Regent of Spain on swearing to the constitution, 319 ; speech of the Queen Regent on opening the Cortes, 321 ; message of the President of the United States at the opening the first session of Congress, 324 ; message on opening the second session, 347 ; circular of

the President of the Confederated States of Bolivia and Peru, 368
Steam communication with India, 124
Steam vessels burnt in America, great loss of life, 46, 113
Steam-vessel explosion, Hull, 53
Steamers, collission of the Apollo and the Monarch, 98
Stirling Castle, loss of the, and sufferings of the crew, 20
Stock, prices of in each month in 1837, 250
Straw, average prices of, 251
Stud, royal, sale of the, 106
Subterranean forest, discovery of one, 92
Suicide of a foreign nobleman at the Burlington Hotel, 43; of a forger at Barnstaple, 49; of Mr. Walker, surgeon, Piccadilly, 53; of a father after murdering his two children, 57; of Mr. Stewart, 89: of an assassin at Cernay (France), 90; desperate attempt at, 92; suspicious case of, 101; of a murderess, 110; of a young man after murdering his sweetheart, 122
Surgical cases, extraordinary ones, 30, 101
Suspension of animal life, Mr. Crosse's discoveries, 21
Swan River:—State of the settlement at, 82
Switzerland: — Insurrectionary movement in the Canton of Berne; the Helvetic Diet open their session, [349]; revision of the federal constitution, [350]; census; expenditure; new organization of the army, [351]; currency; Louis Buonaparte, [352]

Temperance society statistics, 123; commemoration, 127, 128
Texas:—Motion made for copies of correspondence relative to, [208]; see Mexico—United States
Thieving in high life at Rome, 87
Trade of the United Kingdom, 234
Trade, state of, 55, 56
Transportation system in Jersey, 53
Treasure, trove, 109
Trial, curious in Paris, 25
Trinidad:—Mutiny of one of the West India regiments; quelled after some resistance, [250]
Tunnel, the Thames, irruptions of, 93, 115
Turkey:—School of anatomy opened; alteration of the commercial laws; expedition against the Kurds, [359]; the Sultan visits his frontier fortresses; the fall of Vassaff Effendi, [360]; state of Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia, [361]

United States:-Commercial crisis, [181], [362], [370]; assistance afforded by the bank of England [183]. Dispute with Mexico; Texas, [364]; protest of the Mexican government, [365]; the President and the United States' bank, [366]; memorial of the bank, [367]; presentation of a petition signed by *slaves*; Mr. Van Buren succeeds General Jackson in the presidential chair, [368]; farewell address of General Jackson; inaugural address of Mr. Van Buren, [369]; state of parties, [370]; suspension of cash payments, [371]; extraordinary session of Congress; President's message; proceedings of the session, [372], 324; convention of delegates from the Banks; war with the Seminole Indians; re-assembling of Congress; President's message, [374], 347

Vaccine National establishment, report of, 86
Venezuela:—Financial statement; Geral Paez, [382]
Vessels registered, 235, 236
Victoria, Princess, celebration of the birth-day of, 50; ascends the throne, 61; first declaration, 62, [237]; proclamation, 64; takes up her residence at Buckingham palace, 81; visit to the city, 116, [387]; address to both Houses of Parliament, [218], [219]; prorogues the session, [233]; opens the new Parliament, [388]; returns thanks to both Houses of Parliament for her civil list, [414]

Waterford, Marquis of, at Bergen, 94, 95
Ways and means, 230
William IV; state of his majesty's health, 50, 54, 58; death of, 60, [217]; official announcement, 61; funeral, 72; anecdote of, 87; some recollections of the last days of, 370; eulogies on, [218]; character, [220] [235]

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